

Paracelsus

Theophrastus Bombastus

von Hohenheim,

1493-1541

Essential Theoretical Writings



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Paracelsus (Theophrastus Bombastus von
Hohenheim, 1493–1541)

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Paracelsus (Theophrastus
Bombastus von Hohenheim,
1493–1541)

Essential Theoretical Writings

Edited and translated with a Commentary and Introduction by

Andrew Weeks



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To Dr. Horst Pfefferl (Director, Weigel Edition) and Dr. Hartmut
Rudolph (Director, Leibniz Edition, Potsdam), friends and mentors in
a time-honored tradition of textual scholarship

PARACELSUS

ESSENTIAL THEORETICAL WRITINGS

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Introduction

Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, known as Paracelsus (1493-1541), was one of the most original and prolific authors of sixteenth-century Europe. Commonly remembered as an itinerate physician-surgeon, medical innovator, philosopher of nature, and alchemist, he was also a lay theologian, theorist of the supernatural, and rebel against institutions and traditions. In the course of the 1520s, he challenged academic and urban authorities in Switzerland and South Germany by demanding medical reforms. Rebuffed by his opponents, he continued wandering for the remainder of his life, disseminating as an author, polemicist, and physician his understanding of medicine and nature. He died an obscure death in Salzburg, but before the end of the century his influence had spread, resulting in posthumous partisan controversies between advocates and detractors.

Paracelsus wrote prolifically on medicine, philosophy, theology, and a variety of related topics. The modern fourteen-volume Sudhoff edition, based on the Huser edition of 1589, comprises those writings which were not understood as mainly theological: the medical, philosophical, or alchemical writings. The Goldammer edition of theological and social-ethical writings, which is only about half complete, can be expected to surpass the Sudhoff edition in size. The scholarly reception of these works has always faced serious obstacles due to intrinsic ambiguities and unresolved editorial issues, with the result that among the influential authors of his century Paracelsus is perhaps the most difficult to interpret and integrate into an overall understanding of his time. Of all the editions, only Goldammer's provides first-rate scholarly commentary and notes. The Sudhoff edition is bewildering in its riches, confronting readers with numerous textual variants and fragments without clarifying their relation to the more finished

versions.¹ Despite Sudhoff's splendid achievements, errors such as his misidentification of writings as seminal as of "around 1520," though later rescinded, cast a long shadow in Paracelsus studies.

The few English translations from his work are inadequate and outmoded. Arthur Edward Waite worked from early Latin translations of the original German to produce a potpourri of inauthentic and authentic works.² Henry Sigerist, a medical historian and student of Sudhoff, oversaw and assisted in translating *Four Treatises* from the German (*Seven Defensiones*, *On the Miner's Sickness*, *The Diseases that Deprive Man of His Reason*, and *The Book of Nymphs, Sylphs, Pygmies, and Salamanders*).³ Though each item is skillfully rendered, the four are no more than a colorful fistful from the puzzle of the entire corpus. The most readily available translations are *florilegia* or assortments of excerpts. An influential collection appeared in the Princeton Bollingen Series in 1951. A translation of the Jungian Jolande Jacobi's *Paracelsus. Lebendiges Erbe*,⁴ it consists of memorable

¹ The difficulties have been summarized by Joachim Telle. There are persistent problems of authenticity; Sudhoff's edition does not approach the standards of a modern historical-critical edition; some theological writings still await their first edition; and research into the sources of Paracelsus's inspiration is inadequate. See Telle, "Aufgaben der Paracelsusforschung," in *Medizinische Ausbildung und Versorgung zur Zeit des Paracelsus* (Salzburg, Internationale Paracelsusgesellschaft, 2006), 9-28.

² Paracelsus, *The Hermetic and Alchemical Writings of Paracelsus*, ed. Arthur Edward Waite (Berkeley: Shambhala, 1976). Based on a reprint of an earlier edition (London: J. Elliot, 1894), the translation from German via Latin lends the writings a facile surface clarity. The selection is dubious. Other translations have promoted the association of Paracelsus with the occult and the mystical: *The Archidoxes of Magic; of the Supreme Mysteries of Nature; of the Spirits of the Planets; of the Secrets of Alchemy; of the Occult Philosophy; the Mysteries of the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac; the Magical Cure of Diseases; of Celestial Medicines*, trans. from the Latin by Robert Turner (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1975; a reprint of a 1656 translation of *De Spiritus Metallorum* and *De occulta Philosophia* and *Archidoxis Magica*); and *The Prophecies of Paracelsus*, ed. Franz Hartmann (New York: Rudolf Steiner Publications, 1973).

³ *Four Treatises of Theophrastus von Hohenheim, called Paracelsus*, translated from the original German by C. Lilian Temkin (*Seven Defensiones*), George Rosen (*On the Miners' Sickness*), Gregory Zilboorg (*The Diseases that Deprive Man of His Reason*), Henry E. Sigerist (*A Book on Nymphs, Sylphs, Pygmies, and Salamanders*), ed. with a preface by Henry E. Sigerist (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1941). The notes are minimal but helpful.

⁴ Jolande Jacobi, *Paracelsus: Lebendiges Erbe* (Bollingen Series, 28), trans. Norbert Guterman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951).

passages arranged with almost no attention to their sources. A more attentive and substantial anthology of selections was recently translated by Goodrick-Clarke.⁵

It is not surprising that Paracelsus has been studied in excerpts in English. More remarkable is the fact that his German-language reception rests to a considerable extent on de-contextualized passages. Rarely are his writings studied as organic literary wholes in relation to their specific historical or literary contexts. Since even the most intelligent and influential studies of Paracelsus in English have been reticent in citing directly from his writings, the primary and secondary literature are disparate reservoirs of information with too few connecting channels. Scholarship takes the form of isolated monologues.

Notwithstanding the obstacles, Paracelsus has proven to be of enduring interest to scholars of the Renaissance and Reformation and to historians of science, medicine, and literature. Scholarly access to the thinker is the primary purpose of this volume. There is no better introduction than the writings composed between 1529 and 1532. Many if not all the themes of his earlier and later production are recapitulated or anticipated in these works of mid career. With their exalted tone, trademark *Para*-titles, and relentless laying of foundations and projecting of exhaustive surveys, these treatises represent themselves as the zenith of his authorial production. They have come down to us in versions that are largely completed, though often unrefined. This places them in a special category for an author who wrote under unpropitious circumstances and left behind many fragments and incomplete drafts. *Das Buch Paragranum* and the writings of 1531 which are associated with the *Paramirum* title, including his treatise on the “Invisible Diseases,” are relatively comprehensible when read on their own. We can therefore adapt his term in regarding these writings as a *microcosm* of the Paracelsian universe. As such, they can tell us a great deal about the material and intellectual culture of his era.

To translate and provide commentary for the large corpus of Paracelsus might require more than the career of an individual scholar.

⁵ Paracelsus, *Essential Readings*, selected and translated by Nicholas Goodrick-Clark (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 1999). Goodrick-Clark attempts to provide a balanced selection of passages ranging from a few sentences to several pages in length arranged by date following Sudhoff and by theme with few notes but an introduction to the life and writings.

But if contextualized in their time, tradition, and corpus, the writings of the years 1530-31 can offer an essential access both to his work as a whole, and through it, to the source of a major current of early modern thought which is too often subordinated to abstractions or reduced to a few overworked quotations and concepts. The edited and unedited writings are fraught with uncertainties of dating and authenticity and burdened with preconceptions. By translating the writings of this key period, it should be possible to provide future scholarship with coordinates for orientation: laterally with regard to the concurrent developments of Paracelsus' life and times, retrospectively with regard to his previous writings, prospectively with regard to those that follow, and thematically with regard to the entirety of his writings, including the many that cannot be dated with certainty.

Context can clarify obscure terms and account for the urgency and expectation in Paracelsus' writings. The year 1530 saw the publication of Girolamo Fracastoro's *Syphilis*, Georg Agricola's medical-metallurgical *Bermannus, sive de Re Metallica Dialogus*, and Otto Brunfels' *Herbarum Vivae Eicones* with its prefatory "*Encomium Medicinae*." The pursuits of these contemporaries offer a measure of the erudition and curiosity of his age and a clue to the tensions he sensed and rendered extreme. In the study of nature, Paracelsus' polemically proclaimed turn from classical learning to fresh experience is anticipated in the subtle tensions between ancient sources with their Mediterranean flora and fresh observations of native regions in the work of the Humanists. For example, Brunfels' Latin compendium of 1530 extols Aristotle, Pliny, Dioscorides, Theophrastus, Galen, Celsus, and the mythical "Chiron Centaureus" as a name linked to the "herba centaurea" (Brun.-Lat. 6). However, without abandoning ancient authority in writing of native plants, Brunfels' German *Kreüterbuch* of 1532 accords thoughtful consideration to the practitioner of surgery and distillation who died in 1512, Hieronymus Brunschwig, and exalts the virtues of the lowly nettle, favored allegorically by God, above the hyacinth of classical legend (Brunfels 1532 cxxiii). If not the sources, the themes of Paracelsus can be traced.

In context, Paracelsus' work reveals unnoticed patterns of allusion and affinity. He was responding to current issues in his discussions of mining, metallurgy, medical herbs, syphilis, medical education, and the reform of apothecaries, as well as in his Bible commentaries and doctrinal writings on the Eucharist and the Trinity. He reacted, albeit

idiosyncratically, to the prestige of astronomy and anatomy. The dual impact of theological and humanistic controversies is ingrained in the complexities of his writings in the form of extended complex allusions.

The translation and commentary should bring the interrelations of these contexts to light. Paracelsus' absorption of influences was neither systematic nor accidental. The writings translated here must be approached as products of a many-faceted dispute. The years and locations of his most intense authorial activity coincided with challenges in medicine and the study of nature, even as it fell within an epoch bounded by the Peasant Wars of the mid 1520s and the death of Zwingli in October 1531. During this period, Paracelsus witnessed a violent religious-social revolt in Salzburg, the consolidation of doctrinal-political independence in the Southwest in a rift catalyzed by the Eucharistic controversy, the bitter disputes between the Humanism of Erasmus and the theology of Luther's Wittenberg and between the magisterial reformers in the cities and Anabaptist radicals in the countryside, and the brutal repression of radicals. As the climactic two-year interval drew to a close, even nature seemed to converge in the world crisis. When Halley's Comet appeared in August 1531, Paracelsus addressed it in his *Uslegung des Cometen* (S 9:373-91),⁶ a pamphlet printed at once by the Zwinglian reformer Leo Jud in Zurich. After Zwingli fell in battle at Kappel in October, 1531, and Paracelsus' host and patient Christian Studer succumbed to illness in the last month of that year, the two-year cycle of long anticipated, mysteriously entitled "paramiran" writings came to a close.⁷

⁶ See Paracelsus, *Der Komet im Hochgebirge von 1531*, ed. Urs Leo Gantenbein and Pia Holenstein Weidmann (Zurich: Chronos, 2006), a facsimile of the 1531 edition and commentary, as well as Rudolf Gamper's "Paracelsus und Vadian" (117ff.).

⁷ To the extent the works of an author prone to drafts and revisions can be periodized, there are fair reasons for this dating. The furtively printed work *Von der französischen Krankheit drei Bücher Para* is dedicated full of hope to the Nuremberg city scribe Lazarus Spengler. Its preface is dated in that city as of November 23rd, 1529 (S 7:13, 67, 71). The trademark syllable *Para*, never explained but suggestively included in the title (cf. H 2:5), anticipates the works of 1530-31. Only draft prefaces of *Paragranum* originated in 1529 (S 8:31). A conflict with the Nuremberg city council early in 1530 may have redirected P. from his interest in syphilis and confirmed him in his "*Para*" theory projects. P. pursued these first in Beratzhausen and then in St. Gall. Though the conclusion of the period cannot be dated with complete certainty, textual evidence suggests that the "paramiran" writings followed one another without hiatus. As Huser himself remarks regarding the textual indications that the works

Background and Summary of the Translated Writings

The traceable authorial build-up to the works of 1530-31 is as abrupt as their tone. Prior to Strasbourg and Basel, only Paracelsus' involvements in religious disputes and his theological writings dated in Salzburg are clearly documented as of mid decade. There is no evidence that he wrote academic medical treatises prior to his brief involvement at the University of Basel in 1527-28, and none that he was in search of an academic status before he came to Basel. Nor are there grounds to assume that whatever ambitions or reforming intentions he may have harbored before Basel were predicated on a university position. Outside Luther's Wittenberg, few of the German authors who were obtaining fame by means of publication were in need of an academic office in order to do so. In contrast to other countries or centuries, sixteenth-century German intellectual ferment did not look to the university as its obvious and preeminent place of residence.

The general theoretical cast of the works of 1530-31 and the specific development which led to Paracelsus' *Paragranum* as a treatise on the fourfold foundation of medicine can be traced back to his well documented quarrel with established medical authority. It resulted in his vocal and lasting resentment of the perceived injustice of his treatment by the academic and urban authorities in Basel, where his terminologies had met with public ridicule. Drafts and texts of writings after 1528 including those contained here refer back to this dispute (see H 2:11). A second source of contention was the more recent rejection for publication of his writings on syphilis ("*Franzosen*")⁸ and

beginning with *Opus Paramirum* belong together in the order in which he has placed them: "so gibt doch der anfang eines jeden Buchs genugsam zuerkennen/ das gemelte Bücher zu diesem *Paramiro* gehörig/ wie sie dann in der ordnung jetzt nacheinander folgen" (H 1:66). The final work, on the "*Invisible Diseases*," is tense with references to divisive religious issues. Its termination is abrupt. It is unlikely that the "paramiran" works were still in progress much after the closing months of 1531, when P.'s circumstances were altered radically by the death of Zwingli in October and of the St. Gall mayor Christian Studer in December, under whose protection P. had stood. His whereabouts after the period encompassed in these writings is a matter of speculation. See Edwin Rosner, "Hohenheims Weg in den Jahren 1532-1534. Eine Hypothesenüberprüfung," in *Salzburger Beiträge zur Paracelsusforschung* 28 (1995): 63-68.

⁸ I follow common usage in referring to the "French disease" as syphilis; but to historians, disease entities are not identical with the diseases themselves but rather conditioned by a social and physical environment. We are thus speaking of a disease

the medical-ethical *Spital-Buch* by the Nuremberg city government acting upon the advice of the medical faculty at Leipzig. Paracelsus learned of the unfavorable decision while at work on *Paragramum* in Beratzhausen, a nearby Protestant German town to which he had relocated for unknown reasons after leaving Nuremberg. The frustration expressed in his response merges with his renewed anger toward his Basel opponents. The fulminations of his various prefaces refer both to Basel and to the rejection of his treatment of syphilis.

Since there is no mention of the pivotal Basel dispute in certain undated writings (notably those on alchemy, which are also less multifaceted in their theories than works that do recall his dispute),⁹ it is possible that without the Basel quarrel Hohenheim might have pursued less comprehensive objectives and indeed never become “Paracelsus.” His pseudonym only begins to appear in the post-Basel period. He might have concentrated on asserting a place for alchemy among the established medical schools, or on achieving renown with a treatise on the prolongation of life, or on finding a revolutionary cure for a specific disease such as gout or syphilis. Projects of the sort engaged him actively. Their viability was attested to by the universal acclaim they garnered for Ficino and Fracastoro. What Hohenheim might have been without Basel remains a matter for speculation. What is certain and decisive is that the *Paragramum* of 1530 is firmly rooted in a ground he had broken and cultivated furiously in that city, though with frustratingly ambivalent results.

related to but not identical with the syphilis known today (see CWHHD, 1029-30; cf. Allan M. Brandt, “Sexually Transmitted Diseases,” CEHM, 562ff.).

⁹ Some undated writings are *thematically* preliminary to the works of 1530. *Paragramum* presupposes a preoccupation with practical and theoretical alchemy. Incorporating this preoccupation, his alchemical writings could have originated before Basel. Conversely, the academic cast and context of an undated writing offers the most defensible criterion for dating it after the decisive turn of events in 1527-28. It is certain that before Basel P. wrote works of “lay theology” as early as 1524 (G 3). For an argument that alchemical or natural-philosophical works such as *Archidoxis* were pre-Basel, see Udo Benzenhöfer, “Zur *Archidoxis*-Schrift des P.,” in *Nova Acta Paracelsica N.F.* 19 (2005): 105-124; cf. Benzenhöfer, *Studien zum Frühwerk des Paracelsus im Bereich Medizin und Naturkunde* [Münster: Klemm & Oelschläger, 2005], 205f. For a critique of Benzenhöfer’s monograph, see my forthcoming review in the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* (summer 2007).

Das Buch Paragranum

The plan for a four-pillared foundation of medicine precedes our *Paragranum*. A key anticipatory reference is found in his *Deutsche Kommentare zu den Aphorismen des Hippokrates* (*German Commentaries of Hohenheim on the Aphorisms of Hippocrates*). Here the fourth pillar is still given as “*physica*” or “medical science.” The commentary on the words “*experimentum fallax*” in the first Aphorism¹⁰ elicits this observation:

Also ist die arznei im anfang gestanden, das kein theorica gewesen ist, allein ein erfarenheit: das laxirt, das constipirt; was aber, wie aber, ist verborgen gewesen. darumb ist einer verderbt, der ander gesunt worden. so aber iez theorica da ist, so ist es nimer also. scientia get für und ist nimer experimentum fallax. das macht die theorica medica, die in vier seulen stehet: philosophia, astronomia, alchimia und physica. (S 4:497)

This is how medicine was in the beginning, when there was not yet any theory, but only experience: this acts as a laxative; that acts to constipate; but what it was and how it acted thus remained hidden. This is why one patient was ruined and the other returned to health. However, now that theory is present, this is no longer so. Science advances and is no longer *experimentum fallax*. This results from medical theory, which rests upon four columns: philosophy, astronomy, alchemy and physica.

Though this echoes the *ad fontes* of Humanism, Paracelsus is not concerned with recovering texts or documenting the sources of ancient

¹⁰ The Aphorism reads in full: “Life is short, and Art long; the crisis fleeting; experience perilous, and decision difficult. The physician must not only be prepared to do what is right himself, but also to make the patient, the attendants, and externals cooperate” (HW 131). For a discussion of P.’s commentary on Hippocrates and the scholarship devoted to it, see Udo Benzenhöfer and Michaela Triebs, “Zu Theophrast von Hohenheims Auslegungen der ‘Aphorismen’ des Hippokrates,” in *Parerga Paracelsica: Paracelsus in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, ed. Joachim Telle (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), 27-37. The authors take note that, though P. was relatively beholden to the authority of Hippocrates, “Gänzlich im eigenen Horizont legt Hohenheim die ‘Experimentum-fallax’-Stelle aus” (36).

medicine.¹¹ His reading of Hippocrates rationalizes his own elaboration of a new medical theory in the spirit of his reforming age and in conformity with his Basel teaching plan of June 1527. In it, he had promised to restore medicine “ad pristinam suae autoritatis laudem,” cleansing it of its barbaric sediments and grave errors (S 4:3).

In Basel the Galenists won out. They mocked the would-be reformer with a satirical salutation addressed by the shade of Galenus to “Cacophrastus.” The spurned reformer fared no better in Nuremberg in 1529. The failure of his efforts to put his new teachings into practice resulted in his gravitation to an ever more sweeping theory of medicine. In the drafts and writings anticipating the “pillars” of *Paragranum*, the abused teacher girds himself for a publicistic counterassault on the established medical theories of Galen and Avicenna and their Aristotelian underpinnings.¹² His concerted response requires a far-reaching re-conception of medicine and its related disciplines. Everything acquired in his university studies, Basel university preparations, alchemical experiments, or theological and exegetic speculations is pressed into the service of this general reform. The genesis of

¹¹ Other assertions in his writings contradict this assessment of ancient classical medicine by postulating an even more pristine Adamic healing art (see S 7:370).

¹² There is substantial evidence that *Paragranum* and *Opus Paramirum* had been in planning. *Paramirum* is anticipated by references to coming “paramiran” works; *Paragranum* by references to the “pillars” (“seulen”) of medicine as part of an emerging synthesis of ideas. *Andere Ausarbeitung über Terpentin, samt Abhandlung über den Honig* (S 2:177ff.), a work partially parallel to *Von den natürlichen Dingen* (S 2:59ff.), mixes celestial with herbal virtues and astronomical forces with alchemical *arcana*. Moreover, it contains prototypes for P.’s understanding of *mumia* and *manna* (“terpentin” 183; “honig” 196). A related draft ends by announcing a project called “*lumen apothecariorum*” (203), ascribing the true medicine and wisdom to Christ, and asserting that God created “die vier natürliche seulen, als in philosophiam, astronomiam, physicam und alchiam” (S 2:203). This hint of a transitional development in which the “pillars” emerged from another project that was perhaps never realized suggests that this could be one of the earliest references to the plan of *Paragranum*. The fragment of a work *Von hinfallenden Siechtagen der Mutter*, which anticipates the theme of the work on the *matrix* reproduced here, looks back at P.’s Basel opponents and repeatedly promises an introduction to “philosophie und astronomie ... dan dieselbigen zwei sind die theorik und die ganz verstendnus” (S 8:320, 339, 340, etc.). Here medical authority is attributed to a “theoric von got bekant,” “theory known from God” (341). Alchemy is integral to medicine, though it is not designated here as a “pillar.” These and other references suggest that the plan to renovate medicine on the basis of P.’s teaching of the “pillars” was at this stage both paramount and in flux.

his response can be traced by way of allusions and diatribes recalling the conflicts of Basel and Nuremberg. From the beginning of 1530 to the conclusion of the cycle of “paramiran” works, Paracelsus attempts to set forth the theoretical foundations of his new medicine in the writings translated here.

In rejecting Avicenna and Galen, Paracelsus crossed a Rubicon. The first book and section of Avicenna’s *Canon* was foundational for academic medicine, situating it in the hierarchy of the arts and sciences and expounding the received medical understanding of philosophy, physiology, and regimen.¹³ His disavowal threatened to undermine the medical curriculum which he had begun to conceive in Basel and still aspired to disseminate. His new “theorica medica, die in vier seulen stehet” had to be comprehensive. The project of elaborating a new theory became ever more focal, nurtured by the spirit of the age. Luther had challenged the entrenched authority of the Roman Church by returning to the true font of all theological authority. Paracelsus attempted to do the same within his sphere.

The First Pillar, Philosophy

His new medical theory could only rest on the authority of nature itself: “Who is a better teacher in this than nature itself?” “Now that we have concluded that the physician must be educated by nature, we must ask, what is nature but philosophy? What is philosophy other than the invisible nature?” (H 2:23) Nature is an embodiment of truth, authored like Scripture by God. In a sense peculiar to Paracelsus, natural philosophy leads to human self-recognition: “That is what phi-

¹³ Siraisi depicts the abiding foundational importance of Avicenna’s *Canon* from the Middle Ages until after this time: “The brief text of *Canon* 1.1 occupies a position of considerable significance in the history of ways of thinking about the philosophy of medicine and physiology. For several hundred years, this section provided medical students and others with a coherent and well-crafted survey of the fundamentals of a largely Galenic physiology set in the context of Aristotelian natural philosophy, and with a concise expression of some of the key concepts of scholastic medical thought. In university medical curricula, the first book of the *Canon*, and especially the first section of that book, was early adopted as a textbook of *theoria*, the branch of medicine that acquainted the neophyte with the nature of medical science, the position of medicine in the hierarchy of arts and sciences, and the proper relationship of medicine and philosophy, as well as with the basic principles of physiology, pathology, and regimen” (ARI 10).

losophy is: [things] are in the human being in the same way that they are outside, intangibly, as if one were looking at oneself in a mirror” (H 2:24). Powerful claims are made for the theory of microcosm and macrocosm: it will resolve the questions of specific cures in a way that the theories of the degrees or of the humors cannot (H 2:28). In constructing the relationship of microcosm to macrocosm as that of parent to child, the author incorporates the font of human life and medical wisdom into his argument: “it is a wisdom given by the *parentes microcosmi* [in order for them] to recognize the *microcosmus* as their son” (H 2:25-26).

Following this same reasoning, he rejects a medicine based on treatment by contraries. In medicine like should heal like. This is grounded in the author’s Christian understanding of a merciful God. The same relation is extended to the nomenclature of diseases. These are to be known by a macrocosmic designation based on their cure: “In this way the natural physician understands how it is that in the great world anatomy can be discerned as in the small [world]. You should say that *morbis* is [of] *pulegium*” [an aromatic herb, penny royal] (H 2:27), which is to say, the disease should be known by its effective herbal remedy.

The Second Pillar, Astronomy

This bold beginning soon forces Paracelsus to undertake adjustments that modify the sense of his terms. Already in defining philosophy as nature invisible, he assigns astronomy to the upper part of the natural cosmos. This compels him to reassign philosophy to the lower part of the cosmos, thus reconfiguring it from the whole to the part. Astronomy is concerned with the upper elements of air and fire, philosophy with the lower elements of earth and water. This also causes the notion of *parentes microcosmi* to evolve. The stars are the “father” of the human being. The elements are frequently characterized as maternal: “mütter” or *matres*. Since the paternal *astra* (the stars or the firmament) and the *matres* (the elements) are both present in the upper as well as the lower sphere of the cosmos, the sense of the hierarchical paradigm devolves from space to generative power. The *astra* are higher in that they perform the active role in generation and transformation, as compared to the passive role of the elements. The contrived

and evolving scheme of macrocosm and microcosm reveals the generative paradigm at its root.

For medical theory, this state of affairs implicates the cosmic reciprocity and invisibility of processes. Galenic medicine knew a foundation which was in a sense solidly empirical in the humors and their corresponding elements. All of this was restrictive to the proponent of alchemical medicine. Paracelsus counters by positing arcane cosmic operations that are manifest in the suspended condition of the firmament or in its exertions of influence. These make it plausible to infer comparably subtle operations in the field of medicine and its human subject. The presence of these operations is evidenced by otherwise inexplicable phenomena such as the translucence of crystal or the structured suspension of the yolk within the egg. The latter is his favored model for the structural suspension of the inner spheres of the cosmos (H 2:45).

Moreover, that which we recognize in penetrating the external, elemental-humoral appearances of things is the same as that which effects our recognition: the *astrum* or arcane power of the stars (H 2:46). In the same way that like *heals* like, like *recognizes* like. Since the firmament stands in a paternal relationship to the human being, mental regression to the parentless Adam transforms metaphor into literal kinship. Adam's parental origin lay in the *limbus* out of which the first man was made. A finer substance than a mere clump of earth, it incorporated the very stuff of the stars. Though it is sometimes cited as the source of that which is noblest in the human creature, here the *limbus* also appears to be the seed of all diseases that afflict human beings (H 2:49).

An understanding of nature in the light of revealed truth is the root of self-recognition (H 2:53). The purpose of philosophy, astronomy, and cosmography lies within the human being. Without the contextualizing understanding supplied by these disciplines to all medical applications, remedies, and procedures, they are in vain. Processes take place through time, and the heavens are the embodiment of time. To ignore this or reject the new medicine is to court disaster.

The Third Pillar, Alchemy

Alchemy is an art. As such, it partakes of the growing prestige of all the arts. These have acquired a remarkable skill at finishing and refining the things nature yields in an unfinished state or crude form. Without alchemy, medicine would have to remain in its ludicrously primitive condition. Alchemy is able to refine materials because it has an understanding of the astronomical dimension of medicine. Alchemy directs or guides the astral powers. It is an art that resides in nature itself, in the digestive powers of the stomach or in the external “stomach,” elsewhere called the *archeus*, that transforms things, and in the immanent *scientia* which guides such processes. Implicitly redemptive, alchemy holds sway over the *arcana*. They transcend the destructible *corpora* as the soul transcends the body (H 2:66, cf. 53-55). As a master over time and process, the alchemist knows about *mumia*. It is a curing or preserving, mummified or mummifying, material. It need not be sought abroad among the heathens. It can be found close to home in nature (H 2:68). The alchemist puts the ignorant apothecary to shame.

What has been written by such traditional authors as Pliny or Dioscorides is subject to verification by the alchemist (H 2:70). His transforming role contrasts with the mixing and covering up undertaken by the apothecaries. Alchemy can render poison salubrious (H 2:76).

The Fourth Pillar, Proprietas or Virtue

Paracelsus’ discussion of *proprietas* is the fourth foundation of medicine, missing from the earlier references to the pillars. Here he emphasizes the Christ-like role of the physician implicit in his preceding remarks. The false physicians are Pharisees, hypocrites, and false prophets. The faithful physician exercises an apostolic office. In accordance with the pattern of like healing like and like knowing like, the healing virtues utilized in medicine require the ethical virtue of the physician (H 2:86). The author’s extended allusion to the seed that must die in the ground in order to bring forth fruit here evokes the moribund state of affairs in medicine and its imminent resurrection (H 2:89). The true physician excels in knowledge of all the wonders of nature, whether manifest in alchemical processes or in monsters of the

deep (H 2:92). In conclusion, the author declaims that the true physician commands a lore and learning of breath-taking universality (H 2:92). By virtue of this cosmic mastery, the true physician awakens a faith and trust in the miraculous powers of God—the ultimate agent of healing (H 2:95).

Das Buch Paragranum is a theory of the disciplines, comparable in this regard to the presumably earlier *Volumen Paramirum* (*Entien-Schrift*), a draft in which the five substances of disease (*entia*) were explicated.¹⁴ *Paragranum* also anticipates the more elaborate organization of disciplines in *Astronomia Magna*. Moreover, both in affiliating philosophy, astronomy, and alchemy, and in treating the alchemical and herbal powers as if both were on the same plane, *Paragranum* parallels the category-mixing tendency in the Basel-era drafts, *De Gradibus* and *De Modo Pharmacandi* (S 4), the similar confabulation in *Herbarius* and *Von den natürlichen Dingen* (S 2), or in his critical commentary on the herbalist poems of pseudo-Macer (S 3). Paracelsus had attempted to combine alchemical and herbal medicine at a more practical level in Basel. *Paragranum* resumes the task with a theoretical meditation on the relation of the disciplines. The “paramiran” works that follow pursue the nexus of disciplines by contemplating the core nature of process, birth, transformation, and the relationship of the visible world of the body to the invisible world of animate spirit.

Opus Paramirum

The importance of support or patronage for the wandering physician and author and his effusive dedications to the “Doctor and Mayor Joachim von Watt” (Vadianus) suggest that the writings from St. Gall might have been crafted to appeal to a potential sponsor and medical

¹⁴ Since the causes of disease are multifarious, so are the medical “faculties” that address them. There is a partial correspondence between the substance-causes (*entia*) of diseases in the *Volumen* and the disciplines expounded in *Paragranum*: *ens astrale* and *ens venale* in the earlier work correspond to medical astronomy and alchemy, respectively. The *naturales* in medicine are the followers of Galen and Avicenna (S 1:167), whose humoral medicine is to be overcome by the new philosophy which takes nature in its entirety as its teacher. The *ens spiritale* anticipates the treatise on the “Invisible Diseases” (see below), a supernaturalism that is not divine. The divine *ens deale* points toward all the writings of Paracelsus concerned either with theology or the divine sources of healing and the corresponding apostolic office of the physician.

colleague, renowned among Humanists and Protestant reformers.¹⁵ This thesis should neither be excluded nor exaggerated. In certain respects, the St. Gall writings are unreservedly iconoclastic and therefore a poor gambit for gaining the favor of such a staid object of veneration. There are even firmer grounds for recognizing the *Opus Paramirum* and accompanying works as the long awaited and repeatedly heralded “paramiran” keystone of his corpus. This refers to a designation that advertises coming writings said to be essential to all sorts of salient questions (see note on H 1:67). The writings which bear that title offer a justification for medical alchemy that discretely but unmistakably anchors it in theology and Scripture.

The exposition begins by exalting fire. It is the tool and medium of the alchemist, but also the essence of nature as process, the means for validating truth, and the modality of divine revelation: “fire is that which makes visible what is obscure” (H 1:69). By way of fire, a “science” concealed in nature becomes manifest. The exposition is particularly rich in allusions to the Gospel. The *tria prima* or three substances dominate the first few chapters. That the pattern of nature embodied in the three is trinitarian remains implicit. It is spelled out in another writing of the period (G 3:63).

Though fire pertains to the praxis of the alchemist, the author is keenly aware of the dangers of generalizing from particular to universal. Chapter Two avers that it is not hit-or-miss experimentation but

¹⁵ Pirmin Meier’s *Paracelsus. Arzt und Prophet* (Zurich: Pendo, 1998) discusses P. in St. Gall. Neither P.’s arrival nor departure date is certain. On acquaintances P. shared with Vadianus and the lack of evidence that the two met, see Conradin Bonorad, *Joachim Vadian und der Humanismus im Bereich des Erzbistums Salzburg* (St. Gall: Fehr, 1980), 175-76. The incompatibility of P.’s new medicine with the humanistic medicine of Vadianus can be inferred from Werner Näf, *Vadian und seine Stadt St. Gallen* (St. Gall: Fehr, 1944), “Doctor medicinae” (146-59), and Bernard Milt’s *Vadian als Arzt* (St. Gall: Fehr, 1959). On the role of Vadianus in the reformation of St. Gall, see Gordon Rupp, *Patterns of Reformation* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), “Vadianus and Johannes Kessler of St. Gall” (357ff.). P. was in the city during a critical period between the decisive battles for secularization and the removal of images in the abbey and the death of Zwingli in battle and the return of the abbot in 1531. Background is found in Bruce Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 89-92 (on the St. Gall and Basel Anabaptists, see 202-05). P. was perhaps drawn to the reformer whose early zeal against relic-worship matched the views P. expressed in St. Gall. See Ernst Göttinger, *Joachim Vadian, der Reformator und Geschichtsschreiber von St. Gallen, Schriften für Reformationsgeschichte* 13 (Halle: Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1895), 16.

rather contemplation of the macrocosm that discloses the secrets of nature: “above all, the physician must know the three substances and all their properties in the great world, for then the physician has ascertained it in the human being as well” (H 1:73-74). The author adopts the philosophical terminologies of the *prima* and *ultima materia*, but he also avers that the *prima materia mundi* coincides with the “*fiat*” of Genesis, the “let there be” of the Creator. Hence, at the root of nature as process lies the mystery of the divine will. As the subject of medicine, the human being consists of the three substances *sulphur*, *mercurius*, and *salt*, which are primordially aggregated in the substance called *limbus*. Again, the elements are *matres*. At the close of Chapter Two, the author projects a non-humoral reconfiguration of disease as organic and “male” in its derivation from the *limbus*: “It must rather be stated that every male property is found in disease, and that it is properly called a man: as it is with him who is born from the perfect *limbus*, so [it is] also with disease” (H 1:77-78).

Since the basic tendency of Paracelsus’ speculation is toward recognition of the natural multiplicity of things, he refers in Chapter Three to the varieties of *sulphur* and undertakes a corresponding reconfiguration of his model of nature as process. The fire which ignites the *sulphur* is astral and therefore male. The multiplicity within nature is intelligible as the very divisibility that constitutes its destructibility: “Yet the cause that these things are so errant and multifarious is the following. It is that Christ says: any realm that is divided in itself passes away: for only the kingdom in Christ remains; it is not temporal. For this reason, the body is not eternal but mortal, temporal; and since it is temporal, it must pass away” (H 1:80-81).

Chapter Four rejects the traditional understanding of disease as composite and humoral. Opposed to this is the concept of the astral *impression*. Chapter Five applies the concept of the image. In effect, it implies that likeness is the key to the nature and properties of things, to the human being, to diseases, and to herbs or flowers: “whoever has a disease with the anatomy of the rose should rejoice to see before his eyes that God has provided him medicine of a kind that confronts him merrily and that helps joyously [and] and with consolation. The same is true of the lily, of the lavender, and indeed of all things” (H 1:89). Citations from the Gospels again confirm that the healing power of like acting upon like is rooted in the divine mercy.

Chapter Six alters and adapts the concept of anatomy to the medicine of likeness and alchemy. The healing powers in things are not accessible to the sort of anatomy that is based on physical dissection. “The rose is magnificent in its first life; and it is adorned by its taste.... It must rot, and die as such, and be reborn: Only then can you speak of administering its medicinal powers” (H 1:92). Anatomy based on dissection pertains only to the *microcosmus localis* (H 1:93). However, the essential transforming powers lie in the three substances. There are three “anatomies”: the two aforementioned and a third, the anatomy of death. Recognizing their forms and meanings is reminiscent of the wonders revealed in Christ (H 1:95-96).

Chapter Seven applies the notion of likeness counter-intuitively. Even where the likeness is not evident, its seed is still present. Natural processes carve it out and fashion things through digestion and by virtue of the power of the Creator into their appropriate forms (H 1:98-89). The wondrousness of life-sustaining processes inspire the author to postulate the theologically conditioned paradox of two human bodies which are one: “we have two bodies in a sense, and yet are only a single body, yet again created in a twofold manner: in the seed and in the nourishment” (H 1:100). The two bodies are functions of justice and mercy: the first is congenital, the second perpetually renewed (H 1:101).

Chapter Eight expands on the theme of the two bodies and adds to it that of the rules-based medicine of the *regimen sanitatis* or diet. This is contrasted with a medicine embodying the mercy of Christ, the medicine administered by the Paracelsian physician. In opposition to the false medicine which is now being practiced, the new medicine will allow the divine *mysteria* and *magnalia* to become manifest. The author contextualizes the new medicine within a progressive revelation that encompasses the wonders of Old Testament longevity and of the giants.

Chapter One of Book Two transfers the conceptual dynamics of the *tria prima* from the three aspects of combustion to those of organic growth with implications for the understanding of disease as process. This supports the intended shift from a medicine of elemental humors or quantitative degrees to a new medicine based on organic individuals and transformations effected by arcane powers. Chapter Two expands the new concepts of illness and remedy by incorporating references to herbs and alchemical-astral powers. He has recourse to the

cosmic dimensions of all processes and to the poles of redemptive rebirth, on the one hand (H 1:111-12), and of Lucifer's rebellion, on the other (H 1:113). The simultaneity of references complicates the exposition but also augments its authority. Chapter Three evokes a medication which encompasses all things: "Thus is the great *compositum*. That is to say that the true medicine proceeds...from the heavens and the earth and from all the elements and from their powers" (H 1:119). The spagyric art of the alchemist evokes the work of separation effected by the Creator in Genesis. The chapter concludes with a vivid presentation of the multifarious workings of death personified as a stealthy thief.

Chapters Four through Six return to the project of a predominantly alchemical description of disease as natural process. These chapters may be thought of as a bridge to the following treatise on the diseases of *tartarus*. Chapter Seven takes up the subject of congenital diseases, thereby anticipating the coming work devoted to female medicine. For Paracelsus, conception and procreation are the very essence of woman. Chapter Eight begins by evoking the "invisible body," thereby anticipating the explicit theme of the last treatise from St. Gall, that on the so-called "invisible diseases."

The interrelatedness of the writings of 1531 beginning with the two books of the *Opus Paramirum* appears attenuated with respect to the medical content of these works. Their affiliation is more significant in terms of the author's Christian humanism and his frequent extended allusions to the Bible. All sciences and arts culminate in the human being. To study the human being is to study human origins. As Genesis recounts, human origins lie in the creation of the world and of Adam and in the procreative role assigned to woman. To study macrocosmic nature or the human constitution in the light of truth is to look beyond phenomenal things to the invisible order of the soul and to the wondrous powers of God. From start to finish, the St. Gall writings rely heavily on the assumption that higher—invisible, celestial, and divine—powers can be inferred from visible things, whether the finite human microcosm or the external nature of the macrocosm.

The *tria prima* which are central to the *Opus Paramirum* were anticipated in the medical and alchemical writings at least since Basel. Important additional treatments of the three are found in *Von den natürlichen Dingen* (S 2), *Von den ersten drei Principiis*, *De Natura Rerum* (S 3), *De Generationibus...Elementorum*, the *Meteorum*

(S 13), and other writings. Their theological significance was also elucidated in *De Genealogia Christi* (G 3:63), a roughly contemporaneous work in which the light of nature and the eternal light are ascribed to the same source in the Holy Spirit (73). The authority granted to the *tria prima* lays a groundwork for analyzing disease as process, with the *tartarus* as the pathogenic embodiment of a failed or aborted process. But despite a few inconclusive efforts by the author, a comprehensive system of disease classification is never developed on the basis of the *tria prima* and their relationships.

De Morborum Origine et Causa (On the *Tartarus* Diseases)

The transforming and digesting art of alchemy is the signature art of the medical author who understands nature itself as the bearer of a macrocosmic stomach or *archeus*, an organ of digestion and transformation. Therefore, it is not surprising that the diseases associated with *tartarus* figure so prominently that their discussion approximates a major objective announced for the coming “paramiran” work: that of a description of the origin of all diseases (cf. S 8:105). To understand the present work on *tartarus*, it is essential to bear in mind that it infers the processes of digestion from those of alchemical laboratory processes. Such processes and a non-tartaric stone are interpreted in the Sixth Treatise on the basis of macrocosmic processes in nature. Microcosm and macrocosm, constituted by the association of like with like and by the analysis of nature in accordance with the *tria prima*—nature’s likeness with its Creator—are implicit in the present discussion as well, but here they are less prominent. Observable processes guide the exposition.

With relatively few digressions, the treatise on *tartarus* follows a clear outline. The first treatise introduces the problem of the elimination of waste matter as specific to food types. The second discusses the *tartarus* with reference to the expulsion of solid waste; the third with reference to urine; the fourth with reference to other organs that maintain their own digestion and elimination; and the fifth with reference to the same processes as they occur in the blood, flesh, and marrow. The sixth treatise transfers attention from the human body to the macrocosmic or meteorological equivalents of the processes associated with the generation of *tartarus* and other stones.

This treatise on the origin of diseases from the *tartarus* looks back to many previous discussions—*Von den podagrishen Krankheiten* (S 1), *Brüchstück vom Wein* (S 2), *Das 6. Buch in der Arznei: von tartarischen Krankheiten* (S 2), the Basel *Vorlesung über tartarische Krankheiten* and related materials (S 5)—as well as forward to *Das Buch von den tartarischen Krankheiten an Pfarrer von Brant in Eferdingen* (S 11) of 1537-38. In the present work, theological allusions are largely subliminal, confined to the fact that the term *tartarus* may allude to Hell and that arcane spirits guide the process of digestion as does divine spirit the processes of creation.

On the Matrix

The relationship of observation to theory is virtually the opposite in the treatise on the *matrix*. Woman is understood as a birth-giving “*matrix*” of offspring, as the “smallest world,” ranking after the natural macrocosm and the male microcosm. The paradigm of an hermetically segregated maternal essence of woman draws on Genesis. Woman is a field into which seed is sown (H 1:195). The mystery of the generative *matrix* in woman is tantamount to the mystery of human origin itself (H 1:201). Moreover, the *matrix* is like the nebulous waters over which the spirit of God hovered in Genesis 1:2 (H 1:202). The male counterpart of the *matrix* is the *limbus* or *prima materia* of the human being (H 1:204). Likeness, microcosm and macrocosm, are the organizing principle of Paracelsus’ thought. The birth-giving *matrix* as a likeness of the world’s creation in Genesis extends this reasoning so that human conception and birth appear as a microcosm of cosmogony. Moreover, since the elements are also understood as *matrices* or “mothers,” the work in effect extends and fleshes out Paracelsus’ cosmology.

The biblical and macrocosmic paradigms dominate the discussion. Menstruation is rendered mythic by its comparison with seas and tides (H 1:207) or with a fruit-bearing tree (H 210). *Suffocatio matricis* and *caducus* are cited as paradigmatic examples of female afflictions (H 1:226ff.). Their presentation in his writings has been characterized as Paracelsus’ contribution to the ancient and controversial diagnosis of female hysteria. Here it is a matter of justifying his medical theory as a whole. As the treatise shifts its center of gravity to metaphysical argumentation, the author uses the special and distinct character ascribed to gynecology as a cudgel for smiting the universalizing or gender-free tendencies of established medicine. Not only are all dis-

eases or healing virtues of plants and substances varied and unique. The female well-spring of generation is also distinct from the male standard of human existence.

The work recasts three themes found elsewhere: 1. the writings on the generation of the human being elaborated in *Das Buch von der Gebärung der empfindlichen Dinge in der Vernunft* and in the similar or parallel fragment of *Ein Büchlein (Philosophia) de Generatione Hominis* (S 1:241ff., 287ff.); 2. the theme of *Von hinfallenden Siechtagen der Mutter* (S 8) and the other writings devoted to *caducus* or “*fallend*,” to the extent that they refer to a female malady; and 3. the theme of the third and fourth chapters (St. Vitus’ dance and *suffocatio intellectus* respectively) in *Das siebente Buch in der Arznei, Von den Krankheiten, die der Vernunft berauben* (S 2:407-19). Significantly, the third chapter of *Das siebente Buch* can be read as a prototype for the final work translated in this volume.

On the Invisible Diseases

Though a separate work, the treatise on the “Invisible Diseases” refers back to the immediately preceding writings. The author begins by announcing that, after completing the previous “three books in the light of nature” (H 1:238), he has said enough about the ailments of the visible and physical portion of the microcosm. He will therefore proceed to a new objective concerned with that which is invisible (“*unsichtbar*”) and yet palpable or tangible (“*greiflich*”) (H 1:239). With regard to this objective, we are all comparable to the blind who touch and grasp things that are not visible to them (H 1:239).

This peculiar opening assertion suggests that what is to come implicates a spirit realm in which the authority of the light of nature is to be extended from the visible to an invisible reality. The author states that, “we should be aware that every [sort of] *practica* should flow out of *theorica*” (H 1:244). Theological considerations predominate with the “invisible diseases.” Though he refers to them as “*Geisteskrankheiten*” (H 1:244), they are maladies of the spirit or spirits rather than internal psychic disorders. Like all other facts and works of creation, the invisible diseases also reveal the miraculous powers of God (H 1:242-43). When the author pronounces that we who are confined to the visible light of nature find it unbelievable that human beings could be possessed by the devil and yet redeemed by Christ (H 1:243),

his words resonate with the many instances of spirit possession and exorcism in the New Testament. By combining medical with religious issues in each of its books, *On the Invisible Diseases* offers a medical-spiritual diagnosis of the religious troubles of a critical phase of the Reformation.

Book One treats of those things that befall human beings through faith. Faith or belief (“der Glaube”) possesses a supernatural power distinct from the true faith in God or Christ. This power should not be abused to test or tempt God (H 1:246ff.). Faith can cause illness (H 1:250ff.). The abuse of faith leads to the superstition of the saints as the agents of health and sickness (H 1:255). The author discusses several diseases that bear saints’ names. He describes the supernatural investment of faith which actually causes them (H 1:260ff.) and concludes with a remarkable explanation of St. Vitus’ dance (H 1:263ff.). Dreams are manifestations of faith exercised in a pathogenic way (H 1:268).

Book Two (*De Impressionibus Coeli Occulti*) is missing. Book Three turns to a subject that intrigued the philosophy of the Renaissance and shadowed the Reformation emphasis on the redeeming power of faith: the imagination as a supernatural force that somehow leaps the chasm between spirit and body so that the former acts supernaturally upon the latter (H 1:269ff.). Imagination has a special bearing on conception, pregnancy, and procreation. It is a mental intention or plan which can acquire real physical force (H 1:272ff.). The materially inexplicable action of imagination is comparable to agencies in the astronomical, meteorological, magnetic, or alchemical spheres, which also challenge explanations based on common sense (274ff.). Moreover, sexual desire and its attendant imagination are susceptible to an unwholesome lasciviousness, conducive to the *incubus*, *succubus*, and other unnatural agencies of conception (H 1:282ff.). Against this twilight spirit realm, marriage is a serious precaution whenever chastity is unattainable (H 1:286).

Book Four (H 1:288ff.) responds in an ambivalent fashion to prevalent notions of image magic, the healing powers of pilgrimage sites, and the relics of saints. Paracelsus would remain faithfully Christian while opposing hagiolatry. Though reform-minded, he propounds his own supernaturalism of *mumia*. In his abstruse and tangled reasoning, his application of the principle of *similia à similibus* to the Creation

reclaims for his project a peculiar measure of consistency (cf. H 1:290, note).

Book Five (306ff.) undertakes an ambiguous reclamation of magic “characters.” “Therefore, it is my purpose to describe the powers of names and words, whether spoken or written, and how [these powers] come into being” (H 1:307). He argues on scriptural grounds for an appropriation of the magical powers of the satanic enemy to serve human purposes. Though his discussion does little to satisfy our curiosity about magic practices in his time, his warnings and insinuations offer an evocative reprise of the no man’s land between God and Satan in the age of Martin Luther and Dr. Faustus.

Writings thematically related to the work on *The Invisible Diseases* include the Fourth Book (“*ens spiritale*”) of the *Volumen Paramirum* (S 1:215ff.) which discusses the use of images and characters; *The Seventh Book on Medicine* (*Das 7. Buch in der Arznei*—S 2), Book Eight of *Von Ursprung und Herkommen der Franzosen* (S 7), the “Munich Mantischer Entwurf” (S 10), *De Imaginibus* and *De Meteorum* (S 13); and, of special relevance, several treatises in *Philosophia Magna* (S 14): *De Virtute Imaginativa*; *De Sagis*; *Liber Sanctorum*; *De Gigantibus*; *De Superstitionibus*; and *De Characteribus*, as well as the presumably concurrent theological works, *De Potentia et Potentia Gratia Dei* (G 1), *De Secretis Secretorum Theologiae*, and *Liber de Imaginibus Idolatriae* (G 3).

The sources, cross-references, and themes of the writings encompassed in this volume include nearly all thematic categories from Paracelsus’ work: his writings on medical theory; his alchemical works; his treatises on specific diseases such as syphilis, gout, and plague; his instructional notes and lectures from the Basel and immediate post-Basel periods; his writings on natural, meteorological, astronomical, and astrological matters; those on supernatural, theological or “social-ethical” themes; and the surgical works. The cross-references from the writings of 1530-31 extend backward—from the “pillars” of *Paragranum* to Paracelsus’ Salzburg and Basel disputes and his discussions of herbal powers and alchemical processes in *Von den natürlichen Dingen* (S 2:88-89), in which the *arcanum* or the *signatur* (111-14) are ascribed to God. Moreover, the writings of this middle period suggest the beginnings of a transition from his practical concerns to the more celestial and obsessively theocentric world of *Astronomia Magna*.

The Significance of Ambiguity

In my monograph, *Paracelsus: Speculative Theory and the Crisis of the Early Reformation*, I called for a work-centered approach to Paracelsus and for attention to the hybrid of naturalism and theology which he referred to as *theorica*. The commentary and cross-references in this volume should provide an introduction to the work as a whole by offering a facilitated access to several of his key theoretical writings. The approach taken here obviously cannot exhaust the objects of research. These will require the expertise of many different disciplines. One can only hope that historians of science, medicine, and religion, as well as students of German literature, the Reformation, and the Renaissance, will continue with this project, revising, correcting, and amending where necessary.

However, there is a research track which is confined to no discipline, though vital to the understanding of Paracelsus' writings in relation to both the culture of their period and the most far-reaching trajectory of their influence.¹⁶ I am referring to the ambiguities and anomalies of his writing. Scholars have often tended to acknowledge his ambiguities only in qualification, as a subtraction from their positive interpretations of his work. The perspective should be inverted. To attend to the anomalies of Paracelsus is to concentrate on the ragged or shadowy fringes of a graphic puzzle. What initially appears random and inconsistent gives evidence of a deliberate course traversing the contending principles of authority of the Reformation and Renaissance, navigating between theology, Humanism, and naturalism. Intentional ambiguities show up in stylistic figures, word play, rhetorical riddles, in the counterintuitive assertion or paradox, the

¹⁶ The most far-reaching trajectory of influence leads from Paracelsus by way of Jacob Boehme to German Idealism and Romanticism including Schelling, Hegel, and Schopenhauer. The continuity of development has been obscured by exaggerating the naturalism of Paracelsus and the mysticism of Boehme. Proof that Boehme followed Paracelsus in endeavoring to reconcile "philosophy" with astronomy ("astrology"), and "theology" can be found already in the subtitle of Boehme's first work, *Aurora*: "das ist: Die Wurtzel oder Mutter der Philosophiae, Astrologiae und Theologiae, aus rechtem Grund; oder Beschreibung der Natur/ Wie alles gewesen/ und im Anfang worden ist/ auch von beiden Qualitatäten, Bösen und Guten...." Nowhere else are more of the concepts and notions of Paracelsus absorbed and made the object of continuing speculation with such original and far-ranging consequences.

willful omission of premises of syllogistic argumentation (enthymeme),¹⁷ and, as we will see, in complex allusions which are essential to the context and meaning of his theoretical writings. Moreover, ambiguity asserts itself in Paracelsus' polemical and often programmatic misuse of medical and philosophical terms in pursuit of a strategy of redefining disciplines.

This applies first of all to his critique of the disciplines of philosophy, astronomy, anatomy, or *scientia*. His inconsistent use of the term *philosophia* should be examined in conjunction with Paracelsus' fierce rejection of Aristotle, whose name had been virtually synonymous with philosophy. This changed abruptly during Paracelsus' formative years. Controversies centered on received and Aristotelian doctrines of the soul, reason versus revelation, and the creation of the world erupted first in the Italy of Paracelsus' Ferraran student days and after 1517 in the German, Austrian, and Swiss lands that the returning doctor found shaken by Luther's break with established church doctrines and scholastic and Aristotelian teachings.¹⁸ Justly or not, Aristotle came to embody for Paracelsus the blind refusal to recognize the obvious diversity and mutability of substances. Discussing the marvelous possibilities of vitriol, he proclaims: "dorumb meld ich die transmutation, das der blau philosophus Aristoteles in seiner philosophei nicht wol ergrünt sei gewesen" ("Therefore I proclaim transformation, about which the drunken philosopher Aristotle in his philosophy had no thorough knowledge"—S 2:163). What speaks to us here is a new sense of possibility. Nature is immensely heterogeneous. Substances as well as diseases are subject to change. Unfortunately, this new sensibility does not clarify the relation of philosophy to logic or tradition, nor does it explain the relation of philosophical questions to medical practices. Paracelsus does implicate his philosophy in contemporary

¹⁷ Characteristic for P.'s frequent word play is his use of the word "Zirk" that can mean either dung or stars in order to equivocate between the two (H 2:43). A rhetorical riddle (H 1:91) asks what the outcome might be if the medications of Christ are applied. ("The wound is the field, the oil and wine the seed—now guess what the fruit should be!") Characteristic of his use of paradox is his assertion: "Thus we eat ourselves" (H 1:98). As observed by Hartmut Rudolph, enthymeme is a truncated syllogism. For example, omitting the premise that, just as things have incidental properties of hot or cold, so they also have incidental colors, results in this logical leap: "It is true that a disease must be hot or cold. For what is there that has no color?" (H 1:85).

¹⁸ See my discussion of the relevance of this dispute, Weeks².

questions concerning the origin of the soul or the natural world understood in the light of Scripture.

The term *astronomia* is equally ambiguous. What is notable is not the mixture of astronomy with astrology, which is less evident in his thinking than in that of some of his contemporaries. What is noteworthy about the “astronomy” of Paracelsus is that it entails neither distance nor mathematics. The *astra* or “gestirn” are pervasive: in herbs, metals, medications, and the human being. His exegesis (“Uslegung”) of the comet of August 1531 is informed by a sense of grave portent and apocalyptic catastrophe. In reading the celestial signs, Ptolemy counts for nothing and Holy Scripture for everything.

Paracelsus’ use of the term *anatomia* flies in the face of its conventional meaning, which was well known to him. What he calls the anatomy of a body, thing, or process is an intuited configuration relating it to the correspondences of microcosm and macrocosm. The great and small worlds are correlative concepts which owe as much to Christianity and the Middle Ages as to ancient philosophy or the Renaissance (see note on H 2:24). Science for Paracelsus is virtually the opposite of systematic observation. Immanent in nature, *scientia* reveals itself to inspired intuition.

Distinct from Paracelsus’ *a*-logical philosophy, *non*-mathematical astronomy, and *non*-physical anatomy, his *alchimia* is an art: part craft, part lore, part inspired intuition, with many practical components. Yet it is not transparent in its handling of substances. It knows nothing of the relatively modern respect accorded a century earlier by Nicholas of Cusa to the significance of weight and measurement in medicine. The imponderable variety and mutability of nature are paramount. Weight is insignificant since minerals and metals grow and increase organically. Their true essences are not elemental. The alchemist is an “artist” whose experience, intuition, and skill elicit new things from the raw material of the old, analogous to the God who is both Creator and Redeemer.

Everywhere ambiguity and mystery reign supreme. The essences of things are called by a great variety of names: virtues (“tugend”), forces (“krefte”), tinctures, *quintae essentiae*, *arcana*, *magnalia*, *mysteria*, to recall only the most common. These concepts are not clearly distinguished. Even when a differentiation is undertaken, as in the early *Archidoxis*, the distinctions are not maintained in his other writ-

ings. The theological as well as the medical or nature-oriented writings confirm that these forces or essences are rooted in a nature which continues to increase and develop in order to benefit the human creature and reveal the mercy of the Creator:

das seindt groß heimlich gedanken und dieß betrachtung an got, daß er solche zukunfftige merung geordnet und furgesetzt hat; darzu groß heimlich ding und magnalia bei solchen deinen werken, groß arcana geben, groß misteria, groß dugent, kraft und eigenschaft. und die ding alle hastu in dein geschepf gemacht und gelegt dem menschen zu nutz und zu gutem, aus deiner barmherzigkeit wachsen und kumen on sein hinzutun in seim schlaf.

Those are great mysterious thoughts and profound reflections upon God: that he should have ordered and preordained such future increase, as well as great mysterious things and magnalia in your [i.e., all human] works of this kind, imparting [to them] great *arcana*, great *mysteria*, great virtues, forces, and qualities. And you [God] have introduced all these things into your creation and placed it at the disposal and for the benefit of the human being, from your mercy [allowing] them to grow and come about without [human] doing, in his very sleep. (G 4:244, on Vulgate Ps. 91 (92):6: *Quam magnificata sunt opera tua, domine! nimis profundae factae sunt cogitatione tuae.*)

This is the voice of the psalm commentator and lay theologian. Similarly, the voice of the alchemist in *De Mineralibus* recognizes in God the “great artist”: “er ists alein, alles in allem, er ist rerum prima materia, er ist rerum ultima materia, er ist der alles ist.” (“it is he alone, all in all, he is *rerum prima materia*, he is *rerum ultima materia*, he is who is all” (S 3:34). The alchemical physician discussing the arcane virtues of herbs in *Von den natürlichen Dingen* recognizes that, “der selbige wil gottes ist das arcanum, das in den natürlichen dingen ist. ... und so vil arcana, so vil auch wiln gottes” (“the very will of God is the *arcanum* in the things of nature. ... for as many *arcana* as there are, there is a corresponding multiplicity of [manifestations of] the divine will” (S 2:111). The natural and theological work (cf. G 1:310) both insist that nature is inherently diverse, as are the terms for describing it.

How are we to sort out his colorful spectrum of terms? Can an underlying system be found to account for his terminologies? Do his

terms name the same divine forces by their respective aspect? Did the terminological variety in naming the arcane virtues serve to stimulate the intuition of the alchemist-artist? Were they invoked simply to bolster his authority? Might his terms be equivalent to the mystical synonyms in Pseudo-Dionysius' treatise *On the Divine Names*? Are they best understood with reference to Gnostic and Esoteric tradition? These are all valid questions and worthwhile points of departure for further research. The evidence of the writings reproduced here suggests that Paracelsus' terms indeed refer to multiple and diverse qualities in nature, yet they are less indicative of a discriminating natural observation than of the wonder inspired by the innumerable mysteries imparted by the Creator to the natural creation. Similarly, the "signatures" or natural signs imparted to created things by God both "prefigure" their applications in the human realm and reaffirm their mysterious divine source (S 1:78-80).

To call Paracelsus' material and terminological concepts ambiguous is to say that research and debate should continue. The format of this volume is intended to present the work itself as the criterion for forming judgments. If his terms are studied in this context, their ambiguities point to a discontinuity in his worldview. The alchemical philosopher and physician was confronted in his practical endeavors with an unbridgeable chasm in the Great Chain of Being between inanimate elements on one side and the posited impact of the elemental forces upon the human subject of health on the other. How could lifeless *materiae medicae* or the base substances of the alchemist act upon and within the animate creature? What is the kinship of elements or body to the living spirit or soul?

Whatever the sources of Paracelsus' terms—alchemical, Gnostic, Hermetic, or mystical—his terminological ambiguities sustain the underlying current of his thought. Any x may be transformed into a y because x latently contains y and y latently contains x . Viewed latently—i.e. as *arcane*—all is in all. In accordance with the same microcosmic reasoning which finds appropriate expression in Paracelsus' elaborate extended allusions, the mystery surrounding the sublimation of elemental forces from the inanimate into the animate sphere is surmounted by elevating chemical process itself into a dynamic unity of substances that is physical as well as metaphysical. Transformation is compatible with permanence because change is embodied in a dynamic unity of substances constituting all things as they are. The

virtues or *arcana* are eternal and akin to the human soul inasmuch as “got die selbigen kreft und tugent in die natur gossen hat, wie die sêl in menschen, und das die kreft der sêl nicht ungleich sind, allein das sie on anfang bei got gewesen sind” (“God poured those powers and virtues into nature, the way he [infused] the soul into the body, and the powers are not unlike the soul, except that they were in God without any beginning”—S 14:221). The multiplicity of divine forces is subsumed in the Paracelsian trichotomy of *sulphur*, *mercury*, and *salt*. These three constitute nature as a process of self-transforming combustion. In external nature, as well as in human procreation and pathogenic infection, there are “seeds” that bear a potential for directed transformation. Processes and forces are thus reified:

dan alle ding, die got beschafen hat, die hat er in der corporalitet gleicher proceß ausgeführt. aber anders den menschen gemacht, anders den baum, anders den stein, und den menschen sovil mer gemacht, darumb, das er nach seiner biltnus gemacht ist, das auch in im ist das ewig, das dan in den andern creatis nicht ist.

For all things that God created he executed in the corporeality of like process. But differently [was] the human being made, differently the tree, differently the stone, and the human being [was] made so much more, in that he is made after [God’s] image, for in [man] is the eternal too, which is not in the other created things. (S 3:39)

It appears that all natural things are created as distinct entities, fundamentally so in the case of the human image of the Creator. Yet all are alike in the processes of their corporeality. Transformation amounts to a successive emergence of distinct entities or beings from the realm of invisibility into the light of nature. In the profound recesses of invisible reality, the human imagination has its hidden passageways to the visible via the occult action of spirit upon physical matter. This is not our world.

Unique and Commonplace Elements

Clearly neither Paracelsus nor his contemporaries shared our sense of occupying a homogeneous universe where action at a distance follows immutable laws and the earthly elements pervade even the remotest galaxies. He had no access to realms invisibly small or inaccessibly

remote. This does not mean that he can be dissolved into some uniform brew of pre-modern strangeness. His worldview differs markedly from contemporaneous metaphysicians with whom he is too blithely categorized. His sense of the natural world contrasts with the hierarchically ordered universe of Reuchlin's *De Arte Caballistica*¹⁹ or of Agrippa von Nettesheim's *De Occulta Philosophia*.²⁰ The metaphysical constructs of Reuchlin or Agrippa are ascending, multi-tiered structures, in which access to the higher spheres is reserved for the elite disciplines of mathematics, astronomy, learned magic, and theology. There is an engraving of Nettesheim's cosmic-metaphysical architecture which represents his ascending worlds as a stacked tower or monument crowned by the radiant godhead of the Archetype.²¹ For Paracelsus there can be no such depiction. What he conceived of cannot be pictured. He compressed all the spheres and disciplines of Agrippa into one: that of medicine and its attendant knowledge. "The occult powers of the earthly firmament are disclosed by the physician. To him alone the occult powers of nature are made manifest. All other scholars are [to be] informed about these matters by the physician" (H 2:29). The quintessences and arcane or astral powers of the superior realms abide in his single conflated world. Since the *astra* are present without distance, everything appears to hover in a state of unsta-

¹⁹ See Johann Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah* [1517], trans. Martin and Sarah Goodman (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 117: "There are three kinds of world. The first is material, the second formal, the third formless. Or, if you prefer, the first is the lowest world, that of the senses; the second is the highest, that of the mind and the understanding; the third is above the highest—indescribable, divine."

²⁰ Composed under the influence of Trithemius in 1509-10, a printed version appeared in Paris/Lyon in 1531, before the Cologne edition of 1533. Henricus Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, *De Occulta Philosophia*, ed. and comment. Karl Anton Nowotny (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1967 [facsimile of the oldest printed edition from Cologne, 1533]), Book 1, chapter 1, sets the tone: "Cum triplex sit mundus, elementalís, cœlestis, & intellectualis, & quisque inferior à superiori regatur..." (13). The hierarchy of Agrippa represents both the cosmos and the disciplines required for gaining knowledge of its respective spheres. In rejecting and thereby appropriating the hierarchy of disciplines, P. conflates, though without equating, the spheres accessed respectively by natural philosophy, astronomy, and theology.

²¹ See Christoph Geissmar, *Das Auge Gottes. Bilder zu Jakob Böhme* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), 252. The vogue of metaphysical diagrams began prior to Paracelsus and gave rise to bold representations of the counterintuitive worldviews of Boehme, yet found little graphic inspiration in his writings.

ble suspension and animation. This results in a worldview rife with ambiguities and what modern logicians call category errors. We should be as wary of stamping his oddities with labels of Neo-Platonism or Gnosticism as of disregarding the overtones and resonances of his ideas which were clearly vibrant with hopes of practical, physical, and spiritual improvement for his contemporaries.

The ambiguity of Paracelsus' thought between theology and nature theory echoes the unstable ensemble of sixteenth-century Europe, as a world in which the spirits of the Middle Ages, Renaissance, Reformation, Humanism, and Esotericism clashed with and complemented one another in countless harmonies and discords. Modern reception and academic specialization exaggerate the disparity of what were simultaneous tendencies among contemporaries. Another comparison may suffice to make this point. Rabelais and Paracelsus appear to be polar opposites of the sixteenth-century intellectual universe: the French fabulist, wildly imaginative and outrageously satirical; the German physician, lacking irony and grimly obsessed with a sense of mission. In 1531, without knowledge of one another, the two wrote simultaneously on their *chefs d'oeuvre* as inspired outsiders of their respective societies.

Reading them together indicates how much they had in common as denizens of the same historical culture. They were both trained in the medicine of their time. Both wrote commentaries on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates and invoked the same cornucopia of beautiful, bizarre, or grotesque remedies.²² Their common stock of terms extends from the repulsive (stinking *assa fetida* and macabre “momie,” “mummy oil,” or *mumia*) to the sacred or beautiful (*verbena* as “la sacre herbe vervaine,” water-lily as “nénuphar”) to the magical and phantasmagoric (the use of divination, the legend of Mélusine, or the interest in giants shared by Paracelsus). Both had ideas about the transformation of the vile into the salubrious. We may recognize only grotesque humor in Rabelais's assertion that the “alchemists make the best salpêtre in the world from their urine. With their turds ... the physicians of our country cure seventy-eight kinds of complaints” (GP 464). But such a

²² Only a few of the shared terms are cited here. It remains for Rabelais scholars to compare Müller's index of Paracelsian terms with the *Concordance des Œuvres de François Rabelais*, which were my main sources for this cursory juxtaposition. The immediate gain for the non-specialist lies in recognizing that what might be mistaken for mere random verbiage in fact reflected a widespread medical culture.

claim would have made good sense to the German physician who was preoccupied with the transformations of saltpeter and the separation of the pure from the impure. Whether in jest or earnest, the two displayed the same boldness in re-imagining the inner workings of the body. Before their time, their radical imaginations might have been inhibited since too much was still believed, after their time because too much was already known.

Both professed to admire the natural marvels of their native soil. Rabelais' myth-mongering allusion to "celestial manna" (as comparable to, though less potent than, "the herb pantagruelion") would have been more than casual rhetoric to the German. For both could sing the praises of a fabled native mountain tree:²³ Rabelais, relating how its roots nourish "the good agaric," how its trunk yields a resin so excellent that Galen compared it to "turpentine" ("la térébenthine"), and "On its delicate leaves it catches for us that sweet honey of heaven, which is called manna" (GP 431; cf. COFR, "manne"); and Paracelsus, no less eager to cite his alchemical knowledge of "agaric" and "manna" and no less enthusiastic that the turpentine tree in the high mountains of his native German lands extracts influences from the heavens (S 2:63) and that his alchemical art, striving for the higher regions, distills the resin of this wondrous tree into a healing balsam (S 2:71). For either author, what is base or vile is inextricably, if ambiguously, linked to the sublime.

In chapter 20 of the disputed Fifth Book of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, Panurge and Pantagruel visit the palace of Lady Quintessence. The ill and suffering are brought before her in cohorts by disease type: the lepers, the poisoned, the blind, deaf, dumb, or apoplectic. On a

²³ It seems evident that both authors were echoing in jest or earnest the Humanists' longing to find a native vegetation which was equal to the natural wonders reported in classical literature. P. writes this about the terpentine tree: "wie der balsambaum ubertrifft in seinen landen alle andere beum, also der terpentinbaum all andere beum in teutschen landen" ("Just as the balsam tree surpasses all other trees in its lands, so the turpentine tree in German lands"—S 2:61); and the ironic Rabelais: "Do not offer me the comparison [for the herb pantagruelion] of that sort of tree—however wonderful it may be—that you find in the mountains of Briançon and Ambrun, which...gives us a resin so excellent that Galen dares to proclaim it the equal of turpentine." (G 431). P. makes it a point of pride that the alchemist knows about precisely such matters, unlike the academic doctors who cannot tell *agaric* from *manna*: "dan die doctores der hohen schul seind dermaßen so gelert, das sie nicht wissen agaricum oder mannam von einander zu erkennen" (S 2:156-57).

strange musical instrument constructed of the commonplace *materiae medicae*, the turbitth, scammony, cassia, or rhubarb prescribed also by Paracelsus, Lady Quintessence plays melodies which correspond to each genus of disease. The “virtues” that emanate like music of the spheres from her person and instrument heal the patients without physical contact. This is a far cry from the application of these same materials, scammony, rhubarb, or cassia, in chapter 33 of *Pantagruel*. Prescribed and guzzled by the cartload or wagon-train, these materials were capable of inducing diuretic, purgative, or laxative reactions familiar to contemporary readers and no doubt appalling to imagine. Since they prove ineffective for the giant Pantagruel, an amusingly invasive procedure is carried out. Physicians are swallowed to inspect and remove the offending “ordure” and “corrupted humors” on site. In contrast to the disgusting physical and olfactory aspects of Pantagruel’s procedure, the references in chapter 19 of Book Five to alchemy and the other arts are in the spirit of Paracelsus’ dream of a new magical and alchemical healing art, which soon proved to be as appealing in France as elsewhere.²⁴ At the court of Lady Quintessence, the celestial “virtues” are summoned without the brutal intrusiveness of the traditional or humoral treatments, without the bloodletting or the poison-induced retching and defecation. Our awareness of the background of these details—the sublime promise of the herbal or alchemical medications listed by the Rabelaisian author of Book Five, or the sufferings described in the earthy German of Paracelsus, and no doubt also painfully familiar to Rabelais—lend depth and intensity to our picture of sixteenth-century life.²⁵

²⁴ Knowledge of alchemical medicine spread rapidly in France. See Allen Debus, *The French Paracelsians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Although the context of the Lady Quintessence episode speaks directly of alchemy, of equal relevance to her strange musical therapy is the medieval tradition of astronomy in healing, reinforced by the Renaissance revival of interest in the therapeutic possibilities of the music of the spheres, spread by the well-known work of the physician Ficino. See Angela Voss, “*Orpheus Redivivus*: The Musical Magic of Marsilio Ficino,” in *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy*, ed. Michael J. B. Allen and Valery Rees with Martin Davies (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 227-41.

²⁵ I am indebted to my colleague, Rabelais scholar Alice Berry, for drawing my attention to finer points of these episodes and to the controversy over the authenticity of the Fifth Book. The present discussion does not take sides on the issue of authenticity but rests on the safe premise that the Fifth Book was written in sixteenth-century France under the influence of *Pantagruel*.

We can regard literary luminaries either as beacons shining through the ages or as lanterns gleaming in the rank and shadowy thickets of past historical worlds, illuminating them from within. The writings of Paracelsus offer detailed and personal glimpses from within a world remote from our own. If we expect his pronouncements to cast a beacon light from afar for our convenience and instruction, then the vague, arcane, and irregular figures of his thought are a nuisance. The unique strangeness of his mental and material world is an obstruction, when it should be an object of intrinsic interest. For historians of early modern life and thought, his writings contain what Stephen Greenblatt and the New Historicism have referred to as “luminous details,” clues that help clarify the boundaries of health and disease, substance and process, time and world, madness and sanity, life and death, female and male, knowledge and faith, and natural and supernatural.

Paracelsus rails at his enemies, invokes disasters, draws us into his confidences, recalls formative experiences, and confides of dictating his writings to “secretaries” who can attest to his originality. When one considers his itinerant life-style and contemporary accounts of the tumultuous, curiosity-seeking, and disease-ridden ambience of sixteenth-century inns and taverns, one can imagine him surrounded by listeners who stimulate his paeans or tirades with their snorts of disbelief and murmurs of indignation, their peals of laughter or gasps of longing and wonder.²⁶ Yet for all his evident spontaneity, we can be reasonably certain that he was not simply making it all up as he went.

The Objectives of Translation and Commentary

The intentions of this volume are to allow Paracelsus to speak in his own terms while facilitating our understanding of what he was speaking of and how his terms might have been understood by his intended audience. The German original is juxtaposed with a translation and contextualizing notes. The notes and commentary should orient readers in the entire corpus while rendering its material and intellectual contexts as intelligible as possible. These purposes are served by a facing-page translation with its two distinct sets of footnotes and

²⁶ Two vivid sixteenth-century accounts of the public life in inns in Switzerland and South Germany are by Montaigne (cited in Weeks, 59, 209, n. 102) and Erasmus (paraphrased by Bernhard Milt, “P. und Zürich,” *Vierteljahresschrift der naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich* 86 (1941): 321-54.

commentary. On the left are the versions from the 1589 Huser edition and on the right my translations. The footnotes under the German original provide cross-references to the entire corpus. Those beneath the translation are based on the external sources and interspersed with commentary. The notes refer to their sources not only for verification but also to allow interested readers to delve further in the scholarly literature. In confronting selections of scholarship with the original text, the intention is to stimulate critical dialogue of a kind that can render isolated scholarly monologues obsolete.

The components are conceived as a set of concentric circles that focus and expand upon one another around the core of the original German Paracelsus text. The translation inevitably interprets the original which in turn anchors the translation. There are obscure and ambiguous passages in Paracelsus that cannot properly be finessed with an indecisive or murky rendering. Where the original demands an interpretive leap, the juxtaposition maintains the reader's option to return to the contested terms of the source. By following a few simple guidelines readers with even a modest command of German can approach the original with assistance from the translation.²⁷ The distinct facing sets of footnotes should provide contextualizing circles essential for any interpretation. Since far less is encapsulated in the brief notes than can be learned from the rich reference sources of the Grimms, Zedler (a later encyclopedic work which drew heavily on Paracelsian

²⁷ Those who consult the original German will be aided by several pointers. Because of the Grimms' familiarity with Paracelsus, the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* is an indispensable lexical source. Herbert Penzl's introduction in *Frühneuhochdeutsch* offers the non-specialist some essential rules. One should take note of the use of "so" in place of the relative pronoun, as in, "Die seind Gott angenehm/ so jhne fürchten," "They are pleasing to God *who* fear him" (§ 157.2). In place of the reflexive "sich," the personal pronoun "ihm" or "ihn" is often used (§ 156), though these alternate with "sich" in P. Verbal and adjectival endings differ from modern German, though without greatly hindering intelligibility. More challenging are the occasional inconsistencies in the number agreement of subject with verb or the case inconsistency of subject or object, which can necessitate a translation counter to the grammatical sense. Coarse usages (*Grobianismus*), often scatological and sometimes sexual, are a commonplace of sixteenth-century Germany (§ 212). They do not betoken lexical poverty but serve to "make a statement" in the spirit of the earthy foes of Humanism who would appeal to common sense and call a spade a spade. An additional symptom of the transition from an elite Latin-literate culture to a broader-based German culture is the enumeration of synonyms. These may convey an author's simultaneous awareness of a Latin term and its German equivalent. But where Luther or Mathesius neatly couple Latin with German, P. often enumerates synonyms at will.

sources), Ruland, *Das Lexikon des Mittelalters*, *Das Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, or *Das Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, the abbreviated reference source citations will point the way. The reader should have options of concentrating solely on the English or going beyond it in pursuit of a particular term, concept, or idea.

This exhaustive treatment differs from certain current ideals of translation. For all practical purposes, any translation glosses over its original with the brushstrokes and hues of the translator's own language. Any translation, mine not excepted, alters the original by recreating it in the spirit of the translator's culture. Instead of celebrating this creative role of translation, the procedures adopted here aspire to the ancillary craft of restoration. Restoration may be anachronistic in its use of modern technology to x-ray or chemically analyze its objects and in its subservience to modern prejudices regarding the value and attainability of authenticity. But in its methods and objectives, restoration surely departs from translation. Instead of undertaking to recreate the original by virtue of the talent or genius of the translator, restoration attempts to bring to light qualities and details hidden beneath the obscuring layers and obfuscations wrought by the passage of time.

Certain essential features of the writings of Paracelsus have been obscured by the normalizing tendency of translation and an excerpt-based reception. The loss of context within treatises obfuscates one of the most important facets of his argumentation: his use of extended allusions. These can span entire works, sometimes mutating when a biblical metaphor is taken literally or a literal meaning is redirected to a novel purpose. Biblical allusions become intertwined with medical and philosophical references. For example, the biblical-theological tension between Old Testament law and the Evangelical theme of rebirth accompanies and informs the contrast between the older, rules-based medicine of the *regimina sanitatis* and the new regenerative medical alchemy espoused by Paracelsus. Throughout these works, a scriptural-medical keynote is incorporated in recurrent, literal and metaphorical, references to "seed." These references tap a broad register of biblical citations. Among them, the grain of wheat which must die and rot in the ground to bring forth fruit (Jn 12:24) sounds a recurrent alchemical and theological chord.

Far from arbitrary or decorative, the extended allusion responds to the historical disruption of religious and philosophical authority by insinuating the patterns of thought expressed by the concepts of mac-

rocism and microcosm. In Paracelsus' treatise *On the Matrix*, the extended association of human reproduction with God's creation of the world combines gynecology and cosmogony into a single pattern. The mysteriously designated "*Invisible Diseases*" are contextualized by the relevant biblical antitheses of darkness and light, blindness and seeing, the healing and revealing miracles of Jesus and the Apostles, the non-biblical sight-restoring wonders of the medicinal herbs *eufragia* (eyebright) and celandine, as well as by the mutual elucidation of spiritual or psychosomatic pathologies and concurrent theological disputes. Frequent allusions to celestial *manna* and terrestrial *mumia*, embodying the powers of heaven in earth and life in death (H 1:298, 292), reveal the convergence of higher and nether realms in earthly nature. The powers of God and Lucifer are immanent, respectively, in the virtues enhanced by alchemy and the poison of alchemical excess that rises above its proper degree (H 1:113). The complex interplay of allusions is indispensable to an understanding of Paracelsus' writings.

Complementary to the foregrounding of literary structures is the restoration of a second context, that of the sources of the Paracelsian *materia medica*. Contrary to the lingering misconception that his medical findings derive from new experience or travels, the material sources documented here indicate that most of his healing herbs and stones were traditional remedies found for the most part in Pliny, Dioscorides, and medieval medicine.²⁸ The *Lexikon des Mittelalters* to which several of the best Paracelsus scholars have contributed is helpful in documenting his sources, as are the concordance of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* and Aufmesser's etymological study of Dioscorides' *De Materia Medica*. The influence of Pliny and Dioscorides was so strong throughout the Middle Ages and after²⁹ that it would hardly be noteworthy to find it in Paracelsus as well, if not for his vociferous rejection of them and their tradition.

This contradiction between the rejection of tradition and its perpetuation can be, if not resolved, at least comprehended by contextual-

²⁸ P.'s healing herbs overlap extensively with those in Brunshwig's *Kleines Destillierbuch* (Strasbourg, 1500), his *Medicinarius* (1505), or Brunfels' German *Kreüterbuch* (1532) and Latin *Herbarum Vivae Eicones* (1530). All acknowledge classical sources, yet also cite herbs in German or provide convenient registers of herbs and diseases, thereby undermining the strong claims of innovation made by or for P.

²⁹ See Arno Borst, *Das Buch der Naturgeschichte: Plinius und seine Leser im Zeitalter des Pergaments* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1994).

izing his work within the force fields of rival theological and philosophical positions competing in his era and milieu.³⁰ Historical context tells us more about his work than do assumptions based on his elusive journeys of learning. Nothing in the writings reproduced here indicates that a non-traditional, travel-based acquisition of fresh information was a significant source for his new medicine. In *Paragranum*, a new validation is instead sought for traditional remedies: “Try it out and it will be true” (“proberets/ vnnnd es ist war,” H 2:69). Just as the early Reformation was assaulting tradition in order to renew its ultimate source, Paracelsus’ relation to tradition was both oppositional and dependent. His work should be interpreted less with reference to his exaggerated claims of originality than to the revealing commonplaces of his period. Between Scripture, folk knowledge, and Humanistic learning, medicine faced alternatives that engaged men as different as Otto Brunfels and Agrippa von Nettesheim.³¹ Medical alchemy and a semi-spiritualized distillation of herbs preceded Paracelsus.³²

³⁰ This case has been made in my monograph, *Paracelsus: Speculative Theory and the Crisis of the Early Reformation* and in an article addressing the Paracelsian hostility to Aristotle in the context of the “two truth” controversy surrounding Pomponazzi, which coincided with the decade of his university study in Italy and the impact on those influenced by him “Theorie und Mystik in der Nachfolge des Paracelsus” in *Morgen-Glantz. Zeitschrift der Christian Knorr von Rosenroth-Gesellschaft* 13 (2003): 283-302.

³¹ A similarly ambivalent sense of authority led Brunfels to cite the knowledge imparted by God to Adam and Eve as the ultimate source of what we know of herbs and their powers, conveyed to us by way of Pliny and other classical authors: “Vnd also acht ich/ das der geyst Gottes Adam vnd Hevah/ die Altväter vnd Patriarchen/ erstlich geleert habe” (Vorred, cap. 4). Siraisi in *Medicine and the Italian Universities, 1250-1600*, *Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* 12 (Leiden: Brill, 2001) calls attention to ambivalence of a kind characteristic for Paracelsus in Humanistic circles. Agrippa von Nettesheim echoed and amplified their call “for a pharmacology that was to be both philologically and physically purged of adulteration and based on accurate first-hand botanical knowledge” (199). Siraisi observes that Agrippa in his *Declamatio de Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum et Artium atque Excellentia Verbi Dei* of 1526 anticipated Paracelsus’ assault on the medical profession and his call for “locally grown remedies for the diseases of each region, Agrippa contrasted favorably the true knowledge an old peasant woman has of the virtues, colors, shapes, tastes and smells of the plants in her own garden with the guesswork with which uselessly learned physicians compound and prescribe medicines” (200).

³² Brunschwig’s paramedical *Kleines Destillierbuch* of 1500 had promised to use distillation to render many herbs cited later by P. “vnmateriälicher,” “geistlicher,” and more subtle, thereby liberating their “tugende” and “krafft” for the “heylsamen würckung in dem menschlichen lyb” (*Ein vorred vom distilliren... Das erst capitel*

During the first decade of the Reformation, Erasmus and Luther both expected the spirit of the age to elicit advances in all faculties including medicine.³³ In a contentious age, eager for signs and wonders, the summoning to Basel of an itinerant controversialist and physician, who had shortly before sought and acquired citizenship in Strasbourg, catalyzed the currents which are cited in my right-hand commentary into a new theory of nature and medicine.

Procedures for Editing and Translating

Openness to the peculiarities of Paracelsus has guided my approach to translation. I have tried to clarify his formulations without normalizing their content to the extent that this is possible. His exposition can be repetitive, his formulations vague and inconsistent. However, the common practices of pruning from his work or citing out of context ignore the most basic requirements of scholarship. The reader who lacks patience can make use of the summaries and skim.

In translating, I was nevertheless repeatedly confronted with the choice between attempting to recreate and preserve ellipses and peculiarities of expression or providing a cogent interpretation of content. Should Paracelsus' work be interpreted and clarified, or should its suggestive obscurities be safeguarded? The incorporation of Huser's version leaves the translator freer to choose in favor of content and clarification at the expense of style and tone. The difficulty of maintaining both style and clarity can be illustrated with the opening sentence of *Paragranum*:

was distilliren ist). A later edition of Brunschwig's *Liber de arte distillandi simplicia et composita* was compiled with two books of Ficino's *De Triplici Vita*, the latter fused with a German work on medical alchemy that discusses *quintessentia*, *aurum potabile*, and *aqua vitae* (*Medicinarium*, Strasbourg, 1505).

³³ On August 31, 1518, Erasmus wrote to Bonifatius Amerbach in Basel that medicine had "begun to make herself heard in Italy by the voice of Nicolas Leonicensus...among the French by William Cop of Basel" and in England with Thomas Linacre (*The Epistles of Erasmus*, trans. Francis Morgan Nichols [New York: Russell and Russell, 1962], vol. 3, p. 434. Cop was of the three the least distinguished. Suffering was always acute. In 1527, Erasmus turned to P. for medical advice. In his *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung*, Luther indicated in 1520 that the reform he had initiated should encompass even the medical faculties (see [Weimarer Ausgabe], v. 6, p. 459, cf. note on H 2:16).

Nachdem dem vnnd ich hab lassen außgehn/ nicht auß kleinen vrsachen/ von etlichen Kranckheiten/ nemlich/ darinn mein mehrest Argument/ die Irrsalen der Artzney hoch zubetrachten: So wirdt mir dasselbig vonn denselbigen Irrern hoch verarget: Vnnd nicht allein durch sie die es berührt/ sonder sie bewegt wider mich die vnuerstendige Rott/ die inn solchen dingen solchs grunds vnbekannt/ daß sie dieselbigen vber das/ so jhnen von mir gûts beschicht/ mich zu schenden/ dem Widertheil zu dienst/ aufstehend.

Aside from an unfamiliar orthography (“unverständlich” is “vnuerstendig”) and archaic verb inflection (the third person plural is formed with “-endt” instead of “-en”), many words in this sentence should be intelligible to someone with even a moderate reading knowledge of modern German. The problem lies in syntax and archaic meaning. A close rendering might produce something on this order:

After among other things (**vnnd**)³⁴ I had issued, for no small reasons, [the object of the verb remains implicit] on various diseases, namely, in which [elliptical] my major argument was notably with respect to the errors in medicine, therefore this is now being held against me by those in error; indeed (**Vnnd**),³⁵ not only by those affected [elliptical]; rather, they are stirring up against me the ignorant mob who know nothing of the reasons in such matters [elliptical], so that those very people, despite the good done for them by me, are rising up to abuse me, to serve my opposition.

Ellipse and anacoluthon are hardly meaningless here. The halting, thumping tack conveys a mood, harassed but unrelenting, a defiance forged in public disputes, yet worn down by perpetual frustration and misunderstanding. Something is indeed lost when the jarring ellipses and obscurities of the sentence are smoothed out and its clauses realigned, when the forward thrust no longer pivots like a baited beast with the reiteration of “und,” and the insistent train of thought no longer grinds down and trails off beneath the parried blows of “mich zu schenden, dem Widertheil zu dienst....”

³⁴ See Grimm, **und**: definition 2d gives this sentence as an example for an archaic use in which the speaker indicates that among various—unspoken—determining factors, this one is being specified.

³⁵ See Grimm, **und** (definition 3): “und zwar.”

Since Paracelsus is above all a writer of the voice, sacrificing the abbreviations and obscurities of his style results in a serious loss. Yet despite this loss, I believe that the majority of readers will be better served by a clear and fluent interpretation. My assumed reader is a scholar concerned with ideas and sources. Instead of proceeding phrase by phrase and clause by clause, attempting to preserve the flavor of the original, I have undertaken to translate the content of a sentence or passage in a way that maximizes accessibility and harmonizes with the entire work. I interpret the sentence as follows:

Having urgently brought forth writings on various diseases regarding my major argument on the errors of medicine, I find now that this is being held very much against me, and indeed not only by those criticized, but, at their instigation, even by the ignorant mob that has no real knowledge of such matters but nevertheless rises to the service of my opponents by abusing me, despite the good that I have done for them.

If the original conveyed the unvarnished immediacy of spoken discourse, the translation can hardly feign such spontaneity. The words “nicht auß kleinen vrsachen,” “mehrest,” or “hoch zubetrachten” were an impulsive asseveration, moderated in their braggadocio by the author’s personal tone to the effect of a candid assurance that this is really important. Since, in the lower key of the translation, the terms of emphasis might misrepresent themselves as bombast, I let the routinely self-promoting “*urgently* brought forth” and “*major* argument” serve the purpose. A facing-page translation should allow for a freer, more interpretive treatment that takes risks in order to penetrate and illuminate obscure or intractable passages instead of merely reproducing their knotty obscurities.

If the original is comparable to a woodcut, the interpretation might be compared to an engraved replica. The tools impose their own pattern on the product which is made from a different texture of material. This has advantages and disadvantages. An ancient artifact reproduced with modern machines and materials has an altogether different look and feel to it. It can still provide information about how the prototype was structured and how it functioned in its archaic environment. But the reproduction is not the original and retouching it with antiquing effects will not make it more so. I make no claim of having recreated a voice unique in literature. Better to let the voice speak for itself.

Largely because of my interpretation of elliptical passages and addition of words and phrases that serve the flow and clarity of reference, the translation generally exceeds the original in length. Whenever it seemed advantageous to do so, my interpolations have been placed in square brackets. Readers who look back and forth from the translation to the original should have less difficulty finding the corresponding German. In my editing of the original as well as my English translation, the use of italics and parentheses follows Huser. His Latin words have been carried over into the translation. To avoid confusion with my own use of brackets, Huser's relatively rare square brackets in the original have been replaced with angular ones in the translation: < >. My English footnotes follow the English practice of placing Latin words and book titles in italics; however, in citing from Sudhoff, I respected the German avoidance of italics for Latin. Since half of this volume is in German, German words cited in my footnotes and commentary are not italicized.

Since for the reader with a specific scholarly interest much may depend on the sense of a particular term, unusual care has been taken in citing sources. It might seem pedantic to cite a subheading of a dictionary entry. The reader who consults my sources because some nuance of meaning makes a difference will find the citational extravagance convenient when confronted with the length and complexity of the entries in Grimm. For example, the article on *stehen*, "to stand," alone fills more than 300 columns, 150 pages. Sometimes Grimm's definitions quote the very sentence I have translated. When Luther, Sebastian Franck, or some other contemporary is cited by Grimm, the information helps round out and vivify the image of sixteenth-century German culture.

I have attempted to offer some context for every unfamiliar term in the original, both from my reference sources and from the corpus of Paracelsian writings. I have also avoided convenient but potentially misleading present-day definitions of medical terms still deceptively familiar to us. The reader should not be surprised when my notes quote from reference sources such as the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Zedler's *Universallexicon* (a work compiled in the first half of the eighteenth century), or poets such as Shakespeare and Rabelais. The *OED* draws on medieval sources known elsewhere in Europe. Zedler frequently drew on sources with an excellent knowledge of Paracelsus. The poets could tap a store of *topoi* inherited from the Middle

Ages and classical antiquity. When I cite from materials that postdate the edited works, obviously no claim is being made that such materials were sources. Nor does my citing mainly from materials that appeared prior to the edited works indicate that those materials were their source. I have included multiple and contradictory explanations for some terms. Often the ambiguities prove meaningful with reference to the extended context. Taking into account my sources, the reader may judge my results against the best criterion of judgment: the text itself.

I have undertaken the translation from the works as they appear in Theophrastus Paracelsus, *Bücher und Schrifften*, edited by Johannes Huser (Basel: Conrad Waldkirch, 1589). Discrepancies between Huser's original edition and Sudhoff's critical edition of Huser are cited in my left-hand footnotes. My cross-referencing to the more accessible Sudhoff should serve the convenience of scholars. I occasionally consulted Bernhard Aschner's modern German translation, Will-Erich Peuckert's slightly edited and Josef Strebel's intensively revised and abridged version, as well as the *Paragranum* in the modernized German Gunhild Pörksen based on the Sudhoff version.

Das Buch Paragranum is given in two versions in Huser. The first is complete. It consists of a preface and four sections corresponding to the four "pillars" of medicine (philosophy, astronomy, alchemy, and *proprietas* or virtue). The second version, called by Huser *Paragranum alterius*, is represented by a briefer preface, in which not four but three "pillars" are mentioned, as in earlier references to this concept, and two of the four books (philosophy and astronomy). Because "*alterius*" was characterized by Huser as an autograph, Sudhoff combined it with the last two sections of Huser's complete version to offer a composite autograph-based text. I have instead translated from Huser's complete version as it appears on pages 5-97 of Volume Two and indicated in my commentary its relationship to *alterius* and the other prefaces and drafts in Sudhoff's edition.

Johannes Huser's editorial work earned the well-informed praises of Sudhoff and Goldammer. Huser understood the value of autographs; he used them to good effect and discovered the kinships which justified his grouping together of the St. Gall "paramiran" writings. His choices for the selection and edition can be defended on work-immanent grounds. Thus he wisely chose the only version of *Paragranum* which speaks of all four "pillars" as "*Philosophia, Astronomia, Alchimia, vnnd Virtutibus*" (H 2:21). Sudhoff's editing spliced an

earlier version of the preface which knew only three “pillars,” together with its accompanying initial two “pillars,” onto the final two “pillars.” Aside from this, neither the Huser nor the Sudhoff version gives us any reason to suspect inauthenticity.

The German writings of Paracelsus have been corrected against the facsimile edition of Huser published by the Olms Verlag, a reprint of the copy held by the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek. My reproduction of the Huser edition is a “diplomatic” one. No changes or corrections have been made except for the few obvious typesetting errors which are duly noted. Sudhoff’s edition of Huser regulated his orthography and punctuation, eliminating capital letters, italics, and the “Virgel,” the slash (/) that may function like a comma. I have standardized its position and that of the colon: adjacent to the preceding word. Where Sudhoff undertook more substantial editorial changes, these are indicated in my left-hand footnotes.³⁶ Trivial deviations and recurrent ones after the initial citations are no longer given. Where the Huser and Sudhoff editions of the work on *Invisible Diseases* differ, they have been compared with the Vienna Codex manuscript which, according to Sudhoff, shares its prototype, an “original manuscript,” with the Huser version.

Huser’s quarto edition bears this imprint on its title page:

³⁶ For Sudhoff’s declared intentions regarding *Paragranum* and the related drafts of the Huser edition, see S 8:6, “Es scheint mir richtig, die erhaltenen Aufzeichnungen und Entwürfe zum Vorwort des Paragranum in der inhaltlich zu erschließenden Reihenfolge zuerst zu veröffentlichen und daran die berühmte ausführliche Ausarbeitung in scharf polemischer Form anzuschließen, im Zusammenhang mit den ersten beiden Büchern, die uns in voller Ausführlichkeit zweimal überliefert sind”; and S 8:15, “Wir folgen Husers Textredaktion im zweiten Teil der Bücher und Schriften Basel 1589 unter beständiger Vergleichung mit Bodensteins Textfassung im dritten und vierten Traktat vom Jahre 1565.” No rationale is given for the occasional preference of the deficient Bodenstein over the excellent Huser version. For the remainder of the works encompassed here, Sudhoff’s edition consulted not only Huser but other early editions, as well a Vienna manuscript version. For *Opus Paramirum* and the works on tartarus and the matrix, he certified a high degree of accuracy for Huser: “Doch sind die Abweichungen der Überlieferung in allen drei Teilen des Opus Paramirum nur gering” (S 9:14). For the work on *Unsichtbare Krankheiten*, Sudhoff deduced that Huser must have relied on the best available source: “Bei dieser Sachlage ist es von ganz besonderem, geradezu ausschlaggebenden Werte, daß der Text des Wiener Kodex dem Huserschen Texte durchgehends sehr nahe steht, daß also offenbar die von Huser benutzte handschriftliche Vorlage und die des Wiener Kodex die gleiche gewesen ist, offenbar das Neuburger Originalmanuskript” (S 9:15; cf. Sudhoff² 65).

Erster Theil | Der Bücher vnd Schrifften / des | Edlen / Hochgelehrten | vnd Bewehrten PHILOSOPHI | vnnnd MEDICI, | PHILIPPI THEO- | PHRASTI Bombast von Ho= | henheim/ PARACELSI | genannt: | Jetzt auffs new auß den Originalien / vnd | Theophrasti eigner Handschrift/ souiel derselben zu= | bekommen gewesen/ auffs trewlichst vnd | fleissigst an tag geben: | Durch | IOHANNEM HVSERVM BRISGOIVM | Churfürstlichen Cölnischen Rhat vnnnd MEDICVM. | In diesem Theil werden begriffen die Bücher/ welche von | Vrsprung vnd herkommen/ aller Kranckheiten handeln in | GENERE: Deren Catalogus nach der | Præfation an den Leser zu finden. | Adiunctus est INDEX Rerum & Verborum accu- | ratiß. & copiosißimus. | Getruckt zu Basel/ durch | Conrad Waldkirch. | ANNO M. D. LXXXIX.

Huser's Volume Two (H 2) differs only in that the first line of the title page reads "Ander Theil" ("Second Part"). Volume Two (H 2:5-97) is the source of the first writing reproduced here, *The Book Paramirum*. Volume One (H 1) is the source of the *Opus Paramirum* (H1:67-140), *On the Origin and Source of Diseases* (141-188), *On the Matrix* (189-237), and *On the Invisible Diseases* (238-327).

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The German Academic Exchange Service has confirmed its name by enabling a scholar from an American academic culture which is centered on the production of short-lived monographs, and often

enough absorbed in pet theories and personalities, to engage with a more rigorous tradition of text edition and criticism. As my dedication indicates, this project is the fruit of that encounter. If English is the new Latin, philologists must find ways to make its dominance serve the understanding of other languages and traditions in all their depth and particularity. The guiding star of this project was the hope that scholarly translation might serve such a purpose, as it in fact has nearly from the beginnings of literary culture.

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- (H) Theophrastus Paracelsus. *Bücher und Schrifften*. Ed. Johannes Huser (Bd. 1 includes *Opus Paramirum, De Morborum Utriusque Professionis Origine et Causa, De Matrice*. Bd. 2: *Das Buch Paraganum* etc.) Basel: Conrad Waldkirch, 1589. Also available as a reprint (Hildesheim: Olms, 1971), with a preface by Kurt Goldammer.
- (S) Theophrast von Hohenheim, called Paracelsus. *Sämtliche Werke*. 1. Abteilung: Medizinische, naturwissenschaftliche und philosophische Schriften. 14 Volumes. Ed. Karl Sudhoff. Munich and Berlin: Oldenbourg, 1922-33.
- (G) Theophrast von Hohenheim, called Paracelsus. *Sämtliche Werke*. 2. Abteilung: Theologische und religionsphilosophische Schriften. Ed. Kurt Goldammer. Vol. 1, Munich: Barth, 1923, was edited by Wilhelm Matthießen. Stuttgart: Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag, 1965-86.
- (V) Vienna Codex 11115. Handschriftensammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. (Paracelsus, *De Causis Morborum Invisibilium*, pp. 284-339, with several pages present in Huser missing and others inconsistently numbered.)
- (Staricius) Paracelsus. *Philosophia de Limbo Aeterno*. Ed. Johannes Staricius. Magdeburg: Francken, 1618.
- (Aschner) Paracelsus. *Sämtliche Werke, nach der 10-bändigen Huserschen Gesamtausgabe*. Trans., Intro., and Comment. Bernard Aschner. Jena: G. Fischer, 1926-32. This is a translation into modern German influenced by Aschner's thorough knowledge of modern medicine.

- (Peuckert) Theophrastus Paracelsus. *Werke*. Ed. Will-Erich Peuckert (Bd. 1-2: Medizinische Schriften.) Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965. Peuckert made slight editorial interventions.
- (Strebel) Theophrastus von Hohenheim, called Paracelsus. *Sämtliche Werke in zeitgemäßer Kürzung*. Ed. Josef Strebel. St. Gall: Zollikofer, 1947. There are major abridgements and editorial interventions.
- (Strunz) Theophrastus Paracelsus. *Das Buch Paragranum*. Ed. and Intro. Franz Strunz. Leipzig: Diederichs, 1903. Strunz follows the Huser version that appears here.
- (Pörksen) Paracelsus. *Der andere Arzt. Das Buch Paragranum*. Ed. and trans. Gunhild Pörksen. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1991. A popular edition of the Sudhoff version with glosses in parentheses.
- (Sudhoff¹⁻²) Karl Sudhoff. *Bibliographia Paracelsica. Besprechung der unter Hohenheims Namen 1527-1893 erschienen Druckschriften*. 2 Volumes (Drucke, Handschriften). Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1958. (Berlin: Verlag Georg Reimer, 1894, 1899.)
- (Weimann) Karl-Heinz Weimann. *Paracelsus-Bibliographie 1932-1960*. Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag, 1963.
- (Paulus) Julian Paulus. *Paracelsus-Bibliographie 1961-1996*. Heidelberg: Palatina Verlag, 1997.

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(ordered by abbreviation):

- (Agricola^{3,4}) Georg Agricola. "Georgius Agricolae Brief an Wolfgang Meurer vom 1. April 1546," in *Schriften zur Geologie und Mineralogie*, vol. 3; and *Die Mineralien* (citations to "Mineralregister" and "Sachverzeichnis"), vol. 4. *Ausgewählte Werke*. Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1958.
- (ARI) Nancy G. Siraisi. *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy: The Canon and Medical Teaching in Italian Universities after 1500*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- (AUFM) Max Aufmesser. *Etymologische und wortgeschichtliche Erläuterungen zu De materia medica des Dioscurides. Altertumswissenschaftliche Texte und Studien*, 34. Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 2000.
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- (Biegger) Paracelsus. *Vom glückseligen Leben. Ausgewählte Schriften zu Religion, Ethik und Philosophie*. Ed and Intro. Katharina Biegger. Salzburg: Residenz, 1993.
- (Bodenstein) Adam von Bodenstein. *Onomasticon Theophrasti Paracelsi*. Basel: Peter Perna, 1575.
- (Bono) James J. Bono. *The Word of God and the Languages of Man: Interpreting Nature in Early Modern Science and Medicine*. Vol. 1 (*Ficino to Descartes*). Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995.

- (BROCK) *Brockhaus Wahrig Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Wiesbaden: Brockhaus, 1980.
- (Brunfels) Otto Brunfels. *Kreuterbuch Contrafeyt beide Theil*. Frankfurt am Main: Hermann Hülferich, 1546.
- (Brun.-Lat.) —. *Herbarum Vivae Eicones*. Strasbourg: Hans Schott, 1530.
- (Brunfels 1532) —. *Contrafayt Kreüterbuch*. Strasbourg: Hans Schott, 1532.
- (Brunschwig) Hieronymus Brunschwyg. *Kleines Destilierbuch*. Strasbourg, 1500.
- (Cange) Charles du Cange. *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*. Reprint: Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1954.
- (CEHM) *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*. 2 Vols. Ed. W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter. London and New York: Routledge, 1993.
- (COFR) *Concordance des Œuvres de François Rabelais*. Prepared by J. E. G. Dixon and John L. Dawson. *Travaux d' Humanisme et Renaissance* 160, *Études Rabelaisiennes* 26. Geneva: Libraire Droz, 1992.
- (CP¹⁻²) *Corpus Paracelsisticum: Dokumente frühneuzeitlicher Naturphilosophie in Deutschland*. vol. 1-2. Ed. and commentary by Wilhelm Kühlmann and Joachim Telle, *Frühe Neuzeit* 59 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001).
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Platzhalter für Seite 60

Das Buch
P A R A G R A N V M
PHILIPPI THEOPHRA-
STI von Hohenheim/ Beyder
Arney Doctoris:

In welchem die Vier Columnæ, als nem-
lich Philosophia, Astronomia, Alchimia, vnd Virtus,
darauff er seine Medicin fundiret/ bes-
schrieben werden.

Vorred in das Buch Paragranum,
DOCTORIS THEO-
phraasti Paracelsi.



Nachdem vnd ich hab las-
sen außgehn/ nicht auß kleinen ver-
sachen/ von etlichen Kranckheiten/
nemlich/ darinn mein mehrest Ar-
gument/ die Vrsachen der Arney
hoch zubetrachten: So wirdt mir
dasselbig vonu denselbigen Vriern
hoch verarget: Vnd nicht allein
durch sie die es berührt/ sonder sie
bewegendt wider mich die vnuersten
dige Kott/ die inn solchen dingen solchs grunds vnbekannt/ das
sie dieselbigen vber das/ so ihnen von mir auß beschicht/ mich
zu schenden/ dem Widertheil zu dienst/ auffstehend. Damit ich
nun schuldig vnd vnschuldig bericht/ anch dem zukünfftigen
meinem Widertheil/ Wird ich geursacht hie das Buch Para-

Das Buch

PARAGRANVM

PHILIPPI THEOPHRASTI

Von Hohenheim/ Beyder Artzney Doctoris:

Inn welchem die Vier *Columnae*, als nemlich

Philosophia, Astronomia, Alchimia, vnd Virtus,

darauß er seine Medicin fundiret/ beschrieben werden.

VORRED

in das Buch *Paragranum*,^a

Doctoris Theophrasti Paracelsi

Nachdem vñnd ich hab lassen außgehn/ nicht auß kleinen vrsachen/
von etlichen Kranckheiten/ nemlich/ darinn mein mehrest Argument/
die Irrsalen^b der Artzney hoch zubetrachten: So wirdt mir dasselbig
vonn denselbigen Irrern hoch verarget: Vñnd nicht allein durch sie die
es berührt/ sonder sie bewegendt wider mich die vnuerstendige Rott/

^a P. does not explain his title coinage, but it resonates with the trademark *para-* prefix of his pseudonym in a recent astrological publication (see *Practica D. Theophrasti Paracelsi*, printed in Nuremberg in 1529—S 7:41, fig. 12, cf. 48), or in the cryptic syllable in the title of his printed treatise on syphilis of November 23, 1529, *Von der französischen Krankheit, drei Bücher Para[celsi?]* (S 7:67). His earlier theological writings had announced coming “*paramiran* works” (cf. H 1:67). The sense given to “**granum**” by P.’s extended allusions to Jn 12:24 (cf. H 2:67; H 1:91, 92, 283), to Mt 13:31 (H 2:89; H 1:246), and other biblical seed metaphors (cf. *vis-à-vis*) is central to his account of the process which yields the medical *arcanum* (see H 2:15; 1:92) and in conformity with his claim to an apostolic healing mission, persecuted like the seed that dies to bring forth fruit (“wie das Korn/ dz faull wirdt in der Erden/ vor dem vñd es wachst/ vñnd darnach in seine frucht gehet”—H 2:67), growing like the tiny “Senffkorn” into a great tree (H 2:89). This figure is also central to his account of the reborn celestial body in *De Resurrectione et Corporum Glorificatione* (G 1:306). Those sympathetic to P.’s ideas and travails could be expected to understand the title *Paragranum* in reference to his mission and to the “wondrous” (*mirum*) healing fruit soon to be brought forth in his long advertised, immediately subsequent *Opus Paramirum*.

^b The reference to **medical errors** places this work in P.’s line of polemics against medical opponents which extends at least from the Basel episode to the *Labyrinthus Medicorum Errantium* of 1537-38.

The Book

PARAGRANUM

PHILIPP THEOPHRAST

von Hohenheim

Doctor of both Medicines,

In which the Four *Columnae*, that is,
Philosophia, Astronomia, Alchimia, and Virtus,
Upon which he has founded his Medicine, are described.

PREFACE

to the Book *Paragranum*¹
Doctoris Theophrasti Paracelsi.

Having urgently brought forth writings on various diseases regarding my major argument on the errors of medicine, I find now that this is being held very much against me, and indeed not only by those [I have] criticized, but, at their instigation, even by the ignorant mob that

¹ The trademark neologism (see vis-à-vis) consists of the *para-* prefix, either Latin, “equal” or “comparable to” (OLD), or Greek *παρά-* “alongside,” “past,” or “beyond,” and *granum*, “seed of a cereal plant” (OLD) or a grain of “wheat” (MLLM). This refers in the Vulgate to the grain of wheat which, only if it falls into the ground and dies, bears much fruit (“...*nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram, mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet: si autem mortuum fuerit, multum fructum affert.*” Jn 12:24). The great fecundity of the seed recalls Jesus’ parable of the “mustard seed” that, like the kingdom of heaven, grows to overshadow much else (“*simile est regnum caelorum sinapis grano*”—Mt 13:31-32; 17:19; Mk 4:31-32; Lk 13:19; cf. vis-à-vis) and Paul’s metaphor of the “bare seed” (“*nudum granum*”) which grows into a body that may be either celestial or earthly (1 Cor 15:37ff.; cf. Rudolph¹ on the implications in connection with alchemical thinking for P.’s theory of the “two bodies” in the writings on the Eucharist around 1530). “Seed,” as metaphor or concept, unites the personal sphere of P.’s mission with the impersonal ones of medicine, alchemy, and resurrection; its floating references variously inform the connections of microcosm, macrocosm, and *limbus*. (cf. H 2:37, notes b and 2; H 1:97ff.; H 1:201-02). “Seed” represents processes in the light of birth, growth, or genesis, just as the physical and metaphysical notion of “fire” in *Opus Paramirum* (see H 1:69ff.) represents them in the light of destruction, redemption, and revelation of the inner being.

die inn solchen dingen solchs grunds vnbekannt/ daß sie dieselbigen vber das/ so jhnen von mir güts^a beschicht/ mich zu schenden/ dem Widertheil zu dienst/ auffstehend. Damit ich nun schuldig vnnd vnschuldig bericht/ auch dem zukünfftigen meinem Widertheil/ Wird ich geursacht hie das Buch Para| 6 |granum zu schreiben/ darinn ich tractier den grundt auß dem ich schreib: den grundt/ ohn den kein Arzt wachsen mag: darinn ich mich so vil entblöß/ daß endlich mein Hertz meniglich sol geoffenbart werden/ vnnd nachuolgends deren volg zu erlangen/ so sich jetzt/ meim Gegentheil zu dienst/ nicht allein hinderung/ sondern auch etwas blütdürstig entpören: Vnbetracht/ dz mein fürnemen den Krancken zu nutz gedeiet. Vnnd ob hiemit scheltung/ lästerung/ vermeint würden/ so sind sie doch nicht gerichtmäßig/ sondern wie der Schrifft art vnd der Professorn Freyheit außweisendt/ ein jrrung zuentdecken/ mit dem fug wie jhr zustehet: Vnnd sonderlich mit mehrerm gewalt sich sollichs füglich gepürt/ einem/ der bessers an tag bringt vnnd fürhelt/ zustraffen das ärger mit gründlichen worten/ vnnd vnuerargwohnet.

Dann bessers inn meinen Schrifften fürgelegt wirt/ dann die Schrifft bißher erhalten hat: dann nit ohn grosse erfahrenheit/ vnnd sondere Experientz^b ein einiger Buchstab eingemischt ist/ verhoffe mich hiegegen mit solcher erfahrenheit mir auch zu begegnen.

Nun hab ich geschriben/ das mich zu wenig gedünckt^c mein Gegentheil zu viel/ nemlich am aller mehristen von den imposturen^d wie so grob dieselbigen im Holtz/ im Quecksilber/ im Purgieren/ erhalten werden von den Leibartzten/ vnd wie mit so grosser thorheit/

^a The early modern character ũ (uo) is used by Huser's typesetter intermittently. Under the influence of Latin orthography, j and i appear to us nearly interchangeable; v often replaces u (vnnd) or f (volg); u may replace v (souil), f (nachuolgends), or occasionally w. Since the capitalized characters for I and J appear indistinguishable in Huser's typesetting, I have transcribed them in accordance with modern German usage. Both forms of the unlauted vowel are found in Huser's type, the modern form and the archaic form (with a small superimposed "e"). Both have been reproduced here in the modern fashion (ä, etc.).

^b Sudhoff (8:52) has "und sonder experienz."

^c Sudhoff (52): "gedunkt."

^d This refers to P.'s first printed medical work, *Von der französischen Krankheit, drei Bücher Para*, also called *Von den Imposturen* (S 7:67ff.). The latter term would turn the tables on P.'s established foes by making them stubborn adherents of quackery ("alle die impostur, denen noch etliche anhangent"—72).

has no real knowledge of such matters, [but that nevertheless] rises to the service of my opponents by abusing me, [despite] the good that I have done for them. Being obliged though innocent, my intention with respect to my anticipated opponents is to write this book [called] *Para* 6 *granum* in order to explain the foundation upon which my writings are based. [By this I intend] the foundation without which no physician can develop professionally. In doing this, I give away so much of my self that my very heart will be made manifest to all. I will do this so that hereafter they will follow me who now serve my opponents, not only by causing me hindrance but even by raging quite violently against me, doing so even though my project serves the sick. And though in writing this, I am indicting their calumny and slander, I will nonetheless not prosecute these crimes by legalistic means. Instead I will respond, in writing and in accordance with the privilege of the medical profession, to expose their errors by means of appropriate argumentation. Certainly this will be carried out with all due forcefulness by one who is bringing forth and demonstrating something superior, and it will be done in order to castigate error by means of written argument and without malice.

Considerations are to be demonstrated in my writings that are superior to all previous [medical] literature. Indeed, there is no single letter that has not been combined with great experience and unique expertise. For this reason, I hope to encounter [in my readers the equivalent of] such experience.

As things stand, I have written what seemed to me too little but to my opponents too much. I have written above all about the impostures so crudely administered by physicians in the use of wood, quicksilver, [or] purgation, and [about] how foolishly the means of cauterizing,

Etzen/ Schneiden/ Brennen/ etc. von den Wundartzten^a gebraucht/ das jedwederer Theil inn vnuerstandt handle. Auch andere Geschrifften mehr/ so sie mir zu argem am aller schändtlichsten außlegen/ Nemlich/ *de Tartaro*,^b *de origine Pustularum*,^c *de modo pharmacandi*, *de modo phlebotomandi*,^d vnd was ich inn den Büchern *Paragrophorum*^e geschriben habe/ darinnen sie die Brosam antasten/ vnd nicht zu der Schüssel greiffen: Werde ich hierinnen auff solliche verachtung gezwungen: (auch das sie mich inn die Insulen *Pilati Pontij* genannt/ zu Relegieren vnderstanden) auff solches das ich in *Germania* bleib/ vnd ansehe mein *Patriam*, volget hernach der grund vnd der boden/ auff denen die Seulen stehen meiner Artzney/ euch allen da zuerkennen^f gib: so jhr dieselbigen durchlesen vnd ergründet habt/ | 7 | mich zu vrtheilen/ vnnd meine Schrifft zuuerdammen/ so ich nicht auß der wurtzen Keyri wachse: vnnd ob mir nicht billich zugeben werde/ vnnd geglimpfft/ auff solchen grund nicht auffzuhören/ sonder für vnnd für zuschreiben. Darumb ich weiter/ was ich nach des vermeinten Gegentheils erachten/ so kurtz geschriben/ mit außklaubtem grunde/ mit lengern worten zu erkleren vnderstand: damit/ wie sie begeren/ Mein thorheit vnd jhr thorheit zu eröffnen / Mein vnd jhr erfahrungheit/ Mein und jhr grundt vnd warheit vnuerdeckt einem jedlichen augenscheinlich fürgebildet werde: dieweil doch zu beiden Theilen das begeren ist/ das jnner Hertz zu erkennen/ wie der jnner Artzt dem aussern gleich sey.

^a On P.'s understanding of his own dual profession as **Wundarzt** and **Leibarzt**, surgeon and physician, and on their historical distinction, see H 1:141.

^b The Latin transcripts of P.'s Basel lectures included fairly extensive writing on *tartarus* (S 5:1-182).

^c This presumably refers to *Vom Ursprung und Herkommen der Franzosen samt der Recepten Heilung, acht Bücher* (1529) (S 7:183-366). However, in apparent contradiction to the above equation, that work questions the proper designation of the "French disease" as *pustulae* (187).

^d *De modo phlebotomandi* refers to the Basel-era discussion of bloodletting and purging (S 4:371-421).

^e The "*libri paragrophorum*" are Latin-German Basel lecture notes on specific diseases (S 5:205-314).

^f Sudhoff (52): "euch allen zu erkennen."

cutting, burning, and the like are applied by physicians with all parties acting in great ignorance. In addition to this, there are other writings that they hold against me in the most slanderous manner: [my writings] *de Tartaro, de origine Pustularum, de modo pharmacandi, de modo phlebotomandi*, as well as what I wrote in my books of *Paragraphorum*, concerning which they only reach for the crumbs without grasping the dish. In all of these matters I am compelled to such disdain (all the more so because it is they who would relegate me to the islands called *Pontius Pilatus*)¹—and all of this for the reason that I remain in *Germania* and look to my own *Patria*—so that what is stated here is to be the [true] ground and soil upon which the pillars of my medicine stand. [These] I commend to all your knowledge, so that when you have read through them all and understood everything, | 7 | you can judge me and condemn my writings, claiming that I have not sprouted from the root of Chiron,² or whether it would not after all be proper to agree with me and give me consideration³ for not desisting from such a foundation but for instead continuing to write thus undaunted. This is why I intend to write at greater length what in the opinion of my despicable opponent I kept so brief, in terms of [a] chosen argumentation. [I have done this] so that, for those who so desire, my [presumed] foolishness and theirs, my experience and theirs, my argument and truth and their [presumptive] one, should be revealed [each in its true merit] and made manifest to all. [All of this is carried out in good faith and on the assumption] that on all sides there is a desire to understand what lies in the inner heart, since after all the inner physician should be the same as the outer one.⁴

¹ According to the 13th-century *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine (Florence: Galluzzo, 1998, p. 349), **Pilatus** was banished for wickedness to the island Pontus. It is possible, that the proverbial horned dilemma, the German equivalent of “between pillar and post” (cf. Wander, “Pilatus”), is intended.

² **auß der wurtzen Keyri**: “Keiri” is the yellow violet, “Gelbe Violaten...vff Arabisch Cheiri,” to Brunfels (xcvi), who claimed that Pliny esteemed it highest after the rose and lily (xcv). To Dorn, “Flos cheiri, est auri essentia.” In Greek myth, Chiron (or Cheiron) is a Centaur noted for wisdom and medical knowledge (NCE). In biblical metaphor, one can stem from the root of a precursor, as of “the root of Jesse.”

³ See Grimm, ²**glimpfen** (2a) gives this citation, glossed as “nachsehen”: to give consideration to.

⁴ **der jnner Artzt dem aussern gleich sey**: P.’s contrasting pair of “inner” and “outer” owes something to classical and Christian tradition (see RLAC, “Innerer Mensch”). In the present context, the inner is the rational and by implication the outer the practical (cf. A.I). This can be rendered by “thinking/acting” since what follows

Das sie mir verargen/ das ich anders schreib dann jhre Schrifften innhalten/ geschicht nicht auß Meinem/ sondern auß jhrem vnuerstandt: dann ich/ als meine Schrifften beweisen/ nichts ausserthalt dem grundt/ sondern wol eingewurtzt/ vnd zu rechter Meyenzeit trücke^a jhre Sprößlin auß.^b Das sie aber vber ein solche wolzeitige Schrifft brummelndt/ geschicht nicht auß kleinen vrsachen: dann niemandts schreiet dann der verwundt wirt: niemandt wirt verwundt/ dann der empfindtlich ist: niemandt ist empfindtlich/ dann der zergengklich ist/ vnnd nicht bleiblich. Sie/ dieselbigen/ schreien: dann jhr kunst ist zerbrüchlich vnd tödlich: nun schreiet nichts dann was tödtlich ist/ also sind sie tödtlich/ darumb schreien sie wider mich. Die Kunst der Artzney schreiet nicht wider mich/ dann sie ist vntödtlich: vnd dermassen auff ein vntödlichen grundt gesetzt/ daß Himmel vnd Erden müssen zerbrechen/ ehe die Artzney stürbe. Dieweil mich die Artzney rühen laßt/ was soll mich dann bewegen das geschrey der tödtlichen Artzet? die allein darumb schreien/ das ich sie wirff vnd verwund: das ist ein anzeigen/ das sie selbs inn der Artzney krank ligent: dieselbig krankheit ist der Kampff wider mich/ die sich nicht gern lassen entdecken noch offenbaren. Dann sie brummen am mehristen in dem/ da ich berühr den pulß/ der jhn schlegt: Vnnd mehr begeren sie zu beschirmen jhren abgang/ dann zu verfechten/ das den

^a Sudhoff (53): “truckent.”

^b One peculiarity of the preserved writings of P. is the existence of parallel versions in which the same themes and thoughts follow, often in the same order, but without evidence of word-for-word transcription, a feature sometimes suggesting a dictation undertaken in a state of increasing anger. Sudhoff reproduces several versions of the preface to *Paragranum*: There are four draft prefaces reproduced together (A, I-IV in S 8:33-50). The last and longest of these, signed in Beratzhausen, is 11 pages. There is B with 18 pages (S 8:51-68) and C with four pages (S 8:135-39). I will refer to them here as AI, AII, AIII, AIV; B, and C. AII quarrels with P.’s opponents over specific treatments of syphilis. AI and AIV refer back to Basel. AIII and AIV both allude to P.’s defamation as a medical “Lutherus,” as does our preface (B). Only B refers to all four pillars, doing so repeatedly (see Intro). AII, AIII, and AIV refer to only three, as does C (S 8:137). Nonetheless, Sudhoff promoted C and its accompanying initial sections on “Philosophy” and “Astronomy” to constitute the first half of his so-called “final version.” Up to this point in the above text, B and C have been so similar that the one version must have lain before the author or at least been fresh in mind while the other was being dictated or rewritten. Thus the paragraph-opening sentence in this version corresponds in C to the following: **“Das sie mir verargen, das ich schreib, geschicht auß irem unuerstandt; dan ich, als mein geschriften beweisen, nichts außerthalb dem grund und erfarenheit geschriben”** (135).

They hold against me that I write differently from what is found in their writings. This does not happen for reason of my ignorance but for reason of theirs, since I [state] nothing, as my writings indicate, that is beyond my foundation. Rather, it is all properly rooted within it; and in its allotted springtime it will sprout forth. But the fact that they murmur against such timely writings has no small cause. For whoever cries out has been wounded. No one can be wounded who is not sensitive, and no one is sensitive unless he is mortal and passing. They are the ones who cry, for their art is decrepit and moribund. No one cries thus who is not vulnerable. Therefore, they must be vulnerable, and for this reason they cry out against me. The art of medicine does not cry out against me. For it is immortal; and it is set upon such an unshakable foundation that heaven and earth would have to shatter before medicine could perish. Since the true medicine is my mainstay, why should I be moved by the screaming of these moribund physicians? By those who scream for one reason only, that is, because I have cast them out and wounded them. This merely indicates that in medicine they are the ailing ones. Their disease is nothing less than their struggle against me: they who resist being exposed or revealed [in their true nature]. For they murmur most of all when I feel their pulse as it strikes. They are more concerned to cover their downfall

concerns the physician's approach to his vocation. P. frequently also adapts the terms "inner" and "outer" to refer to microcosm and macrocosm respectively.

Krancken betrifft/ Kunst/ gelehrte/ erfahrenheit/ frombkeit/ darinn ich meines schreibens grundt vnnnd vrsach suche: vnnnd spalten jhr verantworten/ | 8 | vnd brechen jhren grund wider mich/ also daß ein jeglicher einen andern grund führet: so doch in der Artzney Ein grund ist/ nicht gespalten. Aber die vrsach solliches spaltens ist die/ das sie auß den Fragmenten gewachsen sind: darumb du Doctor verantwort das/ du Baccalaureus das/ du Scherer das/ du Bader das vbrig.

Ihr höchsts ist wider mich/ das ich nicht auß jhren Schulen komme/ vnd auß jhnen schreibe: soll^a ich also schreiben/ so würde ich ohn lügenstraffung nicht entrinnen/ dann der Alten schrifften beweißt sich selbs falsch. Welcher mag ohn Falsche hierauß geboren werden? Will ich inn der Artzney die warheit schreiben/ nicht allein den Schulern/ sondern Schulern vnd Meistern/ vnd allen jhren Præceptoren: so muß durch waarhafftigen grundt bestehen/ inn der gemein sie alle zûsammen kuppeln: dieweil sie solch schreyer sind/ fürhalten was die Artzney sey: demnach was sie sind/ gleich so noht jhr geschrey zu entdecken als jhr kunst. Will ich gegen jhnen solchs führen/ müß ich die ding für mich nemmen/ darauff die Artzney stehet/ damit menniglichen erkennen möge^b ob ich fug hab zuschreiben oder nicht: Vnnnd setz meinen grund den ich hab/ vnnnd auß dem ich schreib/ auff vier Sent^c als inn die Philosophie/ inn die Astronomie/ inn die Alchimey/ vnnnd inn die Tugendt: Auff den vieren will ich fussen/ vnnnd eines jeglichen gegentheils warten vnnnd acht haben/ ob ausserhalb der vieren ein Artzt gegen mir auffstehn werd. Verächter sind sie der Philosophie/ verächter der Astronomie/ verächter der Alchimey/ verächter der Tugenden/ wie mögen sie dann vnueracht von den krancken bleiben/ so sie das verachten/ das dem krancken die Artzney gibt/ dann mit der Maß sie messen/ wirt jhnen hinwider gemessen/ vnnnd ihre werck bringen sie zu schanden. CHRISTVS war der grund

^a Sudhoff (54): “solt.”

^b Sudhoff (54): “müge.”

^c Sudhoff (54) edits this to “seul.”

than to fight for that which is of concern to the patient: the art, learning, experience, [and] piety in which I seek the basis and reason of my own work. They divide their responsibility | 8 | and undermine their foundation [in order to inveigh] against me, so that each cites a different reason. Yet in medicine there must be one single foundation which is undivided. The reason for their divisions is that they have emerged out of the fragments. Therefore, doctor, [you should] answer for that, [and] you, sophomore apprentice,¹ for that, [and] you, barber, for that, [and] you, bathhouse attendant,² for whatever is left.

Their most exalted undertaking is directed against me just because I am not a product of their schools and do not write accordingly. If I were to do so, I would not get away with it without proving myself a liar. For the writings of the ancients have proven themselves to be false. Who can emerge from them without falsehood? If I want to write the truth about medicine, [and to do so] not only for the students, but for both students and masters and for all their teachers, then this has to proceed from the proper ground that binds all together. Since they are such screamers, I must demonstrate what [true] medicine is, [and] correspondingly, what it is that they are, since it is as necessary to expose their charges as it is to expose the true nature of their art. If I want to carry out this undertaking against them, then I must take it upon myself to reveal the foundation of medicine, so that many people will recognize that I have a justification in writing as I do. [Accordingly,] I will lay down the foundation from which my writing proceeds, [placing it] on four underpinnings (**Sent**):³ philosophy, astronomy, alchemy, and virtue. It is on these four that I will establish myself and look to all contradiction and observe whether outside of these four any physician is able to rise up against me. They are the despisers of philosophy, despisers of astronomy, despisers of alchemy, despisers of the virtues. How then should they avoid the contempt of patients in despising the very thing that offers medicine to the sick. By the same measure that they apply, they will in turn be measured; and their work will bring disgrace to them. CHRIST was the foundation of

¹ *Baccalaureus*, a title assumed by upstart journeymen or apprentices (DML).

² **Barbers or bathhouse attendants** were entrusted with certain medical or surgical functions but were not the equals of trained physicians (Münch 389; cf. Robert Jütte, “Zur Sozialgeschichte der Handwerkschirurgen im 16. Jahrhundert,” PS 45-59).

³ See Grimm, **Sente**: structural support of a boat hull.

der seligkeit/ des warde er verachtet: aber die recht verachtung feiel vber die Verächter/ das weder sie noch Jerusalem blieben.

Also mag ich wol vergleichen dise Secten der Artzten der hohen Schulen/ Scherer vnd Badern/ das sie auch gleich sind den Geylem/ die man Parfoten^a nennet/ inn derselbigen Clamanten Zunfft besitzen jhr die überste statt.

Weiter zu betrachten den grund: Welcher mag ein Artzt | 9 | sein/ der nit auß den vier gemelten vnbresthafftig gewachsen sey? Keiner/ sondern er muß in den Vieren vberal die erfahrung tragen: Sie sind der Artzt/ der Mensch nit/ Sie sind erkandtnuß der kranckheit/ Sie sind die zeichen/ Sie sind die Artzney/ in jhn ligt der Artzt/ hierinn ligt des krancken trost vnd hoffnung/ wie im Creutz Christi die erquickung der todten. Vnnd darumb daß ich auß dem grunde der Artzney schreib/ so muß ich verworffen werden: darumb das jr nit auß dem grunde/ noch auß dem rechten erb geboren/ hanget euch an die spurialisch art/ die sich selbs bey dem besten erhebt. Welcher wolt der sein bey allen gelerten/ der nicht einer Profession wolt ein Felsen besser dann ein Sand achten? Als allein die gehürneten Academischen Bachanten/ deren grund jhnen den nammen gibt/ darauff sie widmen/ mögen kein deposition erleiden/ also^b bleiben sie gemalet Artzt: vnd so sie nicht gemalet giengen *pro forma*, wer wolte sie für Artzt erkennen? jhre werck würden sie nit offenbar machen. Also sindts außwendig hübsch/ inwendig kothauer vnd contrafeyet Oelgötzen. Welcher gelerter vnd erfahrner suchet den Artzt in eusserem schein? nemlich keiner: Wellicher sucht jhn aber im eusseren schein? der einfeltig Mann. Warauff ist nun ein solche Artzney gegründet/ die von keinem

^a The parallel diatribe in the short version (C) against “**parfotten** und holzschuern” (S 8:136) alludes to the “Barefoot ones and the Wearers of Wooden Clogs,” i.e. Minorite Franciscans (cf. Grimm, “Holzschuher”).

^b Sudhoff (55): “erleiden? also.”

salvation; [and] for this he was despised. But true contempt was to be reserved for those who despised him, so that neither they nor Jerusalem remained.

For this reason I choose to compare these sects of physicians to the universities, barbers, and bathhouse attendants: because they are comparable to the crooks,¹ known as bare-footers. In the guild of screamers you hold first place.

This additional reason is to be considered: Who could be a physician |9| without having sprouted flawlessly from the four aforesaid [things]? None. To the contrary, [the physician] must have every sort of experience in those four. They are the physician, not the human being. They are the knowledge of disease. They are the signs. They are the medicine. In them lies the physician. In them the consolation and hope of the patient, just as in the cross of Christ lies the resurrection of the dead. And precisely because I write from this [true] ground of medicine, I am to be rejected. Because you [who reject me] are not borne from the [true] ground, nor from the [true] inheritance, you will rely on that spurious sort of affair that is catch-as-catch-can. Who [is there] among all the learned who would not consider a profession erected upon a rock better than one built on sand? No one other than the horned academic *vaganti*² whose type of foundation gives them their reputation, to which they apply themselves [and in which] they can stand for no deposition. For this reason they remain as painted [likenesses of] physicians. And were it not for the fact that they strutted around *pro forma*, who would even suppose that they were physicians at all? Their work would not accredit them as such. So, outwardly, they make a pretty picture, but inwardly they are shit handlers³ and painted idols. Who of learning and experience would expect to ascertain the physician in external appearances? None at all. Who is it that does seek in external appearances? The simple-minded do. On what is the medicine based

¹ See Grimm, **Geiler** can mean not only a swindler or hypocrite but also “Landstreicher,” a tramp or bum; “bare-footers,” see vis-à-vis.

² See Grimm, **Bachanten**: refers both to the immature or “sophomoric” student and wastrel *vaganti*; the “horned” student is the *cornutus*, roughly “green-horn.”

³ See Grimm, **Kothhauer**: citing this passage only and adding a question mark, Grimm offers no advice; the obvious invective can best be related to passages below (H 2:76-7), in which a false medicine merely covers up filth or foul odors without transforming its poison.

Gelerten gesucht wirt? darinn auch weder Philosophey außgeht/ in welchen auch kein Astronomiey gemerckt wirt/ in denen auch kein Alchimey erfahren wirt/ in denen auch kein Tugent gespüret wirt. Vnnd darumb daß ich melde die ding/ die in einem Artzt sollen gefunden werden/ soll ich mein nammen von jhnen verendert tragen/ *Cacophrastus*, der ich doch *Theophrastus*^a billicher heiß/ Art vnd Tauffs halber.

Das jhr mich nuhn forthin recht verstanden/ wie ich den grund der Artzney führe/ vnd warauff ich bleibe/ vnd bleiben werde: nemlich in der Philosophey/ nemlich in der Astronomiey/ nemlich in der Alchimey/ nemlich in den Tugenden.^b Also daß die erste Seul ein gantze Philosophey sey der Erden/ vnd des Wassers: Vnnd die ander Seül sey die Astronomiey vnd Astrologey/ mit volkomlicher erkandtnuß beider Element des Luffts vnd des Fewers: Vnnd das die dritte Seul sey die Alchimey/ ohn gebresten mit aller bereitung/ eigenschafft/ vnd | 10 | kunstreich vber die vier gemelten Elementen: Vnnd daß die vierdte Seul sey die Tugent/ vnd bleibe beim Artzet biß in den todt/ die da beschließ vnd erhalte die anderen drey Seulen. Vnnd mercket mich eben: dann jhr müsset auch hieren/ vnnd die vier Seulen erfahren: oder jhr mussend offenbar werden den Bawrn auff den Dörffern/ daß [das] ewer kunst sey/ Fürsten vnd Herren/ Stetten vnnd Ländern allein durch bescheisserey artzneyen/ vnd das jhr ewerer Kunst weder wissens noch warheit habend/ vnnd die zucht/ die euch beschicht/ geschicht euch Narren vnd Gleißnern/ das ist/ euch vermeineten Artzten. Wie ich aber die Vier für mich neme/ also müsset ihrs auch nemen/ vnnd müsset Mir nach/ ich nicht euch nach/ Ihr Mir nach/ Mir nach/ *Auicenna*, *Galene*, *Rhasis*, *Montagnana*, *Mesue*,^c etc. Mir nach/ vnd nit ich euch nach/ Ihr von Pariß/ jhr von

^a “Art und Tauffs halber” suggests that P. understood his given name in reference to the ancient medical authority **Theophrastus**, an association he embraced, though he represented his namesake elsewhere as an authority whom he had surpassed (cf. H 2:25).

^b In Sudhoff’s C, reference is made only to the first three. In Huser, however, the fourth pillar is added in parentheses to render it consistent with B (H 2:102).

^c Beginning with **Auicenna** and **Galen**, this is P.’s rogues’ gallery of discredited precursors. Nevertheless, the preceding writings offer a calmer, more professional, if still negative assessment of their contributions, as in the materials of the Basel *De Gradibus* (S 4:92-95), where he cites the “**Mesuaicas** descriptiones” (92) or a “descriptionem **Rhasis**” (94), though also with a tendency to generalize about scholastic tradition: “male scripsit **Albertus Magnus** de gradibus, et Thomas Aquinas cum eo” (S 4:94). Certain post-Basel writings mention **Montagnana** as one of several

that is not desired by any learned person? [The kind of medicine] from which no philosophy proceeds; the kind in which no astronomy is to be found; in which one can discover no alchemy, and in which no virtue is to be observed. Because I speak of these things which should be in the possession of a physician, it is I who must assume a changed name, *Cacophrastus*, though I am more appropriately known as *Theophrastus*,¹ both by character and christening.

[I write this] so that from now on you will understand properly how I am laying the foundation of medicine, the one on which I abide now and in the future: on nothing less than philosophy, nothing less than astronomy, nothing less than alchemy, [and] nothing less than the virtues. Accordingly, the first pillar [of medicine] is a complete philosophy of earth and water; and the second pillar is astronomy or astrology, incorporating a full understanding of air and fire. The third pillar is alchemy without flaw and encompassing all preparations, properties, and | 10 | adept [art with its power] over the four aforesaid elements. And the fourth pillar is virtue; and it remains with the physician unto death [as a support] that encompasses and sustains the other three pillars. And take note of what I am saying, for you must enter here and know these four pillars; otherwise it will become clear [even] to the peasants in their villages what the true nature of your art is; and that you treat the princes, nobles, cities, and lands using nothing but a swindling medicine, and that your art has neither knowledge nor truth [in it]; and that the discipline (*zucht*)² with which you have been entrusted was betrayed to you as fools and swindlers. To you, phony physicians! But as I choose for myself the four, you too will have to choose them. You will have to follow after me, not I after you. You after me, *Avicenna*, *Galenus*, *Rhazis*, *Montagnana*, *Mesué*, etc.³ You after me, [and] not I after you. You of Paris, you of

¹ **Theophrastus** (the name means “divinely speaking”), was a Greek philosopher (ca. 372-ca. 287 BCE), the successor to Aristotle, best known for his work on plants (NCE). “**Cacophrastus**” is from the posted Basel diatribe (Intro 9; H 2:11).

² See Grimm, **Zucht**: used in the sense of III1, “mastery” or “education.”

³ **Avicenna** (Ibn Sina, 980-1037), Islamic Aristotelian philosopher and physician, author of the *Canon of Medicine* which figured prominently in medical training in Europe from 1100 until after P.’s time (NCE); **Galen** (c. 130-c. 200), the most prominent ancient medical authority in the Middle Ages, bitterly opposed by P. (NCE); **Rhazes** (or Rasis, 860-932), a Persian physician and perceptive clinician whose works were published in Latin in the 15th century, including a medical encyclopedia compiled from his writings, *Liber Continens* (NCE); **Montagnana** (Bartolomeo da, died 1460), medical professor in Padua, author of medical works

Mompelier/ jhr von Schwaben/ jhr von Meissen/ jhr von Cöln/ jhr von Wien/ vnd was an der Thonaw vnd Rheinstrom ligt/ jhr Insulen im Meer: Du *Italia*, du *Dalmatia*, du *Sarmatia*, du *Athenis*/ du Griech/ du *Arabs*, du *Israelita*, Mir nach/ vnnd ich nicht euch nach/ ewrer wirdt keiner im hindersten Winckel bleiben/ an den nicht die Hunde seichen werden: Ich wirdt *Monarcha*, vnnd mein wirdt die Monarchey sein/ vnd ich füre die Monarchey/ vnd güerte euch ewere länden. Wie gefelt euch *Cacophrastus*? Diesen Dreck mußß ihr essen.

Wie wirt es euch Cornuten ansehen/ so ewer *Cacophrastus* ein Fürst der Monarchey sein wirt? vnnd jhr *Calefactores* werdend Schlotfeger: Wie dunckt euch so *Secta Theophrasti* triumphieren wirt? vnd jhr werden in mein Philosophhey müssen/ vnd ewern *Plinium*, *Cacoplinium* heissen/ vnd ewern^a *Aristotelem Cacoaristotelem* heissen/^b vnd ich würd^c sie vnnd ewern *Porphyrimum*, *Albertum*, etc. in meinem dreck tauffen/ mit sampt ewer Gevatterschafft: Das wirt mir zuwegen bringen die *vis mineralis*, vnd *generatio mineralium*: vnnd was zwischen den zweyen *Polis* ligt/ wirt mein Harnisch sein/ ewer Astronomey vnnd Laßtafel kunst in Pilatus See zuwerffen: vnd die Alchimey mußß mir eweren *Aesculapium*, ewern *Auicennam*, ewern *Galenum*, etc. vnnd ewer Scribenten alle in | 11 | ein *Alkali* versieden/ vnd im Reuerber biß auff die hindersten *Feces* verbrennen/ vnd der *Vulcanus* mußß Schwebel vnd Bech/ Salpeter/ vnd Oel angiessen/ vnd seuberer müßt jhr noch gereinigt werden/ dann das Gold durchs feuer/

authorities then in fashion (S 6:47, 172). As an authority, **Porphyrius** is mentioned as far as I know only here and in the parallel draft.

^a Sudhoff (56): “euerm.”

^b In version C, P. abandons word play in favor of scatological invective: “ir werden in mein philosophhei müssen und auf eueren Plinium, Aristotelem scheißen, auf eueren Albertum, Thomam, Scotum, etc. seichen” (S 8:138).

^c Sudhoff (57): “wird.”

Montpellier, you of Swabia, you of Meissen, you of Cologne, you of Vienna, and you from whatever else lies on the Danube or the Rhine. You, islands in the ocean. You, *Italia*, you *Dalmatia*, you *Sarmatia*, you Athens, you who are Greek or *Arab* or *Israelita*: [you must follow] me, not I after you! Not a one of you will remain in the hindmost corner upon whom the dogs will not crap! I will be monarch, and mine the monarchy; and I will lead the monarchy, and I will gird your loins for you. How do you like your *Cacophrastus* now? You will have to eat this dirt!

How will it look for you horned fools when your *Cacophrastus* becomes a prince of the monarchy? And you, *Calefactores*, will be chimney sweeps. What do you think about the fact that [the] sect of Theophrastus will triumph? And you will have to enter into my philosophy. And you will know your *Plinius* as *Cacoplinius* and your *Aristoteles* as *Cacoaristoteles*, and I would christen them and your *Porphyrius* [and], *Albertus*,¹ etc. in my dirt, along with all your kind. That will provide me with my *vis mineralis* and *generatio mineralium*² and what lies between the two *poli* will be my armor. Your astronomy and your art of the phlebotomy-table³ will be cast into the Sea of Pilatus. And [my] alchemy will have to boil to | 11 | an *alkali* your *Aesculapius*,⁴ your *Avicenna*, your *Galenus*, and all the rest, as well as all of your other scribblers, burning them up in a reverberator down to the last feces. And *Vulcanus* will have to pour on sulphur and pitch, saltpeter and oil. And you must be cleansed until you are purer than

including *Consilia Medica* (Venice 1497). Important for their case studies, his works were reprinted into the 17th century (LMA). *Mesuë* may refer to two different Syrian physicians in the early Middle Ages, or to a Lombard medical treatise in the late (LMA).

¹ **Porphyry** (c. 232-c. 304), a Greek Neoplatonist whose *Isagoge*, an introduction to the logic of Aristotle, was a standard medieval text (NCE); **Albertus Magnus** (died 1280), scholastic philosopher and student of Aristotle who wrote not only on theology but on botany, metals, and medicine (NCE).

² Cited polemically, “**mineral power**” and “**generation of minerals**” pertain to P.’s alchemical medicine.

³ **Laßtafel kunst**: As a contrast to P.’s true astronomy, this refers to astronomical charts for blood-letting. Embodying a rules-based traditional medicine abhorred by P., such manuals guided medical phlebotomy with respect to the “appropriate seasons of the year, phases of the moon, and times of day for performing the operation in different types of patients and cases” (Siraisi 140).

⁴ Alternate form for *Asclepius*, legendary Greek doctor, son of Apollo and pupil of Chiron.

jhr müßt durch das Spießglaß/ da will ich sehen wie jhr ein König gehn boden setz/ vnd vber den Dufftstein will ich euch pallieren lassen: vnd die Tugent als die vierdt Seul/ wird auß euch ein grösser Spectacul machen/ dann die Juristen vber kein *Malefactorem* erdacht haben. O wie werden ewere verderbten krancken lachen/ O eweres armen *Galen* Seel/ wer er vntödtlich bliben in der Artzney/ so weren seine *Manes* nit in abgrundt der Hellen vergraben worden/ darauß er mir geschriben hatt/ des *Datum* in der Hellen standt. Ich hett nicht vermeinet/ daß der Fürst der Arzten dem Teuffel in Arß solt gefaren sein: nemlich seine Discipul faren jhm nach/ oder am wenigsten seiner Mutter ins F.L. Solt das ein Fürst der Artzney sein/ vnnd die Artzney auff jhm stehn? so müssen die grösten Schelmen in der Artzney sein/ so vnder der Sonnen leben/ sie beweisens auch wol/ daß sie jhm trewlich nachfolgen.^a

So ich kein behelff wider euch hett/ als allein die zeugnuß der krancken/ wie groß würde ich geachtet werden in der Monarchey? Das^b ich ein solliche langwirige lügen entdecke/ vnd mit warhafftiger zeugnuß bestätte/ vnnd mache^c sie also offenbar als die Sonne den Sommer: Noch viel mehr werde ich in der Monarchey stehen/ so ich euch vber der Krancken kundtschafft mit einer Vierfachen Facultet vberwinde/ vnd brings dahin/ daß ich Euch lehre/ vnd jhr mich nicht: vnd was ich von euch gelehret hab/ das hatt der ferndige Schnee gefressen: Ich hab die Summa der Bücher in Sanct Johannis fewer

^a The preceding passage indicates that the infuriating episode of a satirical Latin posting (cf. vis-à-vis) was still fresh in mind, influencing the thrust of P.'s argument. His allusions to the insults inflicted by his Basel university opponents whose weapon was their rhetorical and poetic skills are so frequent and stereotypical that they provide an index for dating P.'s undated works, as in this passage from the *Elf Traktat*: "So einer iedoch wil ein stattarzt sein, ein lector und professor ordinarius, so sol er können, das im zustat. dise aber, dieweil etliche in schulmeisterei erfault sind, andere in der rhetoric verschwollen, der ander in der poeterei mit liegen gewont und der gleichen mit anderer schüzerei; so mügen sie nit anderst sein, dan wie sich die buchstaben machen, die manchen narren mer machen" (S 1:150). The combination of "city physician" and "lecturer" with opponents he condemns for arrogant and sophomoric abuse of the arts ("rhetoric...poeterei ...schüzerei") typifies the pattern, as do his fierce rebuttals of "apoteker" and "die hohen schulen." Since there is no evidence that P. addressed his theories to any university prior to his summons to Basel in 1527, such rebuttals make it likely that a work was written after his quarrel in Basel. This is true of *Elf Traktat* and the drafts on *Podagra* (S 1) but not of *Archidosis* or his tracts on natural spring waters (S 3, 2).

^b Sudhoff (57): "monarchie, das."

^c Sudhoff (57): "machte."

the gold that passes through the fire. You will have to pass through the antimony; and I want to see then how a king¹ will settle you out; and I want to polish you with porous tofa stone.² And virtue, the fourth pillar, will make a greater spectacle of you than any jurists have invented for any *malefactor*. Oh, how will your maimed patients laugh! Oh, the soul of your poor *Galenus*: if only he had remained immortal in medicine, his *Manes*³ would not now be buried in the abyss of Hell from which he has written to me, he whose *datum* was in Hell. I would not have thought that the prince of physicians would have passed into the devil's ass; and indeed his disciples are following after him; or at least into the *F.L.*⁴ of his mother. Is that what you call a prince of medicine? Is medicine supposed to stand on that sort of foundation? If that's the case, then the greatest rascals under the sun must be found in medicine; for they truly prove that they are his followers.

If I had no other assistance against you but the witness of my patients, how highly I would be esteemed in my monarchy! Because I am exposing such a longwinded lie and confirming [what I state] with true testimony and making it as clear as the sun makes the summer. For all of this I will stand all the higher in the monarchy when I surpass you in the knowledge of the sick by means of a fourfold faculty and [when] it comes to the point that I am teaching you, not you me, and whatever I did learn from you has been consumed as if it were the snows of yesteryear. I have cast the *summa* of the books into

¹ See DAI: the **king** may be an alchemical allusion to the raw matter of the philosopher's stone which undergoes death and resurrection; but it as likely refers to P. himself as "monarch of medics."

² See Grimm, **Duftstein** (Duckstein): porous, sponge-like stone, lat. *tofus* (cf. Pliny 31:48; 17:29): "tofa" (OLD).

³ **Manes** (Roman spirits of the dead) alludes to the satirical poem, posted by detractors of P.'s lectures in Basel. The shade of Galen replies from hell to the lecturer, ridiculing the new terms "Yliadus," "Essatum," and "Archäus" he was attempting to introduce into medicine. (See SP 38-40).

⁴ See Grimm: "Fotze": Since the meaning of the abbreviation is speculative, I have left it in italics. Given the tenor and context of the time, **F.L.** may mean "Fotzen-Loch" (an obscene term for vulva).

geworffen/ auff daß alles vnglück mit dem Rauch inn Lufft gang: vnnd also ist gereinigt worden die Monarchey/ vnnd sie wirt von keinem feuer mehr gefressen werden. Ihr aber habts beuor. Nuhn schawet weiß die Monarchey sey/ euwer oder mein? vnnd so ewere süsse Wörter sich in die Herrschafftten nit also vereinigte/ jhr werent ermer denn^a *Codrus*,^b vnnd müstet eweren eigenen Dreck vor rechter armut fressen. Also lehrnet *Galenus* seine Discipulen von den Todten vnd | 12 | verderbten sich zuernehmen: Würden die Todten wider lebendig/ vnnd die verderbten wider gesund/ sie würden euch auff die Nasen scheissen/ ehe sie mehr zu euch Gnad Herr würden sprechen.

Nuhn merckent/ das ich ein *Philosophus* bin/ nicht nach ewerer Leyren auffgezogen/ was meint jhr was mich vrsache^c darzu? Nemlich das die *Naturalia* bey euch ohn alle warheit describirt seind worden/ vnd nichts anders/ dann ein meynen vnd ein wähen ewer Text vnd grund ist/ vnd der recht grund von den *Philosophis* noch nie angerühret. Was ist das Erste der Artzney? Nemlich/ daß der Artzet wisse daß/ so vor dem Menschen gewesen ist: dasselbige ist *Philosophia*, vnnd tractiert nichts nach dem Menschen/ sondern was vor dem Menschen: vnd wisse dasselbige vollkommen vnnd gantz/ als ein erfahrner *Practicus*, aber nicht *Medicus*: darinnen werden zwo Philosophiey gefunden/ der dingen der Vnderen Sphær/ vnd der dingen der Oberen Sphær.^d Also mag ich sagen/ daß die Philosophiey zweyerley sey/ vnd also zweyerley eingang der Artzney/ vnd jedlicher theil in jhm selbs zwyfach: dann jetweder Sphær hatt zwey Element: Darumb auch also der *Astronomus* ein *Philosophus* ist des Himmels vnd des Luffts: vnd das der *Astronomus* weiß/ soll auch der *Philosophus* wissen/ vnnd hingegen *Astronomus Philosophiam*: sie heissen beyde *Philosophi*, auch beyde *Astronomi*, jedweder ist ein

^a Sudhoff (58): “dan.”

^b P. uses *Codrus* as a term for contemptible poverty: “er ist ein codrus, das ist, er ist ermer dan arm, speist sich mit seiner eigen narrheit” (S 1:94). A prior reference to “kot” (filth, shit) suggests a pun.

^c Sudhoff (58): “ursacht.”

^d Sudhoff (58) introduces a paragraph break here.

the St. John's Day fire,¹ so that all misfortune should pass into air with the smoke. Thus has the kingdom been purified and it shall be consumed by no fire again. That is what awaits you. Just look now whose monarchy it is, yours or mine? And if your sweet words did not insinuate themselves among the rulers, you would be poorer than *Codrus*² and would have to eat your own dirt out of pure poverty. That's how *Galenus* teaches his disciples to nourish themselves from the dead and | 12 | medically ruined patients. If the dead came to life again, and the ruined were healthy again, they would shit on your nose before saying to you, mercy, sir.

Now take note that I am a *philosophus*, [and] not educated according to your tune: What do you think prompted me in this? It is the fact that the *naturalia* are described by you without any truth and are nothing but the opining and imagining of your texts, the reason for this being that the true ground has never been so much as touched upon by the *philosophi*. What is the first concern of medicine? It is that the physician should know what came before the human being. That is what *philosophia* is. It treats of nothing in accordance with the human being, but rather in accordance with what was before the human being; and [he] should know this completely and thoroughly, as an experienced *practicus*, though not [yet] as a *medicus*. In this matter, there are two philosophies: [pertaining to] the things of the lower sphere and to the things of the upper sphere. For this reason, I can say that philosophy is twofold, and that accordingly there are also two introductions to medicine; and that every part [of the world] is in itself twofold; for every sphere has two elements. For this reason, the *astronomus* is a *philosophus* of the heavens and the air. Furthermore, what is known by the *astronomus* should also be known by the *philosophus*; and conversely, the *astronomus* [should be familiar with] *philosophia*. Both are known as *philosophi* and both are also

¹ This symbolic action took place in Basel, 1527, in mid summer, before P.'s lectures became notorious. Sebastian Franck cited it in recording P.'s stay in Nuremberg in 1529: "Dr. Theophrastus von Hohenheim, a physician and astronomer...who ridicules almost all doctors and authors of medicine. He is supposed to have burned Avicenna publicly at the university in Basel..." (translated from Sudhoff's citation from the first edition of Franck's *Chronica, Zeitbuch und Geschichtsbibel*, Blatt 253 [Strasbourg 1531], SP 68-69).

² See Grimm, **Koder**: a synonym for poverty. Codrus, son of an Athenian king who dressed as a peasant to infiltrate the enemy camp and died for his city (Zedler). Possibly a play on the word "Kot," shit or filth.

Astronomus, jedweder ist ein *Philosophus*. Der ein braucht die *Astra* in der vndern Sphær/ der ander die *Mineralia* in der obern Sphær: also ist *Minera*^a vnd *Astrum* ein ding. Nun warumb meinestu/ daß ich dir das fürhalte? nit von geschwetz wegen/ sonder darumb/ daß der Artzet dermassen in zwo *Sphaeras* getheilt soll sein/ in die *Philosophicam*, auch *Astronomicam*, vnd die eussern in die innern zu ziehen. Also ist der Artzt ein jnner *Astronomus*, vnnd ein jnner *Philosophus*, geborn auß der aussern Astronomie vnnd Philosophiey. Noch ist aber kein Artzet da/ sondern/ zu gleicher weiß wie der knopff in der blüe ein *materia* der Birn ist/ vnd ist die Birn/ aber niemandts nütze: Also da auch/ da ist ein Artzet/ aber die Erndt ist nicht da: darumb so muß er ein Alchimist sein. Was | 13 | macht die Biren zeitlig/ was bringt die Trauben? nichts als die natürliche Alchimey. Was macht auß Graß Milch? Was macht den Wein auß dürrer Erden? Die natürliche Digestion. Wie also die Natur außwendig ein Alchimisten gibt/ also muß auch der Artzet zeitlig gemacht werden: Vnd wie die bereitung aller Materien in der Natur beschicht/ also muß sie auch beschehen durch den Artzet. Zeitigung der fruchten ist natürliche kochung: Also was die Natur in jhr hatt/ das kocht sie/ vnd wenn es gekocht ist/ so ist die Natur gantz: Also wann der Artzet kochen kan/ das die obbemelten Philosophiey vnd Astronomiey jnnhalten: Jetzt ist er ein Artzet/ deß mann sich warhafftig trösten vnd frewen mag. Hiehernach müßt jhr/ in die Philosophiey/ in die Astronomiey/ vnd in die Alchimey/ vnd ohne die werdent jhr nichts redtlichs außrichten. Wo

^a P.'s use of the term "**minera**" (or "miner") reflects his paradigm shift toward organic diversity: "Nun merken, wie anatomia essata lig: sovil biren, sovil krüsen, sovil krankheiten; item sovil metallan, mineren, sovil kranheiten. darumb so schweigen von humoribus und 4 teilen..." (S 7:430-31). The Basel lecture notes on *tartarus*, in a chapter which is entitled "De peste" and anticipates the "paramiran" work, employ the term to detail the paradigmatic unfolding nature of a tree: "haec omnia apud paramira nostra abscondita latent imperitos; nam sicut flos, qui es species minerae huius arboris, ab alia arbore cadit, deinde fructus, inde herba, dein locustae, inde ariditas et consumptio et mors sequitur in fine regerationis; ita et yliadi flores, scilicet spiritus minerales peribunt, ita et morbi et morborum mortes; sed quid de regeneratione novi maii, ignoramus" (S 5:82-83).

astronomi. Each is an *astronomus* and each a *philosophus*. The one makes use of the *astra* within the lower sphere; the other of the *mineralia* in the upper sphere. Thus *minera*¹ and *astrum* are the same. Why do you think that I demonstrate this to you? Not for the sake of chattering, but rather because the [effectiveness of the] physician should be divided accordingly into two *sphaerae*, into a *philosophica* as well as an *astronomica*, and [he should act so as to] draw the external into the internal. In this sense, the physician is an inner *astronomus*, as well as an inner *philosophus*, born from the external astronomy and philosophy. However, the physician is still not present [in this]; since, just as the bud in the blossom is an [inchoate] *materia* of the pear, and indeed is the pear itself, but is still [immature and therefore of] no good to anyone, so, too, [you might say that] there is a physician, but not yet ripe. Accordingly, he must first become an alchemist. What is it that | 13 | makes the pears ripe, what brings forth the grapes? Nothing other than natural alchemy. What turns grass into milk? What makes wine out of dry earth? The natural digestion does. Just as, externally, nature² provides an alchemist, so must the physician also be ripened [as if by an alchemist]. And in the same way that a processing of all materials occurs in nature, it must also be brought about by the physician. Ripening of fruit is a natural cooking. What is in nature is cooked by nature and when it is cooked, then [its] nature is complete. Therefore, when the physician [at last] can cook that which the aforementioned philosophy and astronomy possess within [their spheres]: at that point he is a physician in whom one can truly find consolation and joy. From that point on, you have to go forward, into philosophy, into astronomy, and into alchemy; and without them you will not accomplish anything properly. What has become of your

¹ Glossed by Ruland as “iron” [ore], *minera* (cf. MLLM, *minarium*) refers to ore(s) in general. To Zedler, it is either the earth from which metals and minerals grow or the remote cause of disease. In P.’s equation of herbs with metals and of organic with inorganic, *minera* might refer to any organic source or germ (see vis-à-vis). Since all things grow in time and their agency is *astrum*, *astrum* and *minera* can be equated. In the traditional correspondences of the macrocosm, “the planets were connected with metals...so that the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Venus, Jupiter, and Saturn were often metaphorically used to signify gold, silver, iron, mercury or quicksilver (‘argent vive’), copper, tin, and lead” (HOLM 21).

² With regard to medicine, Maclean (236ff.) summarizes the common sixteenth-century concepts of nature (nature and God, human nature, universal and particular nature, nature and art, the doctrine of naturals and non-naturals, etc.). Bono expands this to the realm of nature, language, and “signature” (123ff.). See also Intro 29-30.

bleiben jtzet ewere Apotecker/ vnd ewer Suppenwüst? Wo ist ewer Astronomey vnnnd Philosophhey? Was ist ewer Kunst anders gewesen bißher/ dann auff ewern faulen grundt/ damit jhr ewer Weib vnnnd Kind auffspiegelten? Es muß herfür an tag/ vnd ob jhr schon noch mehr Scorpionen ins kraut legten/ so wirdt das gifft in euch/ vnd nicht in mir ersticken/ vnd ewer hinderlistige anschläge auch vber eweren Halß auß.

Von den ersten eweren Scribenten biß auff den letzten/ habt jhr alle noch nie gewußt/ was ein Artzt sey/ dann das beweiset ewer vngwisse kunst: Aber wol/ was ein Sophist sey: Vnd das jhr wissen wöllent/ seid jhr nicht/ wöllent das sein dz jhr nicht wissent. Einmal seind jhr Artzt nicht/ Sophisten aber: Das wirt durch euch bezeuget/ das jhr alle/ vnd alle ewer bücher/ so viel warhafftigs nicht haben/ mit warheit den wenigsten Seich zu vrtheilen/ nach jnnhalt so viel er bedeutet vnd præagirt: Was soll dann das sein? oder was sollen die vrtheil sein diser vnwarhafftigen außsprechen? Die warheit der kunst helt jnnen alle eigenschafft des Harns/ einem Artzet möglich sein zu wissen/ als wol vnnnd als gewiß/ als ein Schuster ein schuch vber einen leysten schlegt. So jhr nun der kunst im Harn vollkommens^a wissens mangelen / war für sol ich euch achten/ anders/ dann das jhr der Fraw Doctorin stewr vnd zinß einziehet auff den Pantoffelen zu treten/ wie der Hurenwirt in | 14 | denselbigen ehren. Also sol der Artzet sein/ das er die kranckheit zu gleicher weise wie ein Bawer/ mit einer Axt einen Baum vmbhacket/ also die kranckheit auch vmbfalle.^b Kann ichs nit dermassen/ so bin ich an dem orth auch kein Artzet als wol als jhr. Dann dermassen ist die Artzney beschaffen/ daß sie ohn zweiffel vnnnd lügen gebraucht wirdt: Dann nichts vnuolkommenlichs hatt Gott beschaffen: Ein vollkommenen Artzet/ keinn zweifelhafftigen: Dann Gott wil nicht getaddelt werden/ das er einicherley vnuolkommens dem Menschen fürgelegt hab/ als der Mensch jhm selbst vollkommens vnuolkommen fürnimbt. Hierinn ligt ewer grundt/ hie werdet jhr in die seitten gestochen mit ewerem Fundament: Also muß der Artzet vollkommen stehen auff den gemelten Vier seulen: Also ist die ordnung in die Artzney zugehen/ nicht oben zum sewloch hinein zu steigen. Vnnnd darumb/ das ich dahin tringe/ sol ich ein verworffen glied sein der Hohenschulen/ ein Kätzer der Facultet/ vnnnd ein verführer der Discipeln/ vnnnd wöllent mich vberzeugen mit den falschen

^a Sudhoff (60): "volkomen."

^b Sudhoff (60): "umbfelle."

apothecaries and their brews now? Where is your astronomy and philosophy? What else has your art been until now but something [built] upon your rotten foundation, for the purpose of entertaining¹ your wife and children? This will have to come to light, and even if you plant even more scorpions in the vegetation, their poison will do its work upon you and not me; and your treacherous attacks will rebound against you.

From the first of your scribes to the last, you have never had an inkling what a physician is. This is demonstrated by your uncertain art. But you should know indeed what a sophist is. And that of which you would know, you are not; and you want to be that of which you do not know. For you are not physicians but sophists. This will be testified to by you yourselves: that all of you, together with all your books, do not contain enough truth in order to truthfully evaluate the least ailment, to discern what it has in it, what it means, and what it presages. What should it be? What should our judgment be of this [sort of] mendacious pronouncing? The truth of the art holds within it all properties of urine that are possible for a physician to know, just as certainly and just as well as the shoemaker hammers the shoe across his last. If you lack all knowledge of urine, what should I think of you but that you are extracting dues and interest for your Mrs. Doctor to do her humble bidding, just like a pimp | 14 | would do his business. The doctor should be like a peasant in chopping down the disease just as if it were a tree so that it falls over. If I cannot do that, then at that point I am no more a physician than you. For medicine is so constituted that it is to be applied without doubts and lies. For God has indeed created nothing that cannot be perfected. A complete physician, not a doubtful one! For God does not want to be accused of having placed incomplete things before the human being, except for those things the human being can bring to perfection for himself out of that which is incomplete. Herein lies your ground. Here you are given a jab in the ribs with your foundation. It is for this reason that the physician has to stand entirely upon those aforementioned four pillars. This is the proper order for entering into medicine—not as if one were climbing into a pigsty. And for the simple reason that I am urging this, I must be [labeled] an outcast member of the universities, a heretic of the faculty, and a seducer of the disciples; and they would like to persuade me with the false writings of *Galenus*, *Avicenna*, and their

¹ See Grimm, **aufspiegeln**: for this passage “vorspiegeln” is offered as a synonym.

Gschrifften *Galenii, Auicennae, etc.* Vnnd also wöllent jhr *Medici* mich vmbstossen. Ich werde grünen/ vnnd jhr werdet dürr Feigenbäum werden: Ihr seid auß dem falschen Gestirn geboren/ das wirt außlauffen/ vnnd der Himmel wirdt sein eigen vbel straffen/ wirt jhm sein *Astronomos* corrigieren/ vnnd die Erden vnd das Wasser werden jhre *Philosophos* renewern/ vnnd das Liecht der Natur wirdt sein Alchimisten zum andern mal geben/ vnd die krancken werden jhre Artzet Baculieren: Wo wirdt in dieser musterung Doctor Cuntz/ vnnd Meister Leußsträler/ vnnd Meister Arßkratzer bleiben/ mit jhren zanbrächerischen zotten/ vnnd hochtragenden Eselsköpffen? Wer wirdt nach Dieser musterung steuren/ den Frawen ann ein Borten/ ann ein Halskoller? Der Niemandts: Dann jhr hoffart vnnd pracht ist mit Lügnerie erhalten worden/ gehet also mit derselbigen hin. O wie werden die Schleyer Doctor pfeifen^a wie die Schlangen gegen den Krötten: jhr giftt fare in sie/ vnnd nicht in mich/ vnnd jhr Apotecken fressen sie selbst/ besser sie erwürgen/ dann ich.

Also wirdt beschlossen/ daß [das] gesundtmachen einen | 15 | Artzet gebe/ vnnd die Werck machen Meister vnnd Doctor/ Nicht Keyser/ nicht Bapst/ nicht Facultet/ nicht *Priuilegia*/ noch kein Hohe Schul: Dann jhnen sindt verborgen daß/ das den Artzet machet: Darumb so ligen sie allein in eusserm schein/ auff das/ dz sie etwas gesehen werden. Es ist noch kein Artzet auff den Hohenschulen nie geboren worden/ auch nie keiner/ der da hette mögen mit wissender warheit/ der wenigsten kranckheit vrsach für zulegen. Warumb lästernt dann jhr Gugelfritzen mein schreiben? das jhr in keinen weg verwerffen möget/ anders/ dann das jhr saget/ ich wisse sonst nichts als allein von *Luxu* vnnd *Venere* zu schreiben: Ist es ein kleines? oder nach ewerem sinn also zuerachten? Diweil ich begreiff alle die Wundkranckheiten^b wie sie in die Frantzosen verwandlet werden/ welche die gröste kranckheit der gantzen Welt ist/ da kein ärgere nie erfunden/ die niemandts schonet/ vnd die mehresten häupter am mehristen angreiffet/ Soll ich hierumb zuerachten sein? So ich trachte der Fürsten/ der Herrn/ vnd des Bäwrischen volckes nutz/ vnd die jrrunge die ich befunden/ erzele/ das mir zu gutem vnnd hohem lob sol gedeien/ Werffet jhr mir in Dreck/ vnd verschonet nicht der krancken: Dann dieselbigen vnnd nicht mich werffet jhr in die

^a Huser has “**pfeisen**,” an apparent typesetting error.

^b Paracelsus had written on such maladies in themselves and in connection with syphilis (S 6:301ff.).

ilk. In this way you *medici* want to bring me down. I will flourish and you will be like dried out fig trees.¹ You were born of the wrong star: this will bear out its full consequences and the heavens will punish their own wrong. They will correct their *astronomi*; and the earth and water will renew their *philosophi*; and the light of nature will cause its alchemists to be born anew; and the patients will put their physicians in their place. What will then become of Dr. Cunz and Master Louse-catcher and of Master Butscratcher in this review, with all their tooth-breaking frills and their aloof donkeys' heads? Who will get them through this inspection—their wives on a leash and collar? No one at all. For their pride and pomp is maintained only by lies, and it passes away with the same. Oh, how will the veiled doctor whistle, like the snakes at the toads. Let their poison pass into them and not into me, and let them eat their own drugs. Better that they croak than I.

It is therefore to be concluded that healing is what | 15 | defines a physician and that results are what define the master and the doctor. Not the emperor, not the pope, not the faculty, not *privilegia*, nor any university whatsoever. For that which constitutes a physician lies beyond them all. This is why they abide in external appearances in order to appear as if they were something. No physician was ever born at university, nor was anyone knowledgeable about truth who could have described the cause of even the least of disorders. So why do you, you anointed fools, slander my writings, which you can only discredit by asserting that I do not know anything else or write about any disease except for *luxus* and *veneris*? Is that such a small thing then? Is this the way you see it? Considering that I incorporate all surgical diseases,² as they are transformed into the French disease—which is indeed the greatest disease in the entire world, since no worse has ever been known, and since it indeed spares no one and attacks the largest number in the worst manner—should I be despised for thus concentrating on such a thing? I strive to benefit princes and lords, as well as the peasant folk, and I report the errors that I have encountered which should only merit high and good praise: and for this you cast me into the dirt and do not spare the patients. For it is them, not me, you are casting into a pool of filth. You do not take to heart the utility

¹ Jesus' making a **barren fig tree** wither in Mt 21:19 is a negative action of the faith that moves mountains.

² **Wundkranckheiten**: here diseases that involve ulcerations or breaking of the skin ("offene Schäden"); on the "**French disease**," see Intro 6.

Kaatlachen.^a Ihr fassent nicht zu hertzen den nutz/ der durch mein werck geschicht/ sondern die krancken müssen euch zu dienst vnnd zu liebe sich erkrümmen vnnd erlehmen lassen/ euch zu wolgefallen mich verachten/ vnnd im selben die kranckheit behalten. Auch die *Mysteria* vnnd *Arcana*^b der Natur/ die jhnen verborgen/ eröffne/ nicht allein in ein wege/ sondern in viel? vnnd darumb das diese *Arcana* diese Recept blindt machen/ so sollen sie veracht werden/ darinnen Saracenen/ *Barbari*, *Persae*, *Chaldaei*^c vnnd alle Spraach einn wolgefallen haben/ vnnd befinden die grosse Tugent/ so auß Göttlicher Trew allen glauben mitgetheilet ist. Diese Trew sol von jhrer Apostitzlerey wegen hingeworffen werden/ auff das jhr vntrew vnnd nicht Gottes Trew fürgang/ dann sie meinen sich selbst trew/ vnnd den krancken vntrew.

Das zwinget mich/ das ich Sie Bachannten heissenn muß/ das sie wiederstreben dem rechten grunde der Natur/ | 16 | vnd wöllen mit jhren Syrupeln vnd *Pilulis* alle *arcana* vberschreien: Vnd nicht ich/ sondern sie offenbaren sich selbst/ vnd mit solchem schreien

^a Sudhoff (62) introduces a paragraph break here.

^b As much as *aura* as concept, the notion of the *arcana* asserted itself in Basel-era works (cf. H 2:6, on the treatment of the blood for “morphea” and other skin ailments: “das arcanum dienet zum blut”—S 4:430). Often there is an alchemical context as with, “arcanum ist ex vitriolo” (S 5:226). The *arcana* may be revealed in qualitative transformations or destructions (S 7:350, 356, 358). Specific afflictions are cured by specific *arcana* (S 5:69, 199, 226). The *arcana* foils the power of the heavens (S 5:233, 7:290, 494). It pertains to a new medicine, superior to that of the ancients. Rooted in nature, it supersedes the *simplica* and *composita* (S 6:139, 255). Identified with the notion of the microcosm (S 7:258), it has a divine source. “*Von den natürlichen Dingen*,” a fragment with strong thematic affinities to the writings of 1530-31, states that providing for human needs is God’s will, a will embodied in the “*arcana*”: “der selbig wil gottes ist das arcanum, das in den natürlichen dingen ist.” Hence they occur in a great variety: “so vil seind der arcana, so vil und dem menschen not zustênt, so vil hingegen der arcana, und so vil arcana, sovil auch wiln gottes” (S 2:111). Essential to medicine, the *arcana* are recognized by their signatures in the “light of nature,” a light that contrasts both with “the apothecaries’ light” and with the swindling of the universities (115). P.’s theological work of this period expresses much the same thinking (see *De Potentia et Potentia Gratia Dei*, 1533, G 1:138). The fifth book of *Archidoxis* defines the *arcana* as incorporeal and eternal (S 3:138). On the question whether there is a difference between divine, celestial, or earthly *arcana*, see note on H 2:55.

^c The reference to benefits bestowed by God on non-Christian peoples betokens an important ambivalence which P. shared with others in his time. Elsewhere the medicine of these same alien peoples is presented as disdainful (S 1:170) or at least distinct from its Christian counterpart (S 1:226).

that comes about through my work. You would prefer that the patients let themselves be lamed and crippled out of love and service to you, to please you, and so that they despise me. They should just stay sick. And what about the *mysteria* and *arcana*,¹ unknown to them, which I disclose, not just in one way but in many? And because the *arcana* hide their powers in the prescriptions, [you think that] they are to be despised. Saracens, *Barbari*, *Persae*, *Chaldaei*,² and all other peoples have found favor in them and discovered the great virtue [concealed in them], which has been accorded to all faiths for reason of divine forbearance. This trust [you think] is to be discarded because of their apostasy, so that their faithlessness and not God's good faith ought to prevail, for [the false physicians] consider themselves true and [yet] are untrue to their patients.

This compels me to condemn them as freshmen³ who reject the true ground of nature | 16 | and who want to promote their syrups and pills above all the *arcana*. It is not me but they themselves who expose their true nature, and [they who] deceive the *auditores* with their declaiming, so that their students want to hear nothing about the

¹ Pagel writes that, "The invisible virtues that the naturalist should uncover are direct emanations from God. As such they are uncreated. For God created objects such as herbs—but their virtues he did not create. 'Virtues,' '**arcana**,' 'magnalia' had always been in God, prior to all creation, at the time when God was a spirit hovering above the waters. Hence, virtues and forces in natural objects are not natural, but supernatural, without end or beginning." Pagel notes further: "in this sense God would have to be called 'natural'" (54). Not only Renaissance naturalism but also the "*rationes seminales*" of St. Augustine, as well as the "*rationes aeternae*" of Erigena are precedents for this understanding of God in nature (cf. Pagel 1962 121-22). Grimm reveals a similar range of natural and supernatural meanings for the more common "Tugend," which P. uses in contexts such as this. For Ruland's definition of *arcantum*, see H 2:55, note; on *mysterium* see Intro 26-27; cf. H 2:40; 2:69; 2:83.

² *Barbari*, *Persae*, *Chaldaei* evokes biblical lore concerning the wisdom and knowledge of the East known to Daniel (Dan 1:4; 2:24); **Saracenen** recalls the influence of Arab writings on magic.

³ On **Bachant**, see note on H 2:9 (this may be the root of the otherwise inexplicable "baculieren": to make fools of).

vberthören sie die *auditores*, das sie von *arcanis* vnd *mysteriis* der natur nicht horchen wöllen/ sondern sie müssen ersauffen in den *decoctionibus* vnd *mixturis*/ vnd solten sie auch daran erworgen.

Ihr seid auß der Schlangen art/ darumb ich das gifft von euch erwarten muß. Mit was spott habt jhr mich außplasimiert/ ich sey *Lutherus Medicorum*? mit der außlegung/ ich sey *Haeresiarcha*.^a Ich bin^b *THEOPHRASTVS*, vnd mehr als die/ den jhr mich vergleichen: Ich bin derselbig/ vnd bin *Monarcha Medicorum* darzu/ vnd darff euch beweisen/ das jhr nit beweisen mögent: Ich werde den *LVTHER* sein ding lassen verantworten/ vnd ich werde das mein auch eben machen/ vnnd wird meniglich/ die jhr mir zuleget/ vbertreffen/ darzu werden mich die *arcana* erheben. Wer ist dem Luther feind? Ein solche Rott ist mir auch gehaß: Vnd wie jhr auff ewer seitten jhnen meynent/ also meynet jhr mich auch/ dz ist/ dem Fewr zu/ du darffest auff die laugen nicht warten. Mich hat nicht der Himmell zu einem Artzt gemacht/ Gott hat mich gemacht/ der Himmell hat nit Artzet zu machen/ es ist ein kunst auß Gott/ nicht auß den Himmeln. Ich darff mich sein frewen/ dz mir schelck feindt seindt: Dann die Warheit hat keinen feindt als die Lügner. Ich darff euch schelten wie die Holhipper/ dz lehret mich ewer Spittal: Vnkäck/ brauchts mit einer solchen warheit herwider? Ich darff gegen euch kein Harnisch anlegen/ kein Pantzer anlegen/ dann jhr seid so viel nicht gelehrt noch

^a Similar to our preface (B), prefaces AIII, AIV, and C allude to P.'s Basel detractors' defamation of him as a medical "**Lutherus**."

^b Sudhoff (63): "haeresiarcha? ich bin."

arcana and *mysteria* of nature but are urged instead to immerse themselves in *decoctiones* and *mixturae*, even if [their patients] choke on them.

You have the nature of the serpent. This is why I expect nothing but poison from you. Scornfully you have gotten rid of me. Was I not said to be a *Lutherus Medicorum*? The implication was that I was *haeresiarcha*.¹ I am *THEOPHRASTUS*, and more than those to whom you compare me. I am the one. Moreover, I am *Monarcha Medicorum*; and I can prove what you cannot. I will let *LUTHER* answer for his thing and I will take care of my own.² I will surpass many to whom you liken me: the *arcana* will raise me up to that. Who is it that is against Luther? That same crowd hates me. And just as you in turn feel about them, that is what you have in mind for me too: the fire. There is no need for the acid treatment.³ The heavens did not make me a physician: God made me one. The heavens do not make physicians. It is an art that comes from God and not from the heavens. I can be glad that I have scoundrels for enemies: for truth has no other enemy but liars. Like the street hawkers,⁴ I can scold you. I have learned [to do] that from your hospital. Brazenly,⁵ will you express yourself with this truth again? I will not don my battle gear, my armor,

¹ A characterization of P. as the “**Luther of physicians**” may have seemed to his Protestant or Humanist supporters to justify their installing him in Basel at a university then still loyal to the pope. It could also have been used by the papist faculty to discredit him there as an “arch heretic.” The question and answer form suggests here that P. might be recalling the role of false friends whose praise turned into accusation. In view of P.’s characteristically complex use of diatribe, it is not advisable to take this disavowal at face value. His invectives sometimes turn vulnerabilities into countercharges and allege insults that ironically redound to his glory.

² This in effect repays the courtesy of Luther’s prior vow to let the physicians reform their own faculties in the context of his appeal for a sweeping reform of the universities in his widely circulated tract of 1520, *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung*: “Die Ertzte lasz ich yhr faculteten reformieren, die Juristen und Theologen nym ich fur mich...” WA 6:459.

³ See Fischer, **Laug**: in certain idoms, an acerbic, unpleasant treatment; from lye, alkali, caustic solution.

⁴ See Grimm: **Hohlhipper** were vendors of oblate cakes of the same name who were known as abusive and in turn were subject to abuse. For P., Luther, Sebastian Franck, and Flacius Illyricus, these vendors stood in ill repute as slanderers. Their peculiar belligerence calls to mind Rabelais’ war of the cake-vendors. Were their oblate-like cakes perhaps also associated with the “falsified” host in the reviled papist mass?

⁵ See Grimm: **unkeck** as used by P. is a term of emphasis rather than negation.

erfahren/ dz jhr mir den wenigsten buchstaben niederlegen möchtent. Möchte ich meinen Glatz vor den fliegen als wol beschirmen/ als mein Monarchey/ vnd were Meylandt als sicher vor seinen feinden/ als ich sicher vor euch/ es kämen weder Schweitzer noch Landsknechte hinein. Ich werd meine Monarchy nit mit Maultaschen beschirmen/ sondern mit *arcanis*: Nicht die ich auß der Apotecken nim/ sie bleiben nur Suppenwüst/ vnd wird nichts anders dann Suppenwust darauß: Ihr aber beschirmet euch mit ewrm dällerschlecken vnd zukauffen: Wie lang meineth jhr dz bestehen werde? Wie habt jhr Luder gelegt | 17 | mich vnder die Weißgerber zufüren/ sie werden Euch noch ewern Rücken behren/ vnd in ewer Wolffgruben selbst^a fallen. Wolt jhr mich vberdisputiren/ vnd wisset der *Simplicia*^b nicht? vnnd müssents von den Apoteckern erfahren? Was^c ist das? Wie heißt das? Wolt jhr ehr einlegen/ vnnd seid noch Apoteckerschützen? Vnnd ausserhalb ewern kleidern wolte ich euch nicht ein Hundt vertrauen.

Dieweil ich nicht als sie bestellt bin/ vnnd in den Fürsten Höfen vnd Stätten nicht angenommen/ solt ich dester weniger angenehme sein? Verlassen sich also hie auff jren geschwornen Eydt^d vnnd mit demselbigen Eydt wöllen sie mich vberdisputieren. Nuhn geschicht solchs auß einfalt der Herrschafft: Bestellen sie/ vnnd sie sollen allen müglichen fleiß bey jhrem Eydt brauchen/ vnbetracht/ das kein

^a Sudhoff (63): “wolfgruben werdet ir selbs.”

^b On the **simples**, *simplicia*, and compounds, *composita*, these staples of medicine, the writings on surgical diseases and syphilis prior to 1530 voice several positions: a. knowledge of both is essential in medicine (S 6:437); b. the “receptmacher” with their “composita” are false; for the “simplicia” possess the true virtues of nature (S 49-52; 7:344, 363); and c. alchemy must bring out the true virtues or *arcana* in the *simplicia* (S 6:422). In *De Renovatione et Restauratione* and *Vom Langen Leben*, the *simplicia* are associated with the heightened healing powers of the *arcana* (S 3:210ff.). The simples are like herbs, the more potent *arcana* like “meat” (S 3:241). *Simplicia* and *arcana* are two paths of medicine (S 3:240). For the balance required in regimen and diet, the elements must submit to alchemical processing (S 3:236ff.): “in labore sophiae in dem da geschehen die operationes elementorum mit volkomener wirkung ganz mit kreften” (238). “Labor sophiae” elicits active or male *arcana* in the passive female elements and presumably in the *simplicia*. The Basel notes discuss the *simplicia* in the context of the *tria prima*, rejecting humoral theory (S 4:15, 22f.)

^c Sudhoff (63): “erfahren, was.”

^d In his exegesis of the decalogue, second commandment (G 7:130-36), P. condemns **oaths**, “eid” (135) and all other “swearing” as a blasphemous abuse of God’s name (132), a corruption of the professional ethos of jurists, physicians, and theologians (135), an unfulfillable sworn promise (135), a worship of the spurious healing power of the saints (132), and a sin against the commandment of love (134).

against you. For you are so lacking in learning and experience that you cannot refute the least letter [that I write]. I wish I could protect my bald head as well from the flies as I can my monarchy [from you]. If Milan¹ had been as secure against its enemies, no Swiss nor any mercenaries would have penetrated it. However, I will not defend my monarchy with blows but with *arcana*. Not the sort that I could get from the apothecaries—what they make is no better than a foul brew, and will never be anything better. You for your part protect yourselves with your parasites, by buying [them] off. How long do you think that can go on? How dishonestly have you exerted yourselves | 17 | to send me to the tanners. They will work over² your own backsides, and you will fall into your own wolf-snare.³ Do you intend to vanquish me at a disputation? And how is it that you know nothing at all about the *simplicia*?⁴ And how is it that you have to learn about these things from the apothecaries? What is this all about? What is this supposed to mean? You claim honors, and yet you are no better than apothecaries' apprentices? If not for your [professional] garb, I wouldn't trust you with a dog.

Just because I am not installed in office, as they are, and have not been accepted at the courts of princes and in cities, must I appear less acceptable for this reason? [They] rely on their sworn oaths in order to beat me at disputation with those oaths. This can happen because of the simple-mindedness of the rulers. They install [the physicians] in office. By their oath they are required to apply themselves with all due assiduousness. However, no [real] application is possible in their case.

¹ An allusion to the contest over the Duchy of Milan that ended in the bloody Swiss defeat at Marignano and the surrender of the city in 1515.

² See Grimm, *beren* (1, 2): schlagen; *depsere*, kneten.

³ Cf. Prov 28:10, "Those who mislead the upright into evil ways will fall into pits of their own making" (Luther: "Wer die Fromen verführet auff bösem wege/ Der wird in seine Gruben fallen...").

⁴ In a period of keen interest in herbs, knowledge of non-compounded "**simples**" was a polemical demand of Agrippa von Nettesheim who attributed a superior knowledge of herbs to the uneducated (cf. Intro 38, note 31).

möglicher fleiß bei jhnen ist: Sie nemen ein jar soldt vnnd schwüren ein anders/ den solch Lappenwerck: Wie mag ein Senat so einfeltig sein/ das sie solch Artzet in Eydtspflicht fassen/ dieweil sie die Eydtspflicht nicht erhalten mögen? Auß solcher bestellung wurtzet die triegerey hefftiger ein: Der vnwissent Mann meinet/ welcher ein solchen Eydt gethan hab/ so müge derselbig nit fehlen/ vnnd vermeinen/ wo der Eydt sey vnnd die bestellung/ da sey auch die kunst/ vnd wöllen also auff Eydt approbiert sein/ das sonst niemandts warhafftig sey/ dann solche Eydtschwerer. Erwegent wie so manlicher durch solche Eydt verführet wirdt/ welchers wirdt erwegen/ wirt solcher falschen zeugnuß nimmer gestehen. Es ist ein arme kundtschafft die diesen Eydt gibt/ dardurch beweret wirt kunst zu sein/ da kein ist/ vnd der Eydt soll alles verantworten. Welcher hat je erfahren/ das ein Artzet sol in ein Eydt verfasst werden? Wil man jhn damit fromb zu sein zwingen? Was soll die zwingnuß/ so er nichts kan? Wil man jhn damit zwingen niemandts zu vberschetzen/ so bescheißt er Drey vor Einen/ damit der abermal zu der zahl komme. Es ist ein arme zwingnuß zu solchem Eydt: Niemandt sol der Eydt geben werden/ mann habe dann wissens/ das der Eydt zu keinem betrug fürdere. Es ist ein harte kundtschafft an einem Rath die solch zeugnuß gibt einem Artzet/ welcher die gemeyn glauben gibt. Ihr sagt/ er sey gerecht/ | 18 | vnnd er wirdt vngerecht erfunden: Vnnd jhr approbierent durch den Eydt/ das nicht zu approbieren ist. Darumb habent vndterscheidt/ wie weit der Eydt reichen mög: Sie nemen Prouision vnnd schwüren Hende vnnd Füß ab.

Aber wie dem sey/ so wirdt sie der Eydt gegen mir nicht approbieren/ sie müssen mit mir vmb den Barchat lauffen: Vnnd müssen der Impostur abstehen/ vnnd solten sie daran erwürgen: Vnnd müssen von der entschuldigung lassen/ das sie sagen/ Gott wils also haben: Vnnd müssen von der lügen auch lassen/ das sie sagen/ Hilffts

They draw a salary for a year and swear to apply themselves to some other worthless business. How can a city senate be so stupid that it takes these physicians at their oath, when no one is going to get what the oath promises? From this sort of appointment dishonesty only takes root more deeply. An unsuspecting [patient] thinks that whoever has performed such an oath cannot err, thinks that where there is an oath and an appointment there will be [medical] art as well. He therefore takes reassurance from the oath, [assuming] that no one else is honest but these swearers of oaths. Consider how many are led astray by such oaths. Whoever considers this will never again vouch for¹ false oaths of the sort.² It is a poor sort of skill that takes such an oath, wanting thereby to assure itself of its art where no art exists. The oath is supposed to take care of this. Who has ever heard that a physician should be constituted by an oath? Is the idea that the [oath] will force him to be pious and good? What good is it trying to force him if he is incompetent? Is it the idea to force him not to overcharge anyone? Then he will merely cheat three for one to get the bottom line right. It is a poor sort of compulsion which has recourse to an oath. No one should be given an oath unless one could be certain the oath would not encourage any deception. It is a bitter revelation for a city council that grants such a medical certification, to which a community gives credence. You say: “Yes, he is honest,” | 18 | but he is found to be the opposite. Nonetheless, because of the oath, you have offered assurances of that which could not be certified. So take care to distinguish just how far such an oath extends: [the physicians] will draw their provisions and swear their hands and feet off.

Be this as it may, they won’t succeed in using their oath to discredit me. They will have to compete with me for the prize.³ They will have to desist from their imposture even if that means that they choke on it. They will have to desist from making excuses to the effect that God wills it thus. They will have to stop the dishonesty of saying: “Well, if

¹ See Grimm, **gestehen** (22c): “als Bürge wofür eintreten.”

² The length and vehemence of this otherwise irrelevant diatribe against the negative influence of **oaths** resonates with a contemporary radical critique of swearing oaths set forth in the Schleithem Confession by Swiss and South German Anabaptists whose radicalism and biblicism, but not other doctrines (cf. H 2:85), were shared by P. Cf. Hartmut Rudolph, “Theophrast von Hohenheim (Paracelsus): Arzt und Apostel der neuen Kreatur,” in *Radikale Reformatoren*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Goertz (Munich: Beck, 1978), 231-42.

³ See Grimm, **Barchat laufen**: refers to a rural competition on festival days.

nicht/ so schadets auch nicht: Als mit der Holtzartzney/ vnnnd Quecksilber/ Purgieren vnnnd dergleichen/ Schad es^a nichts/ so credentzents/ schmirbent euch am ersten/ vnnnd sehet obs ohn schaden sey: Fürwar jhr würd jnnen werden/ mit was Kälberartzney jhr euch vben/ vnnnd ich solt ewer Ketzer vnnnd ein Vagant sein? So mich doch die warheit/ vnnnd nicht ewer lügnerey zu wandern bewegt. Ich sage euch/ mein Gauchhaar im Gnick weiß mehr dann jhr vnnnd all ewere Scribenten: Vnnnd meine Schuchrincken seindt gelehrter/ dann ewer *Galenus* vnnnd *Auicenna*: Vnnnd mein Bart hatt mehr erfaren/ dann alle ewere Hohe Schulen. Ich wil die stundt greiffen/ das euch die Sew im kaat müssen vmbziehen/ wie gefellt euch der *Peregrinus*? Wie gefellt euch der Waldesel von Eynsidlen? Brecht herfür? Was steckt in euch? Könnet jhr Disputieren? Warumb fahet jhrs [nicht] an? Die Disputatz wirdt euch darzu bringen/ das jhr müßt rechnung geben vmb ewere krancken/ vnnnd des Weltlichen Gerichts vrtheil empfahen. Wie thut es euch so wol/ daß euch die Juristen ein beystendtlein thun: Wie wann derselbigen beystandt wirdt zerbrechen/ Vnd auß euch ein Spectacul machen/ wie andern Fischern in wälden? Nicht verlasset euch/ Wir^b haben den Vatter *Galenum* vnnnd Auicennam: Die Stein werden sie zerknitschen/ der Himmel wirdt andere Artzet machen/ die da werden die vier Element erkennen: Darzu auch *Magicam*, auch *Gabalisticam*,^c die euch Cataracten vor den augen seindt: Sie werden *Geomantici* sein/ sie werden *Adepti* sein/ sie werden *Archei* sein/ sie werden

^a Sudhoff (65): “schadets.”

^b Sudhoff (65): “euch <so unnützer wort>: wir.”

^c See *Elf Traktat* (S 1:137ff.) on the relation of *magia* to the art of fire-making (“feur anzünden, was ists als magica?”) or to pathologies of gout and epilepsy (“podagra,” “fallend”), or on celestial “impressio magica” in relation to “philosophia” and “astronomia” (147), to the positive “gaballia **gabalistica**” (147), and to the dubious “zauberei” (137). “Magica” teaches how to recognize the *arcantum* in the light of nature (S 1:379).

it doesn't do any good, it doesn't do any harm either." [I mean] the kind of thing they do with their wood treatment¹ and with quicksilver [and] purgation and so on. "If it doesn't do any harm, let us accredit it. Let's apply ointments first of all, and see if that does no harm." So you will indeed come to know what sort of amateurish medicine² you are practicing. And I am supposed to be the heretic and wandering quack? However, it is precisely the truth—and not your lies—that induces me to wander! I tell you that the hair on my nape knows more than you and all your scribbled sources. My shoestrings are more learned than your *Galenus* and *Avicenna*. And my beard has more experience than all your universities. I intend to embrace that hour when you will be dragged about by the pigs [in their trough]. How do you like your *peregrinus* now? How do you like the forest donkey of Einsiedeln?³ Out with it! What is on your mind? Would you care to engage in a disputation? Why <not> begin? The dispute will force you to render accounts for your patients and accept the judgment of the worldly court. How you are reassured that your lawyers will stand by you! And how that same support is going to crumble! Won't a fine spectacle be made of you as the fishermen in the woods.⁴ Do not think that you can depend [on them by arguing]: "We have on our side Father *Galen* and Father *Avicenna*." The stones will grind them to bits. The heavens will yield other physicians who will recognize the four elements [for what they are], as well as [*Medicina*] *magica* and also *gabalistica*,⁵ which are now among your blind spots. There will be [*medici*] *geomantici*.⁶ There will be *adepti*. There will be *archei*.

¹ **Holzarznei** refers to guiac wood in treating syphilis; an alternate was quicksilver (cf. H 2:19, note).

² See Wander, **Kälberarzt**: the 16th-century proverbial meaning was quackery, not veterinary medicine.

³ The Swiss pilgrimage town of Einsiedeln was P.'s place of birth and early childhood (cf. H 1:67).

⁴ **Fischern in wäldern**: they have been acting in a sphere in which they have no competence.

⁵ On P.'s unclear notion of **Gabalia**, i.e. Kabbalah (cf. H 1:282); on the close relation of celestial **Magic** or theology to medicine, see Rudolph³: "Beide Bereiche [i.e., apocalyptic pessimism and hope for reform] in Hohenheims Theologie und 'himmlischen' oder 'untötlichen' Philosophie bestimmen das Bild des Arztes und Theologen, und beides wurde von den Paracelsisten aufgenommen und weitergetragen..." (64-65).

⁶ In the present context, the **Geomantici** who possess magical powers from the earth are part of an array of new theorist-practitioners of a *Magia naturalis* rising to

Spagyri^a sein/ sie werden *Quintum Esse*^b haben/ sie | 19 | werden *Arcana* haben/ sie werden *Mysteria*^c haben/ sie werden *Tincturam*^d haben: Wo werden jhr Suppenwüst bleiben vnder diser Reuolution? Wer wirt ewern weibern die dünnen lefftzlin ferben vnd die spitzige näßlin putzen? Der Teuffel im hungertuch.

Wie gern sprechen jhr/ als ich zu euch darff sagen/ *Theop<h>raste*/ du verderbst die krancken auch/ als wol als wir: Nein/ Nein/^e was jhr verderbent/ dasselbig vnderstande ich mich wider auff zubringen: Wils nicht/ so habt jhrs vorhin verderbt/ darumb ich euch Fischern^f in den Wälden vergleich/ die da nemen das sie nit wider geben mögen. Wer kan den mordt hindersich ziehen? Wie kan ein abgehawen glied wider angesetzt werden? Also hawent jhr die gleider auch ab ohn Schwerdter vnd Messer: Dann sprechent jhr/ *Theop<h>rastus*^g kan

^a *Geomanticus, adeptus, and spagyri* are used here merely to signify those initiated in the alchemical art in order to operate on the elements (of earth in the first instance); likewise the plural of *archeus*, which for P. signifies a real or metaphorical alchemist at work in external nature or the digesting stomach.

^b According to *De Mineralibus*, all herbs possess, besides the four elements, “ein magneten” that attracts to itself “trium primarum essentias, das ist **quintum esse**, wie die alten sagen, das doch heissen sol quartum esse; dan in dreien dingen stet das mineral und noch ein magnes darzu [P. thus accommodates the term to the *tria prima*], der ist die medicin” (S 3:54; cf. H 2:64). “Quintum Esse” may also be a variant of “*quinta essentia*,” a commonplace term with peculiarities that merit attention. *Quinta essentia* in P. is characterized at length in book four of *Archidoxis* (S 3:118-37). Of prime relevance is its alchemically accessed vitality as a living spirit extracted for medicinal purposes from insensate things: “die quinta essentia ist der spiritus vitae des dings, das in den empfindlichen nit mag aus gezogen werden, als in den unempfindlichen.”

^c In *Archidoxis*, the *mysteriae naturae* pertain to a realm of mysteries that yield knowledge of God and of the eternal on the one hand and of the human being and the realm of the perishable on the other. From the knowledge of the *mysteriae* follows an answer to the question “was theologia ist” (S 3:94).

^d The *tinctura* is situated at the conjunction of metallurgical and medicinal alchemy. It is analogous to the extracted latent goodness of a thing: “wiewol dise güte in mancherlei weise erfunden wird: in der tinctur als die art lapidis philosophorum inhalt...” (S 3:302). In *Von den ersten dreien Principiis*, the “tinctura” gives rise to a visionary optimism, “wie tinctura sei und wie tinctura regenerire und das alter renasciren macht” (S 3:8). In the *Große Wundartznei*, 1536, a frank and informative memoir of his father and the early clerical or occupational influences on his education accompanies his discussion of tinctures for purifying the blood (S 10:354). Sudhoff’s *Spuria* include a tract *De Tinctura Physicorum* (S 14:391ff.).

^e Sudhoff (66): “nein, nein, nein.”

^f Sudhoff (66): “darumb ich fischen.”

^g Here and in the first line of the paragraph Huser omits “h.”

There will be *spagyrici*. They will possess the *quintum esse*. They | 19 | will possess the *arcana*. They will possess the *mysteria*.¹ They will possess the *tinctora*.² What will happen to your foul brew when this *revolution*³ comes to pass? Who will dye the dainty little rags and clean the pointy little noses of your wives? The devil on starvation duty!

How you deign to speak: “Theophrastus, you also harm the patients, no less than we do.” No! No! What you are damaging I undertake to restore. I am against what you do, and it is because you have done such damage that I call you fishermen in forests who have seized what they cannot return. Who can make good on [such] murder? How can a severed limb be restored? You chop them off, even without the use of the sword or the knife. For when you say, “Theophrastus can’t help him either,” that’s where corruption⁴ sets in.

prominence and notoriety at the end of the Middle Ages (see DGWE: “Magic III: Middle Ages” and “Magic IV: Renaissance-17th Century”).

¹ Pagel and Ruland are informative on *quinta essentia* (on **quintum esse**, see H 2:64) and **arcanum** (cf. H 2:15, 55, 65). Ruland defines **archæus** as: 1. the separator and organizer in the elements (“der Scheider der Elementen/ der es ordnet/ vnnnd regiret/ iedes an seinen Orth/ Geschlecht vnd Wesen”); 2. the most exalted of spirits that can be separated from bodies (“*Archeus est summus, exaltatus, & inuisibilis spiritus, qui separatur a corporibus*”); and 3., macrocosmically, as the cosmogonic agent that elicits and separates all things from the *Iiaster* corresponding to the like agency in the human microcosm (“eine Krafft/ die alle Dinge auß dem *Iiaste* fürbringt vnnnd scheidet/ also auch im Menschen scheidet”). On the “archæus” as an alchemist acting in the body and in external nature, cf. H 1:177. Still worth consulting is the dissertation of Hildegard Danter, *Der Begriff “Archeus” bei Paracelsus* (Salzburg, 1959); on “*mysteria*,” see H 2:15, note.

² **Tincture**: a coloring liquid which transforms metals (DAI) or that acts analogously upon health. Pagel: “The ‘tincture,’ i.e., the essential ‘generating principle,’ is derived from the quality and ‘form’”... (262).

³ P.’s use of the term “**Revolution**” is noteworthy: Inspired by astronomy and alchemy and long predating the modern sense of a political upheaval, it nonetheless anticipates it to a surprising degree.

⁴ See Grimm, **Bleisack**: this metaphor of mining or metallurgical origin suggests cheating or adulteration.

jhm auch nit helffen: Da schlahe der bleysack zu/ wer wolt solch Mörderey wissen auffzurichten? Den habt ihr xv. mal geräucht/ den xv. mal geschmiret/ den xv. Mal gewaschen^a den zwei oder drei jar im Holtz^b vmbgeführt:^c In dem ligt ein fierling Quecksilber/ in dem ein halb pfund/ in dem ein pfundt/ in dem anderthalb pfundt: Da ligts im Marck/ da ligt es im Geäder/ da ligt es in Gleichen/ da ligt es lebendig/ da ligt es puluers weiß/ da ligt es sublimiert/ in dem ligt es calciniert/ in dem resoluiert/ in dem precipitiert/ vnd also dergleichen mit andern dingen auch: Wer kan eim jedlichen sein büberei verdecken? Wem ist möglich ein jedliche Hur fromm zumachen? Wie gern sehet jhr/ dz ewer schandt auff meinen Rücken fiele/ als jhr euch offtmals vnderstanden habt: Dieweil ich aber weiß/ dz jhr Holtz Doctores seid/ so grawet mir nichts ab euch: Vnd so jr noch so ein lange zeit gestudiert hetten/ so beschliessent jr am letzten mit dem Holtz: Ist dz ewer *Studium*? so lernet jrs wol in vierzehen tagen; nit auff den Hohenschulen/ wol auff den Nidern. Pfui der schandt/ dz ein jedlicher Schmidknecht weiß/ dz ewer kunst ohn Holtz nichts ist. Euch ist gleich wie den *Capris*, je höher sie steigen/ je baß es jhnen schmäckt/ betrachten nit/ dz vnden vnd oben ein ding ist. So jr auff keinen andern grundt gefestiget seind/ vnd ewere Scribenten so jr habend/ in dem grundt^d der Artzney nit gefußt haben/ vnnd was *Canones*/ Recepten vnnd andre Proceß jhr vnnd dieselbigen gebraucht/ stehendt auff keinem | 20 | vesten zusagen nicht/ noch auff gewisser vertröstung: Befindt sich^e auch in denselbigen/ das die recht Artzney noch nie gemeldet ist worden/ vnnd nichts anders ist/ dann allein wie ein Katz vmb den Prey.

Vermeinent jhr/ oder seind jhr so einfeltig/ das jhr [achtet] *Foenum Graecum* vnd *Mucilago psyllij*^f seind die rechten *Maturatiua*, oder

^a This is the continuation of the above mentioned polemic (cf. H 2:6) against “**impostures**” or false treatments of the French disease (see S 7:76, “**schmirben**”; 80, “**reuchen**”; 84, “**waschen**”).

^b For P.’s recent polemic on guaiac wood (1529), see *Vom Holz Guajaco gründlicher Heilung* (S 7:51-65)

^c Sudhoff (66): “Den habt ihr xv. Mal geräucht/ den xv. Mal geschmiret/ den xv. Mal gewaschen/ den zwei oder drei jar im Holtz vmbgeführt” = “den habt ir 15 mal gereucht, drei jar im holz umgeführt.”

^d Sudhoff (67): “in dem <rechten> grund.”

^e Sudhoff (67): “so befint sich.”

^f Prior to 1530, P. makes reference to curative properties of mucilaginous *Foenum Graecum* and *Psyllium* (cf. vis-à-vis) sometimes alongside other materials of interest here: *portulaca*, *camphora*, *tria prima*, *botin*, *lactuca*, *barba jovis*, *salvia*, *cacedonius*,

Who can correct a wrongful cause of death? This [patient] has been treated with smoke by you fifteen times, that one with ointment fifteen times, that one with baths fifteen times, that one has been led around with wood treatment for two or three years.¹ In that patient there is a quadruple portion of quicksilver, in that one a pound, in that one a pound and a half. That one has it in his bone marrow, that one in his veins, that one in his joints. There you have it fluid, there as a powder, there sublimated, there calcinated, there resolved, there precipitated; and so forth with other materials as well. Who could possibly cover up so much knavery? Who can possibly turn every whore into a pious woman? How you would love to see your own disgrace fall upon me, as you have often tried to bring about. Yet since I know that you are wooden doctors, you inspire me with no awe. For as long as you have studied, you still come to one final conclusion, which is wood. Is that what your studies amount to? You could have learned that in a fortnight, not at the high academies, but at the low ones. Ugh, what a disgrace it is when every smithy's apprentice can see that your art consists of nothing but wood. You are like the *caprae*:² the higher you climb, the better it tastes. You do not notice that above and below are equal. Given that you are established on no other ground and that the authors whom you make use of with their *canones*, recipes, and other processes all lack any | 20 | foundation in [true] medicine and offer no firm assertion and no hope—[given all this] it is clear that there has never been any sign of a real medicine; and that all that is really happening [in medicine] is as with the cat and the hot porridge.³

Are you really so simple-minded that you <believe> that *foenum Graecum* and *mucilago psyllii*⁴ are the proper *maturativa*?⁵ Just look

¹ As above, “wood” refers to the syphilis treatment using guiac wood from Hispaniola; quicksilver was its competitor. See Claude Quétel, *History of Syphilis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

² *Capra*: “Ziege,” (she-)goat (MLW).

³ See Wander, **Brei**: like the circumlocutions of false medicine, the proverbial cat circles the hot porridge.

⁴ *Foenum graecum*, goat or ram's horn, or a number of herbs by that name used for maternal complaints or in a salve for treating running sores; *Mucilago psyllii*, a mucilaginous slime of psyllium seed (“fleawort”), still used as a laxative (Zedler; cf. NCE, “fleawort”).

⁵ According to Zedler, *maturativa* are medicinal means for causing skin ulcers to “ripen.”

auch die jhres gleichen seind? Secht an wie viel recept in *Anthraxe* geschrieben stohend/ die nach gemeinem verstand etwas möchten in *Anthraxe* dienstlich zu sein geacht werden: Der verstandt ist aber nit gnug zu einem Artzte: Ihr sehet/ das der Saphir von Gott in *Anthraxe*^a verordnet ist/ vnd nicht *Vnguentum album*/ vnnd nit *Vngula Caballina*^b in der Pestilenz. Vermeint jhr/ das der grundt geschrieben stand? Nein fürwahr. Die Artzney ist gleich als wen einer mit einem Brodtmesser ein Zimmermann wolt sein. Meinent jhr das recht geschrieben sey *de Gradibus*, recht *de Compositionibus*?^c Es ist weit fehl: Die artzney die hatt so ein grossen grundt in jr/ das dise ding alle dem anfang nicht gleichen mögen. Das jhr nuhn so einfeltig seind/ das jhr in *Vrinis*^d verharren/ vnnd sehet die tägliche lügen? Der Harn ist

etc. (S 4:98, 104-05), sometimes in the treatment of such diseases as “herpeta mordax” or “lupus” (179, 181), *gutta* or *apoplexia* (S 5:246), and sometimes in rejection of the medicine of his Galenic opponents, who possess no true *experienz* of those medications that they prescribe based on tradition (S 6:50ff.). Mucilaginous “*semina psyllii*” are used for various ailments usually treated by the surgeon in the Basel-era lecture notes in S 4.

^a In transcriptions of the Basel lectures, P. takes a stand on *anthrax* as an ailment proceeding from the veins and not a form of *pestilenz*: “*Veterum quidam dixerunt, es sei ein pestilenz, alii ein bluteiß etc. ... Aber ich sag, das anthrax sei ein apostem vom blut, getriben aus der ersten wurzel der selbigen adern...*” (S 4:157). According to P., sapphire has a virtue which heals “anthrax” (S 2:131) and “pestis” (238). But “**sapphire**” may be the alchemical “saphir” discussed in connection with vitriol and verdigris. This sapphire results, “so oleum argenti vivi und dis vitriol öl zusammen gefügt werden und als dan nach irem proceß coagulirt,” yielding “nicht den stein saphir, aber gleich dem selbigen, mit einer wunderbarlichen tinctur und seltsamer erzeigung” (S 2:164). As a symptomatic discoloration, sapphire is listed in *De vita longa* among ailments: “in anthrace, in saphyro, in carbunculo, in pleuresi, in peste, in bubone” (S 3:297). In addition, sapphire, like edible gold or other minerals or metals, may be ingested so that it grows in the belly: “als so man golt isset, so wachst es im magen also an, item in den gedermen also etc. item eisen, zinn etc., item stein, saphir, granaten, rubinen, also wird es daraus” (S 4:489).

^b It is unclear whether *unguentum album* (“white unguent”) is a distinct medication or a description of the form and color of one. *Ungula caballina*, given its name and form (cf. *vis-à-vis*) and the key significance of the signature in guiding homeopathic medicine, might indeed be inappropriate for human use; however, though rejected here, it is an ingredient in P.’s medications for leprosy (S 2:250) and mania (437).

^c Basel elicited P.’s own *De Gradibus et Compositionibus* Receptorum et Naturalium Libri VII (S 4:5-67).

^d P. also addressed the traditional diagnostic procedure of **urine** and **pulse** inspections in Basel (S 4:547ff., 621ff.). Notes of his lectures survive mainly in Latin transcription but also in German. Beyond *tartarus* a variety of other diseases are taken up, offering evidence of P.’s high aspirations and alchemical approach.

how many prescriptions are for *anthrax*¹ and are commonly thought to be of service with *anthrax*. But understanding this is not enough for the physician. You can see that the sapphire² has been ordained by God for *anthrax*, and not *unguentum album*,³ nor *ungula caballina*⁴ for use against pestilence. Do you think then that the reason for this is written down somewhere? No indeed. Medicine [now] behaves like someone trying to work as a carpenter wielding a bread-knife. Do you really believe that everything is true that is written *De Gradibus*, or *De Compositionibus*?⁵ Far from it. There is such a deep rationale for medicine that these matters do not come close to its foundation. How can you be so naïve that you stick to *In Urinis*,⁶ and [yet can] see the

¹ The OED cites the Greek source of the word *anthrax* (“coal”) and defines it as carbuncle or malignant boil, citing the 1543 translation of Vigo’s *Chirurgia*; the MLW gives the latter definition but also refers it to the red gem (“Karfunkel”), as well as to *ulcus*; Zedler two centuries later knows it as “Rubinus.” The disease of cattle cannot be intended here.

² In the Middle Ages the **sapphire** was thought to have many healing powers (HDA); cf. Grimm, Saphir (2): some of the healing properties attributed to it by Konrad von Megenberg may be relevant: “der stain behelt den leip und diu glider...und hailt auch swern und schäuht den grausamen siehtum, der das anlützt negt”). It is not clear how the principle of like healing like links sapphire, blue, to a sore that would be reddish in color. According to Agricola, its therapeutic power has to do with its coldness to the touch: “Daher wird der Sapphir auf Karfunkel und andere heiße Abzesse mit Nutzen gelegt” (Agricola⁴ 167; cf. Ruland).

³ *Unguentum album* could be one of many unguents in use already in the Middle Ages (cf. LMA, “Salven”); here color is apparently the criterion.

⁴ *Ungula caballina*, “horse’s hoof,” an herb (Zedler; Grimm: “Hufblattich” is *tussilago farfara*, thought to heal burns, therefore also called “Brandblattich”). Brunfels identifies “Ungula Caballina” as “Rosshüb” or “Brandblattich,” ascribing healing powers to its moist-cold complexion: “Welchem ein kol/ oder pestilentz blater vffspringt/ der legte darüber diße bletter/ sie leschen ym alle hitz vnd heylent” (viii).

⁵ The references are to traditional medical distinctions and writings criticized and corrected by P.

⁶ The reference is to common practices of uroscopy or urine-based diagnosis or to a treatise on the same.

gerecht/ vnd eins grossen vrtheils/ vnnnd halt in jhm die gantze Physionomey/ die gantze Anatomey vnd jhr eigenschafft. So nuhn das im Harn ist/ so muß es vom Artzte gerecht vnnnd gantz außgesprochen werden/ dieweil es jedoch darinn ist. Wann es aber nicht darinn wer/ so wer satt geschriben an dem/ das^a jhr euch behelfft. Im Puls ligt dz *Corpus* des lebens/ vnd der Puls zeigt dasselbige ahn: Beweisend darauß/ was vom leben zubeweisen noth ist? Nicht allein in den dingen/ sondern in andern mehr/ wil ich euch *Auditores* vnnnd Läser ermanet haben/ mir diese Vorred in kein hochmut zu vrtheylen/ noch in ein Martialische arth/ sondern gleich zu gleichem verordnet/ vnnnd wöllent betrachten in den dingen allein/ das^b fürwar nicht auß eim solchen grunde/ wie bißher fürgehalten ist worden/ die Artzney so leichtfertig gebawen: So der Saphyr die recht heylung in *Anthraxe* ist/ wer wolt dann dem glauben/ der *de Foenu graeco* saget? Vnnnd also laßt euch diese Exempel vnnnd Katzbalg vor denn Augen ligen/ auff das jhr inn die hohen | 21 | Artzney kommdt/ vnd nicht in die/ die weder Gott noch die Natur dahin verordnet hatt/ auff das/ daß jhr in die rechten *inventiones* treten/ welcher ich euch viel *volumina* fürgeschlagen hab/ geschriben auß dem grunde der vier nachfolgenden/ *Philosophia, Astronomia, Alchimia, vnnnd Virtutibus*: darinnen mein gemüht ist/ euch *Auditores* dahin zu bewegen/ ausserhalb deren vier Ecksteinen nichts anzunemen/ auff solches setz ich dieselbigen nachvolgend/ auff das jr meines schreibens grund vnd vrsachen verstehend/ vnd mich^c vnd mein widertheil hierinn zubedencken/ ein jeglichen nach seinem grund ehrend/ vnd erfarenheit. *Dixi.*

^a Sudhoff (67): “des.”

^b Sudhoff (68): “die.”

^c Sudhoff (68): “verstehent und, mich.”

constant deceptions? Urine is reliable and it is worthy of an important evaluation; [for] it contains the entire physiognomy [of the patient], the whole anatomy [of the patient] with all properties [thereof]. Since all of that is contained in the urine, it must be evaluated reliably by the physician and formulated in its entirety, since these things are indeed present in it. If it were not there to be evaluated, the makeshift that you have to offer about it would be too much already. In the pulse is contained the *corpus* of the living being; and the pulse reveals this. Are they demonstrating from it what should be said regarding life? Not only in these matters but in others as well, I want to admonish you, [my] *auditores* and readers: do not take this preface pridefully, nor in an aggressive spirit, but let like meet with like; and let us conclude on the matters at hand that indeed [such] things cannot be based on the sort of foundation upon which medicine has previously been thoughtlessly built. If the sapphire is the proper treatment for *anthrax*, who should place any credence in someone who talks about *foenum graecum*? Keep these examples and [their] caterwauling in mind, in order to proceed on to a superior | 21 | medicine, avoiding the other kind, which neither God nor nature has authorized. Do so in order to arrive at the proper *inventiones* of which I have provided many *volumina* full. All of them are composed in accordance with the four that follow here, *philosophia*, *astronomia*, *alchimia*, and [the] *virtutes*. It is my intention to bring you to the conviction of accepting nothing that is not founded on these four corner-stones. It is on them that I base what follows in order that you should understand the rationale and cause of my writing and think accordingly of me and my opposition, giving honor to each side according to its desert and [the degree of its] experience. *Dixi*.

Der erste Grundt der Artzney/
welcher ist *PHILOSOPHIA* ^a

Dieweil nun in der *Philosophia*^b der erst grund der Artzney ligt/ so ist vns im selbigen erstlich zu wissen/ in wz wege auß der Philosophie der grund der Artzney mög genommen werden. Nuhn aber vor dem ehe ich das erzehle/ erfordert die noht vor allen dingen zuverstehen geben/ das ich euch fürlege die jenigen/ die ich veracht/ auff das jhr die falsche Philosophy verstanden/ ehe daß ich eingang in den grundt der gerechten Philosophey. Schwerlich wirt es euch eingehn/^c hinzunemen das/ so jhr gewohnt haben/ vnnd schwerer das jenig/

^a This section matches the *alterius* version (S 8:139-160; H 2:104-23) in length and very closely in content. This is a typical oddity of P., since it is neither a copy nor a fundamentally revised chapter, but a rewriting or re-dictating close to its parallel. A few shared features draw attention to other facets of *alterius*. Both versions are explicitly anti-Aristotelian, but the *alterius* specifically names the “*Meteorum Aristotelis*” and *De Coelo et Mundo* (S 8:150; H 2:113, 114), and adds more scholastics to the list of those worthy of scorn.

^b P.’s alchemical, theocentric *philosophia* is typified less by any positive system than by what it condemns: Aristotle, Galen, Avicenna and all who proceed in their spirit. *Das Buch der Gebärdung der empfindlichen Dinge in der Vernunft* is clear only in its rejection of Aristotelian rationalism in favor of a philosophy that recognizes God as the special creator of nature and the soul (cf. S 1:243, 247, 255, 257). Certain contexts apply the term to an alchemical knowledge (*Elf Traktat* speaks of “philosophie der natürlichen farben”—S 1:47). Certain works which expressly engage in “philosophy” (for example the *Philosophia Magna* or the “untödlische philosophia” of *Philosophia de Limbo Æterno*) use the term in a sense deliberately contrary to or distinct from the common one (cf. Staricius 5-6). *De Virtute Imaginativa* knows “ein andern sichtbarn philosophie,” another *visible* philosophy (S 14:309). *Astronomia Magna* or *Die ganze Philosophia Sagax der großen und kleinen Welt* mixes religious and magical speculations. *Philosophia de Generationibus et Fructibus Quatuor Elementorum* (S 13:7ff.) proposes, “anfänglich von dem philosophiren, das aus nichts etwas geworden sei” (7) and examines the mutability and innate powers of the elements in accordance with the Genesis account of creation, in the process making references to the further elucidation of his themes “in paramiris” (9, cf. 59). The influential, possibly spurious, *Philosophia ad Athenienses* (S 13) interprets P.’s “mysterium magnum” in reference to the creation of all things, with echoes in Jacob Boehme, Robert Fludd, and the Italian heretical miller made familiar by Carlo Ginzburg’s *The Cheese and the Worms*. In rejecting Aristotle as a perverter of the true philosophy, P. stood in proximity to the Renaissance currents of *prisca theologia* or *philosophia perennis* (cf. vis-à-vis); nonetheless, his categorization as Esoteric, Gnostic, Neo-Platonist, or “pansophist” should not divert us from the unique peculiarities of his thought.

^c Sudhoff (68): “eingon” (“gehen” is frequently edited as “gon,” and “stehen” as “ston”).

The First Foundation of Medicine
Which is *PHILOSOPHIA*¹

Since the first foundation of medicine resides in *philosophia*, we need to consider how it is that a foundation of medicine can be established in philosophy. But even before I begin with this, it is necessary above all that I should present to you those whom I hold in contempt so that you will recognize false philosophy before I introduce the foundation of the true philosophy. Initially it will be difficult for you to accept [that you must depart from] what you are accustomed to, and even

¹ P.'s relation to "**philosophy**," which he deliberately cast as a problem (see vis-à-vis; cf. H 2:25 with note c), is pivotal to our understanding of his status in intellectual history. The issue has been distorted by anachronistic alternatives reflecting 20th-century ideological tensions (cf. Weeks 21ff.). Was P. primordially German or European and universal? A mystic or an empiricist? Guided from within by irrational forces, or drawn outward by the new currents of Renaissance science, Neoplatonism, and Gnosticism, in contrast to the blindered fideism of the Lutheran Reformation? P. as a Renaissance thinker has been represented most influentially by the humanely committed Walter Pagel (cf. Pagel 1985 125-66; FPJB; DGWE, "Tradition"). In the wake of Nazi totalitarianism, Pagel acknowledged P.'s opposition to "reason" but argued that, "If it is said, however, that the Renaissance stood for the revival of man as a whole and for the unfolding of unlimited activity, then P. is its true exponent. His view of the world is indeed 'anthropocentric.' The hierarchic principle of the Middle Ages ... had thus created a collective outlook in which the life of the individual was standardised by the central powers of Church and State. Among the individuals who were actuated by a desire to discuss rather than accept the scriptural sources of such uniformity, P. stood in the first rank" (Pagel 36). Pagel contextualizes P.'s thought in terms of large-scale, forward-looking historical movements. However Pagel's view is assessed, the puzzling ambiguities of P.'s theories may also be accounted for by an opposing hypothesis which does not favor the long view of Hermetic or Gnostic tradition but rather the short one of an unfolding crisis occasioned by the "two truth controversy" (the condemnation of Pomponazzi's revised Aristotelianism for which the soul was not eternal), by Luther's rejection of Aristotle, reason, and philosophy in favor of Scripture and faith in matters of the human soul and of the created nature of the world (cf. Weeks²; Martin Pine, *Pietro Pomponazzi: Radical Philosopher of the Renaissance*, in *Saggi e Testi*, 21 [Padua: Antenore, 1986]), and finally by P.'s own post-Basel crisis (see Intro 6ff.). Insofar as unanswerable questions and inconsistent answers are not mutually exclusive, the opposing hypotheses of a momentary crisis and an eclectic and unresolved Neoplatonism, Gnosis, and Hermetism should be compatible with respect to P.'s thought.

darzu jhr erzogen seid: Verstehe mich jedoch bey einem jeglichen/ er werd das gewohnete/ vnd das in jhn getriben ist/ vnd jetzig mein fürhaben mit verstandnem vrtheil ermessen/ Nichts lassen zu hart sein/ das nit erweicht möge werden/ nichts so weich/ das nit stähelung anneme/ sonder in der geschickligkeit/ daß die new geburt die alte allezeit herschen möge.^a | 22 | In der Philosophey ist ein Mieß gewachsen von stundan im vrsprung derselbigen/ im selbigen Mieß seind aussen an in die Philosophey Schwämm gewachsen/ gleich wie die Drüsen am Leib. *Aristoteles* vnnd die seinen haben tractirt in der Philosophey zu gleicherweiß/ wie der hepfen die Erd vom Wein außzeucht: vnd zu gleicher weiß wie ein Schaum das bösest in dem Hafen ist/ noch so schwimpt er zu oberst/ vnnd verdeckt das gut vnder jhme: vnd darumb daß etwas guts vnder jhme ligt/ dem er nach schmeckt/ ist er für ein speiß zu achten: jedoch allein den Hunden vnd Katzen. Also hie von der alten Philosophey zuverstehen ist/ die den Schwammen vnd Schaum tractirt/ vnnd nit die *materiam* auß dem sie gehet. Ein solche Schwammphilosophey hat Theorisiert in der Artzney/ auß deren ist geborn der Schaumartzet. Dise zwey haben innen gehalten den gwalt der beschreibung der natürlichen dingen/ auch zu beschreiben menschlich gebresten vnnd brechen. Wie aber [der] grundt/ auß dem diese schreibung fallen/ also auch das gewechß dieser Wurtzel zu vrtheilen ist. Wil euch hiermit ermant haben/ nichts so rauh^b bey euch zu sein/ das durch den Glathobel nit mög gefügt werden/ nichts so krumbs/ das der Hammer nit ebnen mög/ nichts so wildt/ das der Jäger nicht fellen mög. Was ist höhers vnd löblichers an einem *Auditore* vnd *Discipulo* dann daß er in einer weichen Schalen lige/ die da nicht erherte/ biß er seiner Disciplin gewachsene flügel erlangt hab/ vnd alsdann der Rutten entrinne: vnd ehrlich vnnd löblich ist es solchen/ daß sie die alten auß den Nesten stossen. Dann kunst vnd weißheit/ zucht vnnd liebe/ sollen alle stund erhebt werden vber jhre Meister/ vnnd auffwachsen wie ein junge Büchen/ die durch jr auffwachsen den alten Büchen jhr lob nimpt.

^a This proclamation of the “**new birth**” with its religious overtones is not in the *alterius* version.

^b Sudhoff (69): “so rauh” = “ro Rauch.”

more difficult [to depart from that] to which you have been educated. But each of you must understand me: you must evaluate what is customary and what you have been urged to believe together with what I propose, [doing so] with a judgment that comprehends matters. Let nothing be so firm that it can never be questioned and nothing so questionable that it cannot become firm; instead, [judge] in the facility [of knowing] that the new birth may always prevail over the old. | 22 | In philosophy, a dross has arisen from the beginning in its very source. From this dross, algae from outside it have been induced to grow into it, like ulcerations¹ upon the [physical] body. *Aristoteles* and his kind have held forth in philosophy in the same way that parsley extracts earth from wine; and in the same way that scum is the foulest thing in a pot but nonetheless rises to the surface and covers up what is good beneath itself. In the same way that something good still does lie under it, lending its taste to what is on the surface, the latter can be called nourishment, though it is only good for dogs and cats. In the same way we have to understand, regarding the old philosophy, that it treats of the algae and scum rather than of the *materia* from which it proceeds. A scum philosophy of this kind has been theorizing in medicine; out of this has arisen the scum physician. The two have dominated the description of natural things, including the description of human ailment and fragility. <The> foundation that yields this description should be judged in the same way as that which sprouts from its root. With these words, I admonish you that nothing is so rough [in your knowledge] that it cannot be planed smooth, nothing so crooked that it cannot be hammered straight; [and] nothing so wild that the hunter cannot bring it down. What could possibly be more exalted and praiseworthy in an *auditor* and *discipulus*² than to remain [as if] in a soft shell, which does not harden before [the pupil] sprouts the wings of his discipline and escapes the rod [of the schoolmaster]. It is nothing less than honorable and commendable that pupils such as that should shove the old ones out of the nest. For art and wisdom, discipline and love should always outstrip that of their teachers, just as a young beech tree steals the praise of the old beech trees in growing to its full height.

¹ See Grimm, **Drus** (1, 2, 3): the term may refer to a gland, an ulceration, or a plague bubo or boil.

² See OLD, **discipulus** may refer to a pupil as well as a trainee in the liberal arts.

Das ich eile zu der fürgenommenen Philosophhey/ auff daß jr den grundt der Artzney verstanden/ welche allein die erkantnuß gibt/ die ein Artzt haben soll in allen krankheiten/ jhr *materiam*, eigenschafft/ mit sampt allem wesen: dann sonst ist kein ander weg zu ergründen/ die Warheit/ des Leibs anligen vnd gesundes wesen. Vnd wo anderst ein grund hergenommen wirdt/ ausserhalb der Philosophhey/ ist ein betriegnuß: | 23 | dann vnser verstandt/ wie jhn die Hirnschal beschleußt/ ist zu schwach zu geben einen Artzet. Dann also muß die Philosophhey der Artzney geführt werden/ daß auch die Augen den verstand begreifen: vnnd daß sie in den Ohren thöne wie der fall des Rheins/ vnd daß das gethön der Philosophhey also hell in den Ohren lige/ als die sausenden Winde auß dem Meer: vnnd die Zunge dermassen ein wissen tragen/ als des Honigs vnd der Gall: Vnd die Nasen schmecke ein jeglich geruch des gantzen Subiects. Ausserhalb dieser erkantnuß ist widerwertig alles das/ daß der Natur zuleget/ vnnd geben wirt. Dann also ist mein fürhalten diser Philosophhey/ daß die Natur die krankheit selbs ist/ darumb weiß sie allein/ was die krankheit ist: sie ist allein die Artzney/ sie weiß der Krancken gebrechen: wer kann ausserhalb dieser zweyen erkantnuß ein Artzt sein? Auß dem Artzet kompt kein krankheit/ auß jhm kompt auch kein Artzney: wie er aber kan krank machen/ also im selbigen Proceß kan er auch die gesundtheit geben. Wer ist hie billicher ein Lehrmeister denn die Natur selbst? Dieselbige hatt solcher dingen ein wissen/ vnd legt aller dingen augenscheinlichen verstand für: Auß diesem augenscheinlichen verstande wirdt der Artzt vnderichtet. So nun allein die Natur dasselbige weiß/ so muß je auch dieselbige sein die das Recept componiert/ vnnd jhr kunst der componierung ligt augenscheinlich vor dem Artzt: Auß jhr geht die kunst/ nicht auß dem Artzt/ darumb so muß der Artzt auß der Natur wachsen mit vollkommenem verstand. Das ist ein vollkömlicher verstand/ das die Händ greiffen/ das die Augen sehen dasjenige/ das in der verborgnen Hirnschalen fürgenommen wirdt. Dann was verborgen begriffen wirdt/ gibt allein den Glauben: den außgang vnnd [das] vollkommen geben die Werck/ die Werck seind sichtlich. Also sichtigs vnnd vnsichtigs in einem/ vnnd nicht in zweyen/ die gantze vollkommene tröstliche erkantnuß/ darinn die Seeligkeit ist/ vnd alle gute arbeit/ lehr vnd vnderricht außgehet.

[It is necessary] that I now proceed to the intended philosophy, so that you will understand the foundation of medicine, which alone yields the knowledge a physician must have of all diseases, of their *materia*, properties, and their entire being. There is simply no other way to grasp the truth concerning the body and the substance of health. Furthermore, anyone who does offer a rationale outside of [the true] philosophy, offers a deception | 23 |; for our understanding encompassed within the skull is too weak to give birth to the physician. The philosophy of medicine must be conducted in such a way that one's [very] eyes encompass the understanding; and so that the thunder of [philosophy] resounds in one's ears like the Rhine waterfalls; and this roaring of philosophy rings as clearly in our ears as the roaring winds upon the sea; and the tongue bears its knowledge as if [it tasted] of honey and gall; and the nose should discern every smell of the entire subject. Outside of this [kind of] knowledge, everything is counterproductive that one might ascribe to or add to nature. For it is my intention concerning this philosophy that nature is the disease itself; and for this reason it alone knows what the disease consists of. It alone is the medicine. It knows the ailments of the patient. Who, lacking knowledge of these two things, could possibly be a physician? For the disease does not come from the physician, and from him there also proceeds no medicine. Yet to the same degree he can cause an illness, to that same degree he can effect health. Who is a better teacher in this than nature itself? Nature has knowledge of such things and nature provides for a palpable understanding of all things. From the palpable understanding, the physician is instructed. Insofar as nature alone knows these things, it must be nature that composes the prescriptions. Furthermore, [nature's] art of its composition resides palpably before the very eyes of the physician. From nature proceeds the art and not from the physician. Hence, the physician has to develop out of nature with [a] complete understanding. A complete understanding is the sort that can grasp with hands, [it is the sort in] which the eyes see the thing which is intended in the hidden [recesses of the] skull. For that which is grasped [in the] concealed [sphere] yields faith alone; the issue and <the> completion are yielded by the works. Works are visible. Therefore [what is needed is] visible and invisible in a unity rather than as two [separate things]: [What is needed is] the entire complete [and] reassuring knowledge in which salvation resides; and [from which] all good effort, teaching, and instruction proceed.

So nuhn auß der Natur der Artzt wachsen soll/ was ist die Natur anders dann die Philosophey? Was ist die Philosophey anders dann die vnsichtige Natur? Einer der die Sonn oder | 24 | den Mon erkennt/ vnnd weiß mit zugethanen augen wie die Sonne oder der Mon ist/ der hat Sonn vnnd Mon in jhme/ wie sie im Himmel vnd Firmament stehen. Das ist nuhn die Philosophey/ daß sie im Menschen wie ausserhalb vngreiflich stande/ wie einer der sich selbs im Spiegel sieht. Wie also einer sich selbs bedeutlich von puncten zu puncten ersehen mag/ also soll der Artzt den Menschen bedeutlich in wissen tragen/ genommen auß dem Spiegel der vier Elementen/ dieselbige fürbilden jhm den gantzen *Microcosmum*,^a daß er durch denselbigen

^a P.'s use of the concept "**microcosmus**" is nowhere more revealing than in his *Elf Tractat von Ursprung, Ursachen, Zeichen und Kur einzelner Krankheiten*, the work that Sudhoff placed at the fore of his edition and erroneously dated as "around 1520" (cf. Weeks 37-40). This Basel or post-Basel era fragment uses the term in a way that corresponds to the first two divisions of *Paragranum*: "Drei ding seind do zu wissen, des himels kraft [i.e., astronomy], die irdische natur [i.e., philosophy] und der microcosmos" (S 1:3; cf. 84). Here the microcosm is the patient whose suffering and healing are related to the first two. Moreover, they are reciprocally related, since "die erden ist nichts on des himels impression" (4). Dropsy ("wassersucht") is a microcosmic equivalent of a celestial-terrestrial precipitation (5). Diseases are viewed as microcosmic counterparts of processes in nature. Alchemistic theory and the *tria prima* also inform the paradigm since the *tria* are interpreted as equivalent to niter and the ingredients of gunpowder, which are posited as causes of thunder, understood as a macrocosmic stroke (90), or when an earthquake is understood as the paroxysm of an epileptic (148-49). The human origin in the *limbus* and special creation by God establish for "theory" (*theorica*) the kinships of macrocosm and microcosm in which the latter is "prefigured" (P. adapts this term from biblical exegesis) by the former (S 1:79). Prevalent throughout his work, the concept of microcosm is applied most deliberately here. Often, "microcosm" is used conventionally: the human being encompasses the elements, the transient and eternal (S 7:255), but often also as a formulaic cliché. Without the term, the concept is sometimes extended, as when some thing is said to contain "species" of many or all other things. For example, in *Elf Tractat*, "caulis romana" is said to be "ein zusammen gesezt ding von allen speciebus der mineralium, der fruchten, der tereniabin und der graden" (S 1:129). In sum, "microcosm" is a much traded and shop-worn coinage (cf. vis-à-vis) which can nonetheless be parlayed into fresh capital in P.'s hands.

Now that we have concluded that the physician must be educated by nature, we must ask, what is nature but philosophy? What is philosophy other than the invisible nature?¹ One who recognizes the sun or | 24 | moon, and [who] knows even with closed eyes what they are like, has the sun and moon within him, just as they stand in the heavens and firmament. That is what philosophy is: [things] are in the human being in the same way that they are outside, intangibly, as if one were looking at oneself in a mirror. And just as one might examine oneself precisely from one point to the next, the physician must bear a precise knowledge of the human being within him, extracted from the mirror of the four elements; [for] the latter present to him the entire *microcosmus*² in such a way that [the physician] can

¹ This assertion can best be interpreted with reference to the related principles of likeness and microcosm which were common to ancient and medieval thinking. Hugh of St. Victor reflected in his *Didascalicon*: “Pythagoricum dogma erat, ‘similia a similibus comprehendi’” (PL 176:742). Hugh asserted that: “An opinion approved among philosophers maintains that the soul is put together out of all the parts of nature. ... We see how a wall receives a likeness when the form of some image or other is put upon it from the outside. But when a coiner imprints a figure upon metal, the metal, which itself is one thing, begins to represent a different thing, not just on the outside, but from its own power and its natural aptitude to do so. It is in this way that the mind, imprinted with the likenesses of all things, is said to *be* all things....” *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts*, trans. Jerome Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 46, 47. On the coherence of “impression,” “sign,” and “microcosm,” see also Ohly (cf. Bono 123ff.).

² Though P.’s philosophical sources merit investigation, the terms **microcosm** and **macrocosm** per se do not qualify him as a Renaissance thinker. These concepts were as much medieval and Christian as Neoplatonic or Renaissance. This is clear from older surveys such as Rudolf Allers, *Microcosm: From Anaximandros to Paracelsus, Traditio* 2 (1944): 319-464; or recent studies such as Alois M. Haas, “Vorstellungen von der Makrokosmos-Mikrokosmosbeziehung im Denken der Zeit vor Paracelsus,” *Nova Acta Paracelsica* N.F. 6 (1991/92): 51-76; or Gerhard E. Sollbach, *Die mittelalterliche Lehre vom Mikrokosmos und Makrokosmos* (a discussion of Konrad von Megenberg’s *Liber Naturae*). Even Luther had no problem with the notion that man is a “microcosm,” though this aspect was surely of little interest to him (*Weimarer Ausgabe*, vol. 42, 51:24). The case for the Renaissance, philosophical or astrological context of the dual concepts in P. is made by Wolf-Dieter Müller-Jahnke, “Makrokosmos und Mikrokosmos bei P.,” in *P. Das Werk – die Rezeption*, ed. Volker Zimmermann (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1995): 59-66; and John D. North, “Macrocosm and Microcosm in Paracelsus,” in *Neue Beiträge zur P.-Forschung*, ed. Peter Dilg and Hartmut Rudolph (Rottenburg-Stuttgart: Akademie der Diözese, 1995): 41-58. For P. the dual concepts are neither separable from the biblical account of creation, nor confined in their use to a biblical anthropology and terminology.

sicht/ wie ein verschlossen weiß Galreden in einem glaß. Vnd es sey denn sach/ daß ein Artzt ein Menschen also lauter durchsehe/ als durchzusehen ist ein distillierter Taw/ in dem [sich] kein füncklin verbergen mag/ das nit gesehen werd: vnd also durchsichtig soll er hinein sehen/ als durch einen quellenden Brunnen/ wie vil Stein vnd Sandtkörner/ mit was farben/ formen etc. sie sind: Also offenbar sollen jhm sein die glider im Menschen auch/ dieselbigen glider soll er also durchsichtig haben/ als der außpolirte Crystallen/ in dem sich ein härlin nicht möcht verbergen. Das ist die Philosophie/ auff die der grund der Artzney gesetzt ist. Nicht daß du den Menschen also ersehen solt/ sonder die Natur/ was in dem Himmel beschlossen ist/ dieselbige zeigt dir von stuck zu stuck an/ dann auß derselbigen ist der Mensch gemacht: Dieselbige *materia* darauß er gemacht ist/ zeigt dir an wie das ist/ das auß dem gemacht ist/ zu gleicherweiß wie du in eim stahel ein gebew sichst/ dz kompt von dem eussern hinein: vnd wann das ausser nimmer da ist/ so ist das inner auch nit mehr im stahel/ dann das eusser ist ein mutter des innern.^a Also ist der Mensch ein bildtnuß in eim spiegel gesetzt hinein durch die vier Element/ vnd nach der zergehung der Elementen/ volget die zergehung des Menschen: dann weil das ausser von dem spiegel still stehet/ dieweil bleibt auch das innere. Darumb so ist die Philosophie nichts anders/ allein dz gantz wissen vnd erkanntnuß des dings/ dz den glantz im spiegel gibt. Vnd zu gleicher weiß wie der im Spiegel niemandts mag seins wesens verstand geben/ niemandts zuerkennen geben/ was er sey/ dann allein es steht da/ wie ein todt bildtnuß: Also ist der Mensch an jhm selbst auch/ vnd auß jme | 25 | wirt nichts genommen/ allein was auß der eussern erkantnuß kompt/ des figur er im spiegel ist. Daß/ das er redt/ ist ein vngewiß reden/ seine stimm vnnd seine zung: Soll ein Artzt nicht mehr vnderricht geben/ dann so er im spiegel des krancken person sehe reden/ vnd hört es nicht? also gantz vnd starck soll der Artzt den *Microcosmum* erkennen/ durch sein Mutter [auß der] er geboren ist: dann nit ein glid gienge jhme ab/ nicht ein härle^b ist am Menschen/ das die *testa*^c nit begreiff vnd hundertfach

^a On P.'s understanding of the element as a "mother" of created things see H 2:25; on the significance he attaches to the concept of the human creature as "image," "bildtnuß," see H 1:290, cf. 1:88ff.

^b Sudhoff (72): "herli."

^c The Basel notes associate *testa* (cf. vis-à-vis) with the structure of the astral *iliaster*: "Iliastes formalis item quadruplex, ut testa, sphaera, galaxia, zodiacus, et sunt ipsius ignis" (S 4:106); or even more specific: "testa, id est coelum..." (4:125). *Testa* makes sense as a "shell" with regard to P.'s recurrent comparison of the earth to an

see through it, as if [recognizing] an enclosed transparent gelatin¹ in a glass. [It is necessary that] a physician should be able to look through a human being, just as transparently as if seeing through to a distilled dew in which not even the least little spark could be hidden so that it would remain unseen: he should see just as penetratingly as if [looking] into a running fountain, to discern how many stones and grains of sand [and] what sort of colors, forms, etc., are within in it. This is how transparent the parts of the human being should be to him: he should know them as transparently as if they were polished crystal in which not the least tiny hair might remain hidden. That is the sort of philosophy that constitutes a foundation of medicine. Not that you should look at the human being in this way, but rather the nature that is encompassed by the heavens, [should] reveal [nature] to you bit by bit. For the human being is made of the same; [and thus] the very *materia* from which he has been made reveals to you how that is into which [it has been] made; [doing] so in the same way that you can see a building in a steel [mirror], which enters into [the mirror] from without. And when the external is no longer present, the inner [reflection] is no longer in the steel. For the outer is a mother of the inner. In this sense, the human being is an image in a mirror projected into it by the four elements; and when the elements vanish, so will the human being. For it is only for as long as the external of the mirror remains standing that the inner abides with it. For this same reason, philosophy is nothing other than the entire knowledge and recognition of a thing which has caused the reflection in the mirror. And just as the [reflection] in the mirror can give no one an account of its being, [and] can tell no one what it is, except in standing there as a [mute] image: this is how the human being is in himself as well: | 25 | nothing comes from him except that which comes from the external recognition of the one whose figure he is in the mirror. Whatever he speaks is spoken in uncertainty, [as uncertain as are] his voice and tongue. Should a physician not give better instruction than what he sees spoken without hearing by the person of the patient in the mirror? [Since indeed the physician should], the *microcosmus* is to be recognized by the physician in its entirety and its full potency by means of its mother <out of which> it is born; for not a single part is missing there. Not a single hair of the human being is not

¹ See Grimm, **Galrei, Galreide**, “Gallerte”: a gelatin or gelatinous mass.

anzeige. Vnd also wie gemelt ist/ mag die Artzney nicht gedulden noch leiden die schaum der Philosophhey/^a oder die Schwammartzney/ wie dann bißher geplärt ist worden.

Es würd ein lange rede brauchen/ lauter vnd klar zu entdecken/ wie weit der Aristotelischen/ Stoischen/^b Platonischen Philosophhey^c hie gegen der meinen stehn? Auch^d *Tirthemij Theophrasti*^e gegen mir *Aureolo Theophrasto*, welche spän in der beschreibung der Philosophy von blat zu blat gnugsam begriffen werden. Aber jedoch was hie betreffend/ so viel den Artzt berührt/ zuverstehen den grund der Artzney/ daß dieselbige Philosophhey hie der grund sey/ so mercken auff/ das *Materia, Species* vnd *Essentia*, des Artzts *Corpora* sind/ vnnnd die vrsach der gäntzen/ vnd des brechens ist des Artzts weißheit: hierinn stehet der Artzt in seiner erkandtnuß. Nun wie obgemelt ist/ so muß er solcher dingen erkandtnuß nemmen/ in der Mutter/^f darauß er beschaffen ist: in derselbigen findet er sein hertz

egg yolk surrounded by the albumen-air, implying that the egg shell is the heavens. This is spelled out before and after 1530 (see S 6:69; 9:145; cf. H 2:30). Since the “*testa*” encloses the external “*sphaera*,” the term pertains to the understanding of the human being as “microcosm” (S 7:292).

^a Sudhoff (72): “die schaum der Philosophhey” = “die schaumphilosophhei” (cf. Anmerkung, 399).

^b Sudhoff (72): “Aristotelischen, stoischen, Platonischen.”

^c If the wording suggests a vague, but perhaps positive relation to these ancient philosophies, it is not borne out elsewhere: **Aristotle** is nearly always vilified; the **Stoics** are rejected with the Peripatetics (S 7:274); and references to Plato are either trivial (S 4:539; 6:52; 8:239; 9:54, 295) or negative (6:366; 14:263, 273-74, 577). In a rare positive qualification, Plato is praised for supplementing knowledge of nature with that of miracles conducive to salvation (“**Plato**, den wir nicht allein ein natürlichen achten, sonder auch einen in mirakeln bekant.—S 13:247). Paradoxically, P.’s theological work could be more generous, allowing that certain good qualities might have been granted to non-Christian thinkers including “Aristotle, Plato, Virgil, Cato,” by the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father without benefit of the Son (G 3:73; see also Staricius 5-6, where Aristotle fares poorly but Virgil, Seneca, and Boëthius come off rather well).

^d Sudhoff (72): “stehen? Auch” = “ston, auch.”

^e In a fragment on the “*virtutes herbarum*,” P. criticized Theophrastus along with Pliny, Dioscorides, and Serapion for failing to give a proper account of natural things (“solche corpora zu beschreiben”—S 2:208). The name is cited twice, the second time ambiguously, apparently also in self-reference.

^f The elements are frequently equated to “**mothers**” (mütter, *matres*, or *matrices*) of the entities created out of them. There are “vier matres elementorum” (S 11:180). In contrast to the more active and dynamic *tria prima* or *arcana*, the four elements are “4 mütter” (S 3:32). For example, the element *aqua*—conceived by P. as a component of the world as egg—is responsible for the “geberung aller metallén und steinen”

comprehended and revealed a hundredfold by the *testa*.¹ For the same reason I have stated, medicine cannot bear or suffer the scum of philosophy or the ephemeral medicine of the kind that has been babbled about up until now.

It would take a long discussion to show in pure and clear terms to what extent my philosophy relates to the Aristotelian, Stoic, [or] Platonic philosophies. The same holds for [the question how] *Tirthemius Theophrastus*² relates to me, *Aureolus Theophrastus*; [the] controversies³ in assigning [my] philosophy will be encompassed [here] sufficiently from one page to the next. But as regards the present discussion, as for the physician and our understanding of the foundation of medicine, [as for the fact] that my philosophy is that foundation, take careful note that *materia*, *species*, and *essentia* are the *corpora* of the physician; and [that] the determiner of wholeness and of its fragility is the wisdom of the physician. In these matters resides the physician in his knowledge. Now, as has been stated, he must gain knowledge in such matters, [that is to say] in the mother out of which he has been made. In her he discovers his heart and all the

¹ Note: this is not *testis* (testicle) or *testu(m)*, (earthenware pot) (OLD). It is either a female form of *testis* (“evidence,” “witness”) or it is *testa f.*, used in an obscure sense of “shell” or “crust” (OLD), cf. vis-à-vis!

² The name may have been concocted: **Tirthemius**—possibly a pun on Latin *tiro* (“novice,” “beginner”)—is close to the Humanistic name of the famous abbot Trithemius, scholar of magic and possible prototype of Dr. Faustus. On the unresolved debate whether P. knew or received instruction from Trithemius, see Noel L. Brann, *Trithemius and Magical Theology* (New York: SUNY Press, 1999), 182-85. **Theophrastus**, successor to Aristotle, known for his work on plants, was familiar to his namesake P. (cf. vis-à-vis; H 2:9).

³ See Grimm, **Span**: *controversia*.

vnd alle deß hertzens freud vnd leid/ in derselbigen findt er das Hirn vnd alles daß das Hirn betrübt vnd erfrewt/ Also der Nieren lieb vnd leid/ Also der Lebern willen vnd vnwillen/ vnd dergleichen der andern glider allen. Hie ligt nun ein kurtzer bericht/ daß in denselbigen Glidern solt gelehret werden was inwendig dasselbige glid antrifft. Hie ist *caterua Medicorum* wider mich/ dann sie wissen vnd erkennen *parentes* der Menschen nit^a vnd wöllen in der todten figur im Spiegel jhre kunst nemen/ vnd sie setzen vnd gründen in jhre Fantasey/ vnd dirigirn vnd mit nammen bedeuten vnd außlegen eins jeglichen art/ dz in keiner Philosophie weder Füß noch Hend hat. Hierauß entspringt der namm *Cholera*, der namm *Melancholia*, der namm *Phlegma*, der namm *Sanguis*, welcher grundt nichts | 26 | anders ist/ als ein fliegende speculation. Dann welcher hatt je *Choleram* in der Natur gesehen? Welcher hat je *Melancholiam* in der *Philosophia* funden? Welcher hat je *Phlegma* für ein Element erkennt? Wo ist je *Sanguis* dem Luft gleichmässig geworden? Wer hat sie gelert den Materialischen Himmel vnd die Globul der Erden mit sampt jhren eingefassten Elementen also im leib außtheilen? Nicht mehr ist in solchem specularnten grund/ dann als vil krafft als in eim/ der da wünscht/ oder der da wol wänet/ also stehnd sie auff den wänenden grundt gebawen/ vnd auff das wünschen/ das weit von vns vnd einem jeglichen Artzt sey. Auß dem eussern setz zusammen den gantzen Menschen: so findstu im selbigen aller materien augenscheinliche *corpora*, vnd findest in denselbigen alle *species* der Glider/ der Gesundheit vnd der Kranckheit/ dabey auch aller jhrer *Essentias*, wie eins gegen dem [andern] stand/ was brech/ was gantz mach: In demselbigen ligt die weißheit die ein Artzt suchen soll: dann der Himmel gibt die weißheit^b des Artzts nicht/ er ererbet sie auch nicht/ sonder sie nimpt bey jhm zu/ wie Kunst bey seim fleissigen Meister/ vnd ist ein gegebenne weißheit durch die *parentes Microcosmi*, den *Microcosmum*

(3:36). Elsewhere the elemental “mothers” are expanded to encompass “himmel und erden” (H 1:203). Despite his view of the celestial realm as male and paternal, a planet can also be a “mutter” (S 1:179).

^a In a roughly contemporary writing on plague, “die große creatur” (macrocosm) is referred to as the “**parens**...microcosmi” (S 8:377).

^b Sudhoff (74) encloses these eleven words in angular brackets: <die ein artzt ... die weisheit> des artzts...

joy and sorrow of his heart. There too he finds the brain and all that saddens and heartens the brain. The same is true of the kidney's good and ill. The same is true of what the liver wills and rejects; and true for all other organs as well. On the one hand, you have here a brief account that in these organs one should learn what impinges upon each organ internally. On the other hand, you have *caterva medicorum*¹ against me, for they neither know of nor understand the *parentes* of the human beings; and [therefore] want to extract their art from the dead figure in the mirror; and [thus] they posit and establish [things] in their imagination; and give directions and signify with names and interpret the nature of each so that their philosophy is without all ground. Out of this came the name *cholera*, the name *melancholia*, the name *phlegma*, the name *sanguis*, which have no other ground | 26 | than a flighty speculation. For who has ever seen *cholera* in nature?² Who has ever found *melancholia* in *philosophia*? Who has ever recognized *phlegma* as an element? When has *sanguis* become equal to the [element] air? Who was it that taught [the false authorities] how to divide up the material heavens and the globe of the earth with all their elements [arranged] this way in the body? There is no more force in the foundation of such speculation than there would be in someone who wishes or wants something. They stand rooted in their confabulated position and in their wishing, which are far removed from us and from any [real] physician. It is from what is external that you should construct the entire human being. In doing so, you will discover therein the manifest *corpora* of all materials; you will discover all *species*³ of organs of health and sickness, including all their *essentiae* [and] how one relates to the <other>, what causes disorder and what renders whole. In this lies the wisdom the physician should seek. For the heavens do not produce the wisdom of the physician; nor does he inherit it. Rather, it increases within him, as does [any] art in an industrious master; and it is a wisdom granted by the *parentes microcosmi* [in order for them] to recognize the

¹ *Caterva*: a crowd, band, or mass (OLD), here a mob of physicians.

² Here P. launches a major assault on his chief opponent, the Galenic humors, on empirical grounds.

³ At times (cf. H 1:300), P. uses the Latin word *species*, which can also mean "medication" (MLLM), in the sense of "appearance" or "form," as in Lk 3:22, "descendit Spiritus Sanctus corporali specie sicut columba" (cf. Jn 5:37; 2 Cor 5:7).

als jhren Sohn zu erkennen. Solt die Artzney in jhrem grund auß dem Menschen wachsen/ so müssen auch die kranckheiten nach grundt jhres Artzts vnd verstand sich richten/ vnd also vil Artzt/ so vil vrsprung der kranckheiten: Also müst die *Cholera* wol recht genennet werden. Aber nicht also/ der Arzt muß der kranckheit nach/ wie die Kûh der Krippen: Dardurch wirt bewiesen/ daß auß der Natur der Artzt gehet/ vnnd nicht auß der Speculation: vnd die Natur ist sichtig/ aber die *Speculation* ist^a vnsichtig: das sichtig macht ein Artzt/ das vnsichtig macht keinen: dz sichtig gibt die warheit/ das vnsichtig nichts. Alles was vnsichtig ist/ vnnd ist des Menschen/ das legt sich sichtig für: darauß entspringt/ daß jhr nicht sollen sagen/ das ist *Cholera*, das ist *Melancholia*: sonder das ist *arsenicus*,^b das ist *aluminosum*.^c Also auch/ der ist *Saturni*, der *Martis*: Nit der ist *Melancholiae*, der ist *Cholerae*. Dann ein theil ist deß Himmels/ ein theil ist der Erden/ vnd in einander vermischt/ wie Fewr vnnd Holtz/^d

^a Sudhoff (74) omits “ist.”

^b A chapter on *arsenicus* in *Von den natürlichen Dingen* begins by noting that all of its virtues stem from the fact that it is a poison, hence its utility in treating open wounds or skin ailments and antiseptic powers precluding internal use (S 2:166ff.). Frequently discussed, “arsenic” has various forms and alchemical or medicinal applications (S 2:174-75; cf. 6:120). The practical and traditional lore mentioned in connection with its many alchemical properties is especially rich. In discussing “arsenicus,” P. offers his explanation for the ancient concept of the “electrum”: a metal derived from another metal by art (S 2:173).

^c From alum (*Alaun*), a frequent ingredient of P.’s medical and alchemical preparations; on its important kinship with vitriol and its origin in the element of water, see S 13:95-96 (cf. note on H 2:68).

^d This elliptical statement, “**ein theil ist deß Himmels/ ein theil ist der Erden/** [“a part” of what?] **vnd in einander vermischt/ wie Fewr vnnd Holtz,**” must be interpreted in light of the ambiguities of its context: the previous elucidation of the microcosm as encompassing heavens and earth (cf. H 2:24), as well as the Basel-era and present contexts. Here herbal and alchemical forces are treated as if both were on the same level of being. P.’s ambiguous discussions in the Basel and post-Basel academic materials likewise treated organic and inorganic materials as if all were in a common category of being (see *De Gradibus* S 4:33-34; *De Modo Pharmacandi* 4:446-47). In the broader context, the ambiguous proximity of heavens and earth, of alchemical fire and the earthly elements in the herbal sphere, reflect P.’s medical-alchemical optimism. Magnetism, *arcana*, *mumia*, and *magnalia dei* all suggest a supernatural or mystical common denominator of the organic and inorganic. Reflections on the relations of visible to invisible and animate to inanimate issue in P.’s assertion that “der neue himel” will be rejuvenated by alchemy (S 4:448). An alchemy that in P.’s case relates both to the metal or mineral and to digestion and the organic or herbal corresponds to his inclusion of magnetic and alchemical materials in a herbal or organic context in *Herbarius* and *Von den natürlichen Dingen* (S 2:1ff., 59ff., 205ff.)—works which Sudhoff unconvincingly dated as pre-Basel.

microcosmus as their son.¹ If medicine is going to sprout forth from the human being [as its] ground, then the diseases must be [known] in accordance with the ground of their physician and his understanding; and there must be as many physicians as there are sources of diseases. Accordingly, *cholera* will have to be properly designated. But not the way it is now. Instead, the physician must follow the disease as the cow goes into its manger. This will prove that the physician proceeds from nature and not from speculation; and that nature is that which is visible, [and] speculation that which is invisible. That which is visible constitutes the physician; that which is invisible constitutes nothing of the sort. The visible yields the truth; the invisible [yields] nothing. Everything that is invisible and pertains to the human being presents itself visibly. From this arises the need not to call something *cholera* or *melancholia*, but rather *arsenicus*² or *aluminosum*.³ Or in the same sense [to say]: this thing is of *Saturnus*, that one of *Mars*. Do not say: that one is of *melancholia*, that one is of *cholera*.⁴ For one part [of the matter] is of the heavens and one part of the earth; and the two are mixed together, like fire and wood, so that these two might do without

¹ P. locates the gifts of the intellect in a patrimony higher than that of the human family though distinct from the Holy Family in that the “son” has plural *parentes*.

² The OLD defines *arsenicon* as a form of a “arrhenicum” and notes its ancient medical application (“purgant aerugo, auripigmentum, quod arsenicon a Graecis nominantur”—citation to Celsus 5.5.1.); on late-medieval medical uses, see ER 81, 242-43.

³ See Grimm, *Alaun*: lat. *alumen*; one or other of a group of astringent substances, including sulphates of aluminium, potash alum, etc. (OLD). On contemporaneous varieties and medical applications of “Alaun” (“alum”) such as for skin ailments, sores in the throat, angina, hemorrhage, bad breath, or vermin, cf. ER 80-84; Agricola³ 12-13; Agricola⁴ 77 (on its processing and medical uses); and LMA, “Alaun (*Stypteria, Alumen*)”: Dioscorides understood these substances as having an astringent or “impregnating” effect. Used medicinally for cauterization, their production and import were in flux in the 16th century.

⁴ Here P. is referring to the humors as human pathological types, and arguing that one should instead designate the pathology in accordance with its macrocosmically external cause or cure.

da jedweders seinen nammnen verlieren | 27 | mag/ dann es seind zwey ding in eim. Also so gesprochen wirt/ der *Morbus* ist *Acorinus*,^a die *Aegritudo* ist *Anthera*.^b so mag der natürlich Artzet verstehen/ wie in der grossen Welt/ also in der kleinen die Anatomey zu erkennen. Saget jhr/ der *Morbus* ist *Pulegij*,^c der ist *Melissae*,^d der *Savinae*,^e so habt jhr ein gewisse Cur auß dem nammnen.^f Dann so viel *matricaria*, so vil auch *Matricis passionis*. In diesem verstandt geht das Recept/ vnnd nicht vielerley zusammen genommen wider eine kranckheit. Darumb lasset euch die Fantasey nicht vberwinden/ die auß jhrer speculierung die eigenschafft vnnd zahl nemmen wöllen: die eussern augen müssen die ding alle bestäten. Also sagen jhr auch/ das ist *vitium Sanguinis*, das ist *vitium Hepatis*, etc. Nun wer macht euch solche Lüchsische augen/ daß jhr so eben wissen/ das Blut oder Leber schuld ist? dieweil jhr doch nicht wissen was Blut ist? Das Blut ist in der grossen Anatomey nichts anders dann Holtz/ Holtz ist ein

^a *Acoru(s)*, the presumed noun root of the adjective, is mentioned by P. among the herbal remedies for gout (S 2:81), hearing loss (S 5:462), and as an ingredient in a prophylactic herbal “winter wine” (S 11:289).

^b The autographic Basel notes cite under the heading of “*Medicinæ quarti gradus*”: “*Anthera*, medicina extracta ex hyacinthis” (S 4:109). Its uses include “in peste ex aqua” (S 5:83). A formula, “ad icteritiam cerebri” begins: “Accipe antherae hermodactylorum, antherae liliorum alborum, antherae pedis canis” (S 5:189). A prescription, “Ad icteritiam cordis, quo tumor non abit sed dolor,” begins: “R. antherae croci orientalis, antherarum rosismarini”; “Ad icteritiam renum” begins: “R. antherarum de flamula, iuniperi”; “Contra fellis icteritiam” prescribes, “Cape antherarum centaureae, chelidoniae...,” but also encompasses “ligni guaiaci praeparati” (S 5:190). The word thus has nearly as many usages as its objects have uses.

^c In Basel, P. cited *pulegium* for many uses, as inducing menstruation: “provocetur menstruum pulegio” (S 5:289) or urination: “provocetur et urina per rettich, pulegium, salviam” (296-97; cf. S 3:409ff.: “Est herba efficax, ut additionibus non multo indigeat. solum observetur, das mans keiner schwangeren frauen geb”).

^d Frequently cited, the herbal source of bee balm was lauded by P. in Basel as, “*Melissa* omnium, quae terra producit, optima ad cor herba est” (S 4:116). See notes on *manna* (H 2:29) and *melissa* (H 2:40, 64).

^e *Savina* is mentioned as an ingredient of a “*Cura tertii gradus*” (S 4:109); its oil is won “ex fructibus” or “ex granibus savinae” (S 4:261, 265). P.’s critique of “*Macri poemata*” contains much information on its nature and many medical applications for wounds, menstruation, dizziness, frozen limbs, etc. (S 3:404-05)

^f The draft or fragment of *Herbarius* (S 2:3-57) attempts to classify several of the diseases that preoccupied P. in the post-Basel period (*caducus*, *podagra*, *gutta*, *dropsy*; *mania*, *phrenesis*, etc.) by subordinating them to their respective healing herb, in this case either black hellebore or *persicaria* (S 2:7-17; 18-22).

their names; | 27 | for the two are [now as if] in one. Thus, it should instead be stated, this *morbus* [disease] is *acorinus*,¹ that *aegritudo* [illness] is *anthera*.² In this way the natural physician understands how it is that in the great world the anatomy can be discerned just as in the small [world]. You should say that *morbus* is [of] *pulegium*,³ that one is [of] *melissa*,⁴ [and] that one is [of] *savina*.⁵ Then you will have a reliable cure corresponding to the name. For there are as many *matricaria*⁶ as there are *Matricis passiones* [sufferings of the mother]. In this sense, the prescription and not all sorts of things put together acts against the disease.⁷ Therefore, do not let the fantasy of those carry you away who would derive properties and number from their speculation: the eyes of the body must preserve⁸ the things [as they are]. So you should say, similarly, this [disease] is *vitium sanguinis* [a defect of the blood], that one is *vitium hepatis* [the fault of the liver], and so on. Who is it now that is giving you such lynx eyes,⁹ that you know the blood or the liver are at fault? And you don't even know yet

¹ See OLD, *acoron* (P. apparently uses the adjectival derivation): the herb sweet flag (or butcher's broom or its root), with medical citations from Celsus and Pliny (25:158, "[acoron] has powerful properties as a calorific and discutient, is good for cataract and dimness of the eyes, and its juice is taken internally for snake bites"; cf. 26:137). Daems records the word as a synonym for *gladiolus* and other plants (273).

² The MLW and OLD define *anthera* respectively as "ein zusammengesetztes Arzneimittel" or "salve or medicament made with flower petals" (cf. Pliny 21:109; 22:67; etc.). However, medieval usage confused the medicinal rose hip with a seed and therefore referred to it as "anthera" (see "Rosen," LMA). Marzell equates "Anthos, Antheras" with *Anthericum Liliago* (Latin), "große Graslilie" or "Spulblume" (German); Daems: "flos rosarum" (277). Dorn has also: "Anthera [sic], est medicina tracta de hyacinthis."

³ Grimm gives for "Flohkraut" *mentha pulegium*, and offers medicinal citations from Lonicerus. The OLD defines "pulegium" as an "aromatic herb, penny royal"; cf. Brunfels, "Poley" (ccxlvii).

⁴ *Melissa officinalis* is the fragrant herb bee balm (NCE); see LMA for its common medieval applications, preceded by Dioscorides' uses. Brunfels: "Melissenkraut ... Reyniget die Mütter" (cccii). See also H 2:40.

⁵ Zelder identifies *savina* as "Sadebaum," a small juniper tree found in mountain regions used medicinally at least since Pliny; it was used to induce birth, afterbirth, and menstrual regularity.

⁶ P. may be using the term generically. Zedler defines *Matricaria* as a fine herb for women's ailments ("Mutter-Kraut...ein herrlich Kraut in allem Anliegen derer Weiber").

⁷ P. is arguing for *simplicia* and against *composita* or compounded medicines. For either term, see LMA.

⁸ See Grimm, *bestätten* (5): *confirmare*.

⁹ See Röhrich, *Luchsaugen*: a synonym for a cunning or clever person.

nammen/ wie vil hunderterley *species* seind des Holtzes: Nit weniger seind auch *species* des Bluts: vnnd so mancherley frucht von den Beumen außgehn/ so mancherley *aegritudines* des Bluts. Vnnd wie der Himmel die Beum erweckt durch den Sommer/ vnd sich schlaffen legt durch den Winter: Also führt er das Blut auch in ein solch regiment. Auß dem folget nun/ daß ein natürlicher warhafftiger Artzt spricht: Das ist *Morbus Terpentinus*,^a das ist *Morbus Sileris montani*,^b das ist *morbus Helleborinus*,^c etc. Vnd nicht/ das ist *Phlegma*, das ist *brancha*,^d das ist *rheuma*, das ist *Coriza*, das ist *Catarrhus*.^e Diese nammen kommen nicht auß dem grundt der Artzney: dann gleich soll seinem gleichen mit dem nammen vergleicht werden:^f dann auß dieser vergleichung kommen die werck/ das ist/ die *arcana* eröffnend sie in jhren krankheiten. Dann nicht allein eine *colica*, sonder vilerley/ vnd so vilerley/ als vilerley *arcana in colica* sind: Hierauß volgt *colica zibetina*,^g *colica muscata*.^h nicht *colica ventosa*,ⁱ nicht *colica fellis*, etc.^j oder nach anderem vrsprung/ wie jhrs beschreibet.

^a P. accorded considerable attention to the nature and curative properties of **terpentin** (S 2:61-72; 179-92); the latter include its use in embalming: “was toter cörper domit gesalbet werden und anatomisirt, das faulet nimer (183; cf. Intro). Because the larch (“lerchenbaum”) is destined by God to thrive only in wild, high mountains, its “terpentin” possesses celestial powers: “die influenz des terpentins vom hohen himel falt in die hohen birg und nicht in die under ebne” (63). Aware of ancient Roman embalming practices (65), the art of alchemy aspires to gain access to higher powers (“die kunst alchimia, die allemal in die höhern kreft beget”—71); it therefore uses the “firmamentischen vulcanen” in distilling and transmuting terpentine to a balsam (67), comparable to the “essentias mummiarum” (71).

^b He mentions **siler montanus** in connection with treatment for worms (S 5:289) and “undimia” (296).

^c A familiar medical material (cf. Müller), the Basel notes mention **helleborus** as a purgative in remedies for certain “tartarus”-related complaints (“est enim tartarus iste subiectum in arcanis specificum, sicut sunt centaurea, helleborus, ...siler, pulpæ colouintidæ” etc.—S 5:54) or “in caduco folia hellebori negri” (224).

^d The Basel notes list “**brancha**” along with “rheuma” and “catarrhus” as “Nomina ægreditudinum excrementalium stercoris mucosi” (S 4:481). Sudhoff (75) edits “brancha” as “branchus.”

^e Sudhoff (75) inserts into angular brackets: <das ist catarrhus>.

^f The critique of medical terminology is revised in P.’s later *Sieben Defensionen*: “Mir ist auch begegnet, das ich den krankheiten **neue nomina** gebe, die niemant erkenne noch verstehe, warumb ich nit bleib bei den alten nominibus? wie kan ich die alten nomina brauchen, dieweil sie nicht gehen aus dem grunt, aus dem die krankheit entspringt...” (S 11:135). The name must represent the cause of the disease.

^g A colic named after its cure (cf. vis-à-vis), which is described in Basel as “**zibetta** pinguedo est et schmeckt wol: crescit circa renes zibetæ” (S 4:116); it is

wood. Wood is merely a name; for there are many hundreds of *species* of wood. And there are no fewer *species* of blood. And just as various fruits proceed from trees, so, too, various *aegritudines* of blood. And just as the heavens awaken the trees by virtue of summer and put them to sleep by virtue of winter, so also do they give the blood a regimen of this kind. From this it follows that a natural, truthful physician should speak: “This is *morbis terpentinus*,¹ that is *morbis sileris montani*,² and that is *morbis helleborinus*,³ etc.” Do not state that this is *phlegma*, or that is *brancha*, [or] the other one is *rheuma*, or *coriza*,⁴ [or] *catarrhus*. These names do not represent the foundation of medicine. For like should be likened to like by means of the name.⁵ For it is from this likeness that the results come about. That is to say, they disclose the *arcana* in their [respective] diseases. For there is not one *colica* but many, and indeed there are as many of them as there are *arcana in colica*. From this follows *colica zibetina*,⁶ *colica muscata*,⁷ and not *colica ventosa*, not *colica fellis*,⁸ etc. Or they [will be designated] in accordance with some other origin, as you describe it.

¹ Refers to the **terebinth** or **turpentine tree** (*Pistacia terebinthus*), of the family Anacardiaceae, native to the Mediterranean and used in ancient medicine (NCE). Its status was enhanced by its prominence in the Vulgate and Pliny. Zedler notes that the “Lorch-” or “Lerchen-Baum” (Lat. *larix*) was also the source of a resin regarded in Galen’s time as the true “Terpentin.”

² The OLD defines “*siler*, *sileris*” as a “tree or large shrub, perhaps a kind of spindle tree that was known to Pliny for its medicinal uses (“*sileris folia inlita fronti capitis dolores sedant*”—Pliny 24:73).

³ Marzell lists **Helleborus foetidus** (“stinkender Nieswurz”) and **Helleborus niger** (“schwarze Nieswurz”). These herbs are used medicinally, but highly toxic (NCE). Along with the repulsive *assa foetida*, black hellebore is mentioned by the trained physician Rabelais, as are other Paracelsian herbs and medications of a seemingly exotic or extravagant character (cf. COFR). They in fact belonged to the common material culture of the age.

⁴ See MLW: **coriza** is a cold or runniness of the nose.

⁵ For a discussion of *simplicia* as the ideal for the names of diseases and the concept of “Naturesprache” and its context in P., see Kuhn, 154ff.

⁶ See Zedler and Grimm, **Zibet**: the civet, known for its scent-producing musk-like glands. Its perfume is said in Shakespeare’s *As You Like It* to be “of baser birth than tar, the very uncleanly flux of a cat” (III, 2). Civet was nonetheless proverbially precious. Thus Don Quixote is tricked into declaring that Dulcinea’s eyes drip with ambergris and civet when a detractor suggests that they emit foul substances (Part 1, bk iv).

⁷ See LMA, **Moschus**, musk; beginning in the 15th century known for many medicinal uses; akin to civet.

⁸ From **fel**, “a secretion of the liver, black bile” (OLD).

Ich muß noch ein mal melden den theil/ der mir so lang widerwertig ist gewesen/ in dem daß sie der Impression/ der Influentz/ der Früchten/ der Mineralien/ als vntüchtig/ vnnnd | 28 | vnnötig ding der Artzney geheissen haben: vnnnd jhr speculatz der *humorum* hinfür gesetzt/ vermeinend keine Philosophey noch eusserliche kunst sey dem leib nutz in seinen nöhten. Auß solchem vnuerstand haben sie die vier *humores* erdacht/ auß denselbigen die notturfft eines Artzts zu erfaren/ vrsach vnnnd eigenschafft der kranckheit: das sich gleich reimpt wie ein Muck gegen einem Esel: dann vrsach/ nichts ist im leib/ das außwendig nicht sein erkandtnuß geb: Die formen vnnnd das corporalisch ansehen/ soltu dich nicht hindern lassen: dann in derselbigen ligt der grund den du wissen solt/ darumb darffstu weiter grund nicht suchen. Dann auff dein geborne weißheit/ vnnnd auff die gelehrnte Sophisterey hatt Gott die kunst der Artzney nicht gesetzt. Du aber hast dich gesündert von allen Glerten/ das ist/ da die Artzt in den betrug haben wöllen gehen/ haben sie sonderliche vnd andere weg gesucht/ darinnen sie geschickte vnd gelerte Leut machten/ vnd dermassen wie ein Kunst oder Facultet herkeme/ bey euch kein verstand hett/ damit jhr also den grossen schalck in einem gelerten schein möchten verdecken. Wer wolt ein Juristen vber euch zu eim straffer setzen? dann jhr habt euch dermassen hindergeschlagen/ das Keysern vnd Bapsten Rotwelsch ist/ was jhr handelnt. Wie wolt euch der *Theologus* etwas abgewinnen/ so er in ewern schrifften nicht so vil versteht/ ob jhr Gott oder dem Teüffel anhanget? vnnnd verbergend ewer Lügen in die *humores*, daß man euch weder Buß noch Ablass geben kan. Wer will den gemeinen Mann ein Richter vber euch setzen? jhr seid jedermann Rotwelsch/ vnd habt euch so seltsam *Dictionarios* vnd *Vocabularios* gemacht/ wers ansicht/ mag

good for kidney ailments “Quicquid generatur ex zibetta, maximum remedium in renibus, sic etiam castoreum” (117).

^b P. combined **Muscata** with “zibeta” in composing medications for “contracturen” (S 2:479). Recollecting in his later *Sieben Defensionen* (1537/38) quarrels with apothecaries that presumably took place in Basel, he accuses them of passing off “merdam pro musco” (S 11:154).

ⁱ In Basel, “**colica ventosa**” is mentioned with “constipatio,” “diarrhaea,” etc., along with several “tartaric” digestive illnesses (S 5:454-55); an extended account of windy colic is given in the *Elf Traktat* (S 1:63-82).

^j Elsewhere P. did write of such an ailment as a numbness or paralysis resulting from fits of anger: “so nun der zorn hinweg ist und aus, als bald ist der humor vitae do und vermischt sich under in, so empfacht das ein scherfe und subtilitit materialisch und erlembt hend und füß und alle auswendigen glider, des gleichen mit allen zeichen der colich, darvon wir de **felle** und de **colica** schreiben” (S 2:469).

I must come back to those who have so long opposed [my medicine] by asserting that the impression, influence, fruits, [and] minerals are unsuitable and | 28 | unnecessary in medicine; and who [instead] prefer their own speculation about the *humores*, thereby arguing that no [real] philosophy and no [true] external art¹ are of use to the body in its sufferings. Because of their lack of understanding, they dreamed up the four *humores*, to gain from these the knowledge of causes and properties of disease needed by the physician. This goes together as well as a fly and a donkey. The reason [why I say this] is that there is nothing in the body that cannot be recognized externally. The forms and corporeal appearances should not hinder you [in recognizing this], for in [the external] lies the ground which you must come to understand. You should indeed seek no further for any other ground. For God has not founded the art of medicine upon your inborn wisdom, nor upon your acquired sophistry. It is you who have separated yourself off from all the learned. By this I mean that when the physicians embarked upon their deceit, they sought out special and different ways for training adroit and knowledgeable people, and thus emerged an art or faculty, [which] in your case, has no [real] understanding.² [In effect], the great scoundrel is merely decked out with learned appearances. Who should want to subject you to jurisdiction for your punishment? It is a fact that you have been so cunning in your deceit that what you pass off is gibberish³ even to emperors and popes. What should the *theologus* make of you when he can barely tell from your writings whether you are obedient to God or the devil? You conceal your lies behind the *humores*, so that you can be assigned neither penance nor absolution. Who would dare make the common man your judge? To all you [speak] gibberish; you have fashioned for yourselves strange *dictionarios* and *vocabularios*;⁴ whoever gets snared in them doesn't get away without being

¹ P. means that according to his opponents no alchemical philosophy or art, involving the aforementioned, are medically applicable. Here "external" refers to the macrocosm (cf. H 2:7, note on **inner** and **outer**).

² The paradox by which "learned" coincides with "no understanding" conforms to a contemporaneous saying retailed in Sebastian Franck's *Paradoxa* (Ulm: Varnier, 1534): "Jhe gelerter/ jhe verkerter" (*Quo doctior, eó peruersior*); roughly: "the more learned, the more twisted" (*Paradox* 65), used by P. (cf. H 1:269, note).

³ See Grimm, **Rotwälsch** (2): originally a thieves' argot, here unfathomable professional jargon.

⁴ On P.'s critique and attempted reform of medical terminology, see Kuhn, 126ff.

vnbeschissen nicht hinweg kommen/ vnd schickents mit solchem seltzamen Rotwelsch in die Apoteck/ daß sie es selbst im Garten besser hetten. Also ist die Medicin von den Gelerten gescheiden wie ein Hundsschlager von frommen leuten: so doch die Artzney so lauter vnnd klar in seins Vatterlands sprach stehen soll/ daß der Teutsche den Araben verstand/ vnnd die Griechen den Teutschen. Also soll die Artzney in jhrer kunst vnnd weißheit stehn/ daß alle Gleren in jhr ein wunderbarlichs ansehen haben/ vnnd eine verwunderung der höhe dieser kunst. Dann wen zielt | 29 | der Himmel/ den seinen Doctor/ der jhn erkent? wen zielt die Erde/ dann sein *Philosophum*? Dann die heimligkeit des Firmaments der Erden/ werden durch den Artzt eröffnet: Ihnen ist die heimligkeit^a der Natur offenbar/ vnd den andern gelerten wirdt es durch die Artzte mitgetheilt. Also verfaßt die Philosophhey alle glider vnnd alle glidmaß/ gesundtheit vnnd krankheit/ das außwendig das vrtheil des Vrins gelernt muß werden/ der Puls wirt im Firmament begriffen/ die Physionomey in dem Gstirn/ die Chiromancey in *Mineralibus*/ der Athem in *Euro* vnd *Zephyro*/ die *Febres* im Erdpidmen/ vnd dergleichen also auff einander.^b So der Artzt die ding außwendig von wort zu wort kan/ sieht vnd weiß ausserhalben dem Menschen alle krankheiten: Als dann so der Mensch mit allem seinem anligen in jhme gebildet ligt/ so tritt in den jnnern Menschen/ vnd biß ein Artzt/ darnach besich den Menschen seine Seich/ darnach greiff den Puls/ darnach judicir die person/ vnd nicht ohn grosse erkanntnuß des eussern Menschen/ der Himmel vnd Erden allein ist. Biß nicht so dürstig vnnd hochmütig/ das du ohne solchen grundt den Menschen antastest/ vnnd beschirm dein

^a Sudhoff (77) omits here “die” before “heimlikeit.”

^b The key to these references lies in the totality of correspondences of microcosm to macrocosm which are fleshed out with reference to specific diseases in P.’s *Elf Traktat* (S 1:3ff.; cf. above, note on H 2:24).

swindled. You send your patients off to the apothecaries [accompanied by] such a strange jargon that they would do better [looking for their medicine] in their own gardens.¹ Accordingly, medicine is as distinct from the [truly] learned as a dog catcher² is from pious folk. This despite the fact that medicine should be [formulated] as purely and clearly in the language of one's own fatherland so that the German would understand the Arab and the Greek the German. Medicine should be arrayed in its art and wisdom so that all who are learned in it might possess a marvelous aspect and incur amazement by the exaltation of this art. For who is it that is adorned by | 29 | the heavens other than the doctor who recognizes them? Who is adorned by the earth but its *philosophus*? The occult powers of the earthly firmament are disclosed by the physician. To him alone the occult powers³ of nature are made manifest. All other scholars are [to be] informed about these matters by the physician. This is why philosophy encompasses all organs and parts [and] health as well as illness: so that by way of the external the assessment of urine can be learned; [so that] the pulse can be comprehended from the firmament; [or] physiognomy in the stars; chiromancy in *mineralia*; breath in *Eurus* and *Zephyrus*;⁴ the fevers in earthquakes; and so on with the one thing based on the other. If the physician masters the things externally from word to word, then he sees and knows about all diseases outside the human being. For when the human being with all his conditions has been modeled in this way, [the physician] enters [the realm of] the inner human being: for then you are a physician. Examine, then, the maladies of the human being, feel the pulse, assess the person, and [do so] not without a vast understanding of the external human being, which is nothing other than the heavens and the earth themselves. Do not be so poor and so arrogant that you would need to treat the human being without the [proper medical] foundation; and you no longer need to cover up your

¹ On the same critique as voiced by Agrippa von Nettesheim shortly before this, see H 2:17, cf. Intro 38, note 31.

² See Grimm, **Hundeschläger**, dog catcher or executioner's assistant, a profession without honor.

³ See Maclean on the distinction of **occult** powers: "The humours are perceptible to the senses: there are components of human nature which are not." These include the realm of sympathy and antipathy (as for example, of the magnet) and bodily functions involving the connection of matter and spirit (242ff.).

⁴ *Eurus* and *Zephyrus*: the east and west winds.

speculierten sandigen grund nicht/ der vnbestäiter ist dann das Rohr im Wasser. Aber jhr last euch benügen/ das jhrs dahin gebracht habt/ das mann euch glauben muß ohne werck/ vnd das ewer schuld auff Gott gedrohen wirt.

Das ich aber den *Philosophum* weiter außstreich/ so wisset das er in zween weg zu verstehen ist: Einer des Himmels/ der ander der Erden. Also gibt ein jedliche Sphær ein seiten des Artzts/ vnd sind da beid kein gantzer Artzt. Der ist ein *Philosophus*/ der die Vnder Sphær in einer erkandtnuß tregt: Der ist ein *Astronomus*/ der die Ober Sphær in wissen hat: Vnd haben jedoch beide ein verstand vnnnd ein kunst/ vnd vnder jhnen sind die *Mysteria* der vier Elementen. Dann ein verstand ist/ der den *Mercurium* erkennt/ gegen dem der *Aquilatum*^a erkennt: Ein verstand ist in dem der den *Marcasiten*^b erkennt/ gegen dem der denn *Galaxa*^c erkennt: Der *Mannam*^d erkennt/ gleicht dem der

^a The Basel student notes classify among the “animantia ex aëre nata, [quae] secundum gradum caloris obtinent,” the eagle (*aquila*) or an astrological or arcane equivalent (S 4:22, 33).

^b This reference is very general but P.’s speculations on the origins and transmutations of metals indicate that the emergence and differentiation of this group gave him cause for thought: “also auch die separationes **marcasitarum**, die da in der practik und elementischer natur unterschiedlich seind von den andern und ein ieglich genus in sonderer separation stehet....” (S 3:107; cf. 45, on its species: “goltfarb und silberfarb, und deren species seind vil, in denen got sonderlich vil behalten hat, die selbigen dem menschen under sein hant geben, das er in inen such, was im liebet, und was im got da geben habe...”).

^c This term occurs in the context of P.’s speculation on the “vier matres” as a source of natural “anatomy” from water, air, and fire: “also auch der thereniabin ein glid des chaos [air], der **galaxa** ein spina [probably “backbone”] des feuers” (S 6:340). Together with the sun as an embodiment of the element fire, “der galaxische gang” is a transformer of earthly vegetation (S 13:60). Sudhoff (78) edits as “galaxam.”

^d Like “thereniabin” or “lacca sancta,” **manna** descends from the element air at irregular intervals in certain locales including Ireland, where it occurs in a particular variety (“Nuba quoque mannae species est, coloris rosinfarb, ut plurimum cadit in Hibernia”—S 4:116). Because of their generation from the heavens or air, “teneriabian, nostoch, manna und melissa etc.” retain their aerial and celestial powers (S 13:340). Earthly honey, as well as tereniabin, is akin to manna (S 2:197); however, manna is among the liminal phenomena that draw their essence and powers from the porous boundaries between the human world and alien realms, thus comparable to elemental living creatures, salamander and phoenix, or to the “mumia” that transcends the boundary between the living and the dead (S 13:340–41). *Liber Azoth*, edited by Sudhoff but described as of uncertain authenticity, systematizes the account of manna based on its biblical origins as “engelbrot” and “verbum domini” (S 14:582, 583ff.; cf. S 2:198; G 1:140; Staricius 69ff.). Sudhoff (78): “mannam.”

speculative foundation of sand that is less constant than a reed in water. But [as things stand now], you are content to incur belief in yourself without producing results;¹ what is actually your fault you assign to God.

In order to further delineate the *philosophus*, let it be known that he is understood in two ways: one of the heavens, the other of the earth. Accordingly, each sphere gives rise to an aspect of the physician; and both of them are [still] not a complete physician. He is a *philosophus* who has knowledge of the Lower Sphere; he an *astronomus* who knows of the Upper Sphere. And yet the two together embody a single sense and art. Subject to these two are the *mysteria* of the four elements. For one aspect coincides with knowing about *mercurius*; the other with knowing about *Aquilatus*.² One meaning is in knowing *marcasite*;³ it corresponds to knowing the *Galaxa*.⁴ He who knows of *manna*⁵ is like one who knows of *angelica*.⁶ A single anatomy lies in

¹ “**glauben...ohne werck**”: The contrast echoes contemporary religious debates: “Works instead of faith” is the Evangelical polemic against the papacy; “works and not merely faith” is the demand of radicals such as Thomas Müntzer or Sebastian Franck for a practical verification of faith which reasserts the living spirit over the dead letter.

² Adjectival form of the constellation *Aquila*, posited by P. as equivalent to his earthly *mercurius*.

³ See Dorn: “**Marcasita** est materia metallica immatura, tot specierum.” Ruland also cites specific kinds: “aurea, argentea, stannea, ferrea, plumbea & cupria, quae postrema pyrites, & lapis luminis appellantur” Marcasite is a mineral akin to pyrite but paler, its crystals occurring in marls, clays, and limestones (NEC).

⁴ *Galaxicu(s)*, adj. for “milky” (DML), refers to the Milky Way Galaxy (ODEE).

⁵ *Manna* refers to the powers of a celestial dew found in herbs, a commonplace attributed to Avicenna and Pliny (Med³ cxv verso: the account here is routine and matter of fact in tone). To the later Zedler, *manna* is both the sweet tree sap (“*succus concretus*”) harvested in Mediterranean regions such as Calabria and Sicily and the biblical sustenance. One of its variants was “*Tereniabin*” (cf. Med³ clxix verso: “*Tereniabin. honig dawē,*”), which was thought to be the wild honey said to have nourished John the Baptist (cf. H 2:41, note).

⁶ *Angelica silvestris*, “Brustwurz” (Marzell) or “Engelwurz” (Nikolov), appears as an earthly counterpart to an originally celestial, hence angelic “manna.” Referring both to ancients and moderns, Brunfels discusses the uncertain identity and marvelous powers of this herb, also known as “Heyligengeystwurtz” including as a panacea and treatment for pestilence (cccxviii-cccxix)

Angelicam^a erkennt. Es ist eine Anatomey aller vieren außtheilung/ zu gleicher weiß von einander gescheiden/ wie die beide Arm vnnnd beide Bein/ wie ein Aug | 30 | gegen dem andern/ wie die vndern Zähne gegen den obern/ wie das fleisch in Füßen gegen dem Backenfleisch. Also ist ein *Saturnus* im Himmel/ ist Fewr/ also ist einer in der Erden/ der ist Irdisch: Also ist ein *Sol* im Wasser/ also eine im Himmel: Vnd also vierfach ein jedlich ding im Menschen: Vnd was im hindersten winckel der Erden ligt/ des Schatten felt in Menschen/ auch was im tiefesten des Meers ligt/ imprimirt den Menschen: Vnd was *sub Polo Antartico* ligt/ das gibt sein Reflex vnder den *Polum Arcticum*/ Vnnnd was vnder *Arctico Polo* ligt/ gibt sein Reflex dem Menschen vnder^b dem *Polo Antartico*. Was ist *Venus Orbis* als *Matrix Ventris*? Dann *Venus Orbis* gibt den *Medicum Matricis*: Was ist *Conceptio Ventris*/ so *Venus Mundi* dieselbige nicht würckt? Was nützen *Vasa Spermatica*, so *Vasa Veneris* vngünstig sind? Was ist *Ferrum*? nichts dann *Mars*: Was *Mars*? nichts dann *Ferrum*: beide *Mars*/ beide Eisen: Was vnderscheid ist zwischen den *Solibus*, zwischen den *Lunis*/ was zwischen den *Mercuriis*/ was vnder den *Saturnis*/ was vnder den *Iovis*? nichts zu dem Menschen zu rechnen/ als allein/ wz sie die form da entschleußt. Darumb nit vier/ sondern ein *Arcanum*/ aber vierecket gsetzt/ wie ein Thurn auff die vier Wind: Vnd als wenig ein Thurn einen Eck mangeln mag/ also wenig mag ein Artzt deren theilen eins gerathen. Ein theil macht den Artzt nit gantz/ zwei theil auch nit/ drey theil auch nit/ Aber vier theil: Dann also gantz soll er sein/ als die *Arcana*/ die da in den vieren stehend. Vnd zu gleicher weiß wie [durch] ein Ey in einer Eyerschalen/ die Welt Figurirt wirdt/ vnd ein Hünlin mit allen seinen Fettigen darinn verborgen ligt: Also sollen die ding alle/ was die Welt vnd der Mensch begreifen/ im Artzt verborgen ligen.^c Vnd wie die Hennen die figurirte Welt in der

^a In vague but interesting references in his writing on the French disease, P. refers to *angelica* or “angelica laudina” in apparent speculations on its utilization to combat the transformation of known diseases from or into the French disease (S 7:179f.), or in regard to the “transplantation” of “ostricium” into a “narcoticum elementatum,” preventing plague (264; cf. *De Gradibus*, S 4:123: “Angelica est ostrutium transplantatum. liquor eius summa medicina contra infectiones aëreas internas et praeservativum contra pestem”).

^b Sudhoff (78) has instead of “vnder” “und.”

^c P.’s frequent comparisons of **the world to an egg** are generally cosmographic or cosmological; but here the similarity extends to the world as alchemical process (hatching) and epistemology (the same totality of the world must be present in nuce in the philosophical physician). The generative powers of the world as egg are perhaps

the distribution of all four [elements], [which are] at the same time separate from one another, like the two arms and two legs, like one eye | 30 | compared with the other; like the lower teeth compared with the upper; like the skin of the feet compared with that of the cheeks. Thus, there is a *Saturnus* in the heavens, [which] is fire; [and] there is one in earth, which is earthly. Thus there is a *Sol* in water; and thus [too] there is one in the heavens. Accordingly, each single thing is in the human being in a fourfold way. Whatever lies most remotely in the earth—its shadow is extended in the human being. The same holds true for what lies in the deepest depths of the seas—[it] imprints upon the human being. And whatever lies *sub Polo Antartico*—it casts its reflection beneath the *Polus Arcticus*. And what [is] under the *Arcticus Polus* lends its reflection to the human being and to the *Polus Antarticus*. What is *Venus Orbis* other than *matrix ventris*?¹ For it is *Venus Orbis* which yields the *medicus matricis*. What would *conceptio ventris* amount to—if it were not effected by *Venus mundi*? What good are *vasa spermatica*, if *vasa Veneris* are not so disposed? What is *ferrum* [iron]? Nothing other than *Mars*. What is *Mars*? Nothing but *ferrum*. Both [are] *Mars*, both [are] iron. What difference is there between the *Soles*, between the *Lunae*, between the *Mercurii*, between the *Saturni*, between the *Jovi*? [There is] none with respect to the human being, except for that which is represented by form. For this reason, there are not four but rather one *arcantum*, but arrayed in a fourfold way, like a tower toward the four winds. And just as little as a tower could do without a corner could the physician fail in² one of those four. One part alone does not make the physician whole, nor two parts, nor three. But only four altogether. For he should be as complete as are the *arcana* which dwell in the four. Just as the world is modeled <by> an egg in an eggshell,³ and just as the hen with all its chicks lies concealed within it: in the same way all things pertaining to the world and the human being should lie concealed within the physician. And just as in the world as modeled in the shell, the hen

¹ *Matrix ventris*: *venter*, *ventris* can refer either to the belly or to the embryo in the womb (OLD). What is essential in these references is the postulation of a precise relationship between all parts and aspects of microcosm and macrocosm encompassing even metals and planets and extending to generative processes.

² See Grimm, *geraten* (14): I am adapting Grimm's definition "entbehren, verzichten (auf)" to the context.

³ Medieval cosmology knew **the world in the shape of an egg**, as in the *Scivias* of Hildegard of Bingen (PL 197:403); see vis-à-vis; cf. H 2:48, note 2.

Schalen durch jhr brüten verwandelt in ein Hünlin: Also durch die Alchimey werden gezeitigt die *Arcana*/ so Philosophisch im Artzt ligend: Vnd wie dz Fewr bereit vnd reiniget/ also werden die ding auff Erden gebracht.^a Hierinn ligt die jrrung/ das der Artzt nicht recht fürgenommen ist worden: Dann wissen sie das nicht/ so wissen sie die *Arcana* nicht: Vnnd wissen sie nicht was Kupffer macht/ vnnd was die | 31 | *Vitriolata*^b gebiert/ so wissen sie auch nicht/ was den Aussatz macht: Wissen sie auch nicht was den Rost auff dem Eisen macht/ so wissen sie auch nicht was die *Vlcerationes* macht^c: Wissen sie nicht was die Erdbidem macht/ so wissen sie auch nicht was die Kalten Wehe macht. Die eussern lernen vnnd zeigen an was dem Menschen gebrist/ vnnd der Mensch zeigt sein bresten selbst nit an: Vnnd da der grundt ligt/ das verschlaffen sie. Nicht das auß *Mercurio* vnnd *Sulphure* die Metallen wachsen/ wie sie sagen: Nichts ists^d an jhm selbst wie sie setzen/ daß das rein Erdrich kein Stein geb: Nicht auß der Erden/ sondern auß dem Wasser wachsen die Stein der Erden/ seind wie das Ertz des Wassers: Vnnd in der geberung der Metallen vergessen sie des/ das doch coaguliert. Nicht zwey/ sondern drey machen die Metall: Auff solche warhafftige Philosophey solt jhr setzen die Artzney/ nicht auff die schwammige/ die da aussen anhanget/ wie der *Agaricus* an der Lerchen.

Nich<t> ohne widerred mag ich mein schreiben vollenden/ vnd nicht ohne grosse anbellung/ deren allen/ die weder mich noch mein gegentheil verstanden. Es ist notwendig/ das die fürgenommen

implicit in *Philosophia de Generationibus et Fructibus Quatuor Elementorum*: “zu gleicher weis wie der dotter im ei vom clar gehalten wird, das er die schal nicht anrüret, also helt der chaos die globel, das sie nicht falt auf kein ort. diser chaos ist unsichtbar und grün zu scheinen und ist der ungreiflich clar und albumen und hat aber die kraft, das er hebt, das die erden ab stat nicht rucken mag” (13:16).

^a Sudhoff (79) introduces a paragraph break.

^b This and similar references to *Vitriolum* (cf. vis-à-vis) touch upon a term that gave rise to P.’s most ecstatic optimism. His chapters on vitriol (S 2:146-65) in *Von den natürlichen Dingen* characterize it as a distinct salt that excels in its benefits for both branches of medicine; its varieties are red, white, and green; its medical and alchemical uses confirm the obtuseness of Aristotle in matters of “transmutation,” the age of an alchemical Helias (S 2:163) and indeed of a dawning “güldin welt” (165).

^c On the medical context of P.’s postulation, based on an analogy between the effect of **rust** upon **iron** and of “**salt**” in causing “**ulceration**” of the skin, see *Vom Ursprung und Herkommen der Franzosen*: “nun wiß hiebei, das der rost, der solche ulceration macht, nit kompt von der stat, da er ligt, sonder er kompt aus dem ganzen corpus (S 7:361).

^d Sudhoff (79): “ist.”

through its brooding transforms [the egg] into a chick: in the same way the *arcana*, [concealed] philosophically in the physician, are matured by alchemy. Just as the fire processes and purifies, in this same way are things brought into the world. In connection with this arises the error of omission of [the other] physicians: if they do not know that of which I have spoken, then they do not know what the *arcana* are. And if they do not know what constitutes copper, nor what gives birth to the | 31 | *vitriolata*,¹ they will not know what causes leprosy either. If they do not know what causes rust to appear on iron, neither do they know what causes *ulcerationes*. If they do not know what causes earthquakes, they cannot know what causes cold pains either. The external things teach and demonstrate what ails the human being. The human being does not explain his own fragilities. Where the true ground lies, they are asleep [and not aware of it]. It is not the case that metals grow out of *mercurius* and *sulphur*, as they say. Nothing is the way they say it is. Nor that the pure earthen realm produces its own stones. It is not from earth but from water that the rocks of the earth grow. They are like the ore of water. With regard to the birth of metals, they forget about that which becomes coagulated. It is not two things but three that constitute the metals. It is on such truthful philosophy you should base medicine; not on what is like a foam on the surface, like *agaricus*² growing on a larch tree.

Not without [incurring] protest will I conclude my writing. And not without the great vituperation of all those who understand neither me nor my opposition. It is necessary that the aforesaid generation of

¹ See LMA, *Vitriol*: a chemo-technical by-product of mining, used in tanning, alchemy, and alchemical medicine. The plural accords with the fact that the late Middle Ages knew blue, white, and green variants, that is, copper-, zinc-, and iron-based vitriol. For relevant sources on the use and meaning of vitriol, see ER 323-24. For an earlier citation, likewise in a medical context, see Med³ clxxvii verso: “*Vitriolum*”; references are made there to Serapio and Dioscorides.

² *Agaricus*, a gill fungus, agaric (Marzell, Nikolov); of various medicinal uses (Zedler); cf. H 1:137.

geberung der Metallen^a nach beschreibung der Philosophen auß keinem andern grund beschrieben seind. Dann wie die Artzte die vier *Humores* erdacht haben/ durch die die gantze Medicin betrogen ist worden/ Also durch *Mercurium* vnnnd *Sulphur* die Philosophiey gefelscht. Vnnnd wie die krancken erkrümmt sind worden durch dieselbigen vier *Humores*: Also durch den *Mercurium* vnnnd *Sulphur* seindt die *Philosophi* erkrümpt worden. Wie sich eins rempft/ also reimpft sich das ander. Einer der da will ein *Philosophus* sein/ vnd darinn kein falsch legen/ der muß den grund der Philosophiey dermassen setzen/ das er Himmel vnnnd Erden in einen *Microcosmum* mache/ vnnnd nicht vmb ein härten fehlschieß. Also auch einer der da wil auß dem grund der Artzney schreiben/ der muß auch nicht vmb ein härten fehlen/ anderst dann das er auß dem *Microcosmo* den Lauff der Himmel vnd der Erden mach: Also das der *Philosop<h>us* anderst nichts find im Himmel vnd in der Erden/ anderst dann dz er im Menschen auch findt: Vnnnd das der Artzt nichts findt im Menschen/ dann was | 32 | Himmel vnd Erden auch haben: Vnd das diese zwey nichts anders scheiden von einander/ dann die gestalt der Form/ vnd dz doch die form zu beiden seiten in eim ding verstanden werde/ etc. Auß der fantasey eigens kopffs wirt solches nicht verstanden/ sondern auß dem Liecht der Natur/ das angezündt wirdt durch den Heiligen Geist^b welcher seiner Schuler weißheit vnd verstandt offenbart/ durch jhre wercke/ also das die viehische vernunft sich in solchem verwundern vnnnd erbidmen muß. Hierinnen ligt aller gründlichen weißheit anfang/ wie der Schein von der Sonnen vber alle ding geht/ vnnnd wie gutts vnd böses durch die Sonnen wachset: Also wachsen sie auch durch das Liecht der Natur. Vnd die jrung nimpt sich als die Nesseln/ die auch wachsen auß dem Schein der Sonnen. Dann also

^a P. devoted a sizable treatise to the *Philosophia de Generationibus et Fructibus Quatuor Elementorum* (S 13:5-123). Under the heading of the element water, the work treats of the **generation of metals** (98-107). Its repeated reference to the coming “paramiran” works suggests a common period of origin (9, 59).

^b Both the theological and the medical-philosophical works indicate that “God” or “the **Holy Spirit**” ignites or illuminates the knowledge of worldly or natural things. The early *Liber de Sancta Trinitate* notes that the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father, ignites the “lumen naturae.” Proceeding from the Son, it gives rise to all things pertaining to faith and salvation (G 3:262-3). Without the inner-trinitarian distinctions, the late *Labyrinthus Medicorum Errantium* (1537/38) likewise equates “theologia” with “theorica” and ascribes final authority to God as the source of natural and medical “illumination” (S 11:199-201). Significantly, Sudhoff (80) has in place of “den Heiligen Geist” “den neunten himel” (cf. Kritische Anmerkungen, 399).

metals should be described by the philosophers on no other foundation. Just as the physicians have dreamed up the four *humores* by means of which all medicine has been swindled: in that same way philosophy has been falsified by *mercurius* and *sulphur*.¹ Just as the patients have been crippled by those four *humores*, so has philosophy been hobbled with *mercurius* and *sulphur*. The one [defect] coincides with the other. Whoever would be a *philosophus* without falsehood must grasp the foundation of philosophy in such a way that the heavens and the earth form the *microcosmus* and not fail in this conception by a hair's breadth. In the same way, one who would write from the [true] ground of medicine must not fail by so much as a hair's breadth: [but rather discern] nothing less than the course of the heavens and the earth from the *microcosmus*. Therefore [it will be apparent] that the *philosophus* discerns nothing in the heavens and earth but what he discerns in the human being as well. [It is apparent] that the physician recognizes nothing in the human being but what | 32 | heavens and earth possess as well. Nothing separates these two aspects from one another but the figure of their form; and yet the form of either should be understood as one. It is not from the phantasy of a willful mind that such things are understood, but rather from the light of nature which is ignited by the Holy Spirit, which discloses the wisdom and understanding of its pupils through their works, so that the bestial reason must be astonished and quake [countenancing such things]. In this resides the beginning of all fundamental wisdom.² Just as the radiance of the sun shines upon all things, and just as good and evil [things] grow through the power of the sun, they grow in the same way through the light of nature. Error is to be understood as the nettles that also grow through the power of the sun's radiance. For

¹ **Philosophy** refers to a theoretical alchemy which was false because it did not incorporate Paracelsian *salt* to round out *sulphur* and *mercury* to the triad. On the prehistory of those two, see HOLM; Pagel 100ff.; on a precursor of the three, Willem Frans Daems, "'Sal-Merkur-Sulfur' bei P. und das *Buch von der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit*." *Nova Acta Paracelsica* (1982): 189-205. P. may have his *Philosophia de Generationibus et Fructibus Quatuor Elementorum* specifically in mind though many of his writings treat of the *tria prima*.

² The appeal to the **Holy Spirit** initiates several extended biblical allusions, first to Prov 9:10 ("The fear of the Lord is the beginning of all wisdom"), then to Mt 5:45 ("he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good"), and Mt 13:7 ("Other seeds fell among thorns, and the thorns grew up and choked them"). The allusions suggest the divine source of wisdom offered by nature and the possibility of error.

gleich vnnd gantz sol die Philosophey sein/ auch die Artzney/ das sie wissen/ was das sey/ das da schiltzt im Bley/ was auch sey die herte im Eisen/ was die Farben vnnd^a Rubinen sind/ vnnd was die *Arcana* darinnen sind: Solchs in ein erkanndtnuß zubringen/ muß durch dz angezündte Liecht beschehen/ das vor den augen ligt/ wissentlich einem jedlichen viehischen verstandt. Die aber/ so ausserhalb diesem liecht nichts augenscheinlichs beweisen/ dz ist die Fantasy der viehischen vernunft/ auß denen die bemelt Philosophey vnd Medicin erstanden ist/ die da verzweifelt haben am rechten Lehrmeister/ vnd vermeinen/ was jhr viehischer verstand nicht ergründen möge/ das sey dem Menschen vnmöglich/ geben zuwerden/ gleich als sey der *Terminus Philosophiae* allein in *Aristotelem* gesetzt/ vnd der *Terminus Medicinae* allein in *Galenum*, die da nichts anderst/ dann wieder die warheit geschrieben haben.

Also werden beschirmpt die da widerwertig sind dem Liecht der Natur: Das bey vns als rein als Gold sein solt/ vnd also rein/ dz kein Rost daran wachsen möge: Vnd dieweil einicherley anzickung eingemischt ist/ so wirdt der grundt gebrochen. Dann wer kan etwz gutts vergleichen dem Kupffer inn der gestalt/ das einer sprech: Was ist gantz/ das ohne Rost sey/ dasselbig das ohne Rost nicht sein mag/ das ist nit gantz: Dann in gantzem ist kein Rost. Das beweret dz höchst Liecht der Apostel/ in | 33 | dem kein bresten noch Rost/ noch keinerley tadels sein mag. Das *Judas*^b aber als ein Rost hie mocht geachtet werden/ ist kein Rost/ sondern ein außewelets Ampt darzu/ nicht betreffendt das höchst Liecht/ wiewol er in zal/ im namen des Liechts gestanden ist/ so hat doch nichts in jhm gewonet/ als der name allein. Auff solchs so wissendt ein vnderscheidt auch von der jrrung/ das dieselbigen sich vom rechten Liecht der Natur nemend in der gestalt/ das die ordnung gebrochen wirdt: Dann ohne zerbrechung der ordnung/ wirdt kein jrrsal. Also möcht wol dem gegentheil sein verstandt geben sein worden/ die sie sich berümen lauter vnnd klar zuhaben. Dann die ordnung des natürlichen Liechts ist in der kindtheit zerbrochen worden/ vnnd der viehische verstandt fürgetrungen/ vnnd

^a Sudhoff (80): “in.”

^b **Judas** embodies the quintessential problem of predestination to evil or freedom of the creature created in the image of God to overcome evil (cf. S 10:267; 12:43, 416, 422; cf. H 1:232).

philosophy as well as medicine should be so whole and complete that they know what it is that smelts in lead, and what is the hardness in iron; and what are the colors and the rubies, and which *arcana* are within these things. Gaining knowledge of such things must come about by means of the ignited light [of nature]: [those things] that lie before our very eyes, evident even to the brutish understanding. However, those outside this light, [who] prove nothing manifest to the senses, [what they present] is the confabulation of a brutish reason. It is from this that the aforesaid philosophy and medicine have arisen—[from] those who despaired of the true teacher and therefore maintain that whatever their animal intellect cannot fathom would be meant to transcend the capacity of the human being. As if the *terminus philosophiae* had been set by *Aristoteles* alone, and the *terminus medicinae* by none other than *Galenus*: by those two who have done nothing but write what is contrary to the truth.

This is how those who are opposed to the light of nature are to be warded off: What is ours should be pure as gold, so pure indeed that no rust should grow upon it. And if a single ingredient is mixed in, the foundation will be shattered. For who could compare something good to copper, as if one were to say: What is complete is without rust; what cannot avoid rust is not complete. For in that which is complete there is no rust.¹ This is proven by the highest light of the apostles, in | 33 | whom there is no fragility or corruption, nor can there be any other flaw. The notion that Judas might be viewed as rust [and therefore an exception to this dictum], is not true. Instead, he was chosen [by God] to do what he did, which had nothing to do with the highest light. Even though he did stand in the number [of the twelve apostles] and in the name of [Jesus'] light. Yet nothing of it dwelled within him, except the name alone. In this regard, you should be aware of a difference with respect to the error as well: those who thus err from the true light of nature except themselves in such a way that the order is disturbed. For without disruption of order, there can be no error. This is no doubt why my opposition has been given its intellect, which it claims to have as something pure and clear. For the order of the natural light has been shattered in infancy, and the brutish intellect

¹ The symbolism of **rust** as a measure of untruth and corruption is based on biblical passages such as Mt 6:19-20 or, of particular relevance to the present polemic, James 5:3 (“Your gold and silver have rusted, and their rust will be evidence against you...”).

also alle *Professiones* geregiert: Das fürwar der erst *Philosophus* sich trefflich wirdt verwunderen ab den Aristotelischen Schrifften/ vnd dergleichen: Der Erste recht Artzt gegen den Schrifften *Auicennae* vnd *Galenii*: Dann deren keiner ist der Artzt noch der *Philosophus* gewesen/ die vns sollen vorgehen in solchen dingen nachzuoolgen. Dieweil sie nuhn wider den grundt stehendt/ so muß jhr kunst ein gewalt sein/ welche künst sich doch nicht zwingen lassen. Vnnd wie ein jedliche kunst auff Erden jhr selbst ein glauben vnder dem volck machet/^a also machen sie jhnen selbst einen zwungenen glauben/ vnnd bestäten disen falschen glauben eine liebe/ durch jhr fleissige arbeit/ also das der leib felschlich ein glauben gibt/ welcher glaub doch entlich nicht kommen soll/ sondern allein auß der kunst vnnd der kunst werck. Was werck steht in allen Scribenten/ das da vertröst wer auß der kunst zusein? Darumb ein lautere fantasey/ erdichte künst bey euch auffrichten/ die dann erdichte arbeit vnnd fleiß brauchen: Dann hundert mal mehr fleiß gehört eim erdichten Artzt zu/ dann einem gebornen. Also seind sie auff die Schnellwag gelegt/ die auß sonderlichem grossen fleiß erhalten müssen werden/ sonst wirdt das schnellen offenbar. Auff solches zu wissen/ das euch kein entschuldigung hilfft der jrrung/ auch keine kundtschafft/ das die werck da seyen/ darumb das jhr den Namen haben: Sondern wie *Iudas*/ dieselbige erwehlunge besitzt jhr. Dann als oft ein warhafftigs | 34 | auß dem Heiligen Geist/^b als wol ist ein erwehlter Teuffel entgegen gesetzt.

Also gibt die Philosophiey euch zuerkennen/ das jhr auß jhren wachsen gleich als der Marcasit/ der ist schön vnnd glitzet wol/ das der Ertzman nichts anderst mag gedencken/ dann da sey nichts dann Gold: So ers in das Fewr bringt/ so ist es Schwefel vnnd Hüttrauch. Vnd also glantzen jhr auch/ vnd wen jhr in die prob kommen wie der Marcasiten/ *Talk*,^c *Cachimia*, so ist nichts dann Katzensilber. Vnnd

^a P. is anticipating his work on *Invisible Diseases* here: faith in that which is false acquires an authority of its own and may therefore be effective even though it is false or evil (cf. H 1:250ff.).

^b Sudhoff (82): “den neun himmeln” (the same variant, note on H 2:32).

^c On the alchemical process of separation which is the basis of this metaphor, see *Archidoxis*: “Vom scheiden der elementen aus den **marcasiten**...” (S 3:110); the procedure includes “**talk**” (talc).

has intruded itself [instead] and thus come to dominate all *professiones*. It is no doubt the case that the first *philosophus* [would be] amazed at the Aristotelian writings and their ilk.¹ The first real physician [would no doubt react similarly] toward the writings of *Avicenna* and *Galenus*. For among those who preceded us and whom we are supposed to conform to, none was the [true] physician or *philosophus*. Inasmuch as they were opposed to the true ground, their art had to rely on force, which is antithetical to the [true] arts. Just as every sort of art in the world finds a credulous following among the people: so, too, they secured for themselves a forced faith, and assert that this false faith is a manifestation of love, doing so through their assiduous efforts. Accordingly, [it happens that] the body induces a false faith, a faith which should certainly² not come [on its own] but rather only by way of [true] art and its results. What sort of results are there in [the work] of all these authors that could console us by their art? This is why [you have] set up a pure fantasy [of the] confabulated arts, which require fraudulent labor and industry. For a fraudulent physician has to expend a hundred times as much effort as one born to the profession. This is why they need to be evaluated superficially, needing as they do to maintain themselves by means of great additional activity. Otherwise, their sleight-of-hand would be evident. Let it be known to them that there will be no excuse for their error, and no recognition from those who see the results just because you bear the name [of physician]. Instead [you will be] as *Judas*, for you have received the same elect function. For every truthful thing | 34 | [that emerges] from the Holy Spirit, there is an elected devil opposed to it.

In this way [their] philosophy indicates to us that what grows from them is like marcasite. It is lovely and glitters, so that the miner is convinced that it is gold. But as soon as he puts it to the fire, nothing is left but sulphur and arsenical vapor.³ This is how you, too, shine; when you are tested like marcasite, *talc*, [or] *cachimia* [calamine],⁴

¹ P. was a man of his age in believing that an ancient wisdom, older than the Greek philosophers whom he despised, was in need of recovery. (See DGWE, "Tradition, *Prisca theologia* and *philosophia perennis*.")

² See Grimm, **endlich** (7): "sicher nicht."

³ See Grimm, **Hüttenrauch** (2): the smoke or vapors from a smelter's hut, usually containing arsenic.

⁴ See Grimm, NCE: **Talc**, talc: a mineral ranging in color from white through various shades of gray and green to the red and brown of impure specimens,

wie ein Messing sein Farben vom Galmey nimpt vnd empfach: Also ist auch ewr kunst vnnnd Doctorey empfangen: Wo jhr zum krancken kommen/ so ist der schein *Volatilis*/ vnd bestanden kein proben nicht/ wie der *Talk* im Fewr. Sehet an das die Natur nichts in Farben noch in der form verborgen hat: Sondern inn den dingen ist das *Arcanum*/ da die Farb nicht ist noch die zwey. Darff die natur dermassen handeln: Wie meinst du Katzensilberischer Arzt/ das sie werden in dem Spiegelwerck bawen/ so sie in das jhrige nichts bawen? Warumb brauche ich hie dise Vexation? Darumb/ das ich euch vermein dardurch in die Natur zubringen/ das jhr in derselbigen euch besehet/ vnd erfaret: Also/ dz der Artzt auß den eussern dingen wachsen soll/ vnnnd nicht auß dem Menschen. Befindet er im Menschen ein kranckheit: Wer sie sey/ vnnnd wie/ wirdt er auß der statt/ darinn sie ligt/ nicht erkennen/ sondern er muß das ausserhalb erfahren vnnnd lernen/ wie offft gemeldt. Darumb ichs aber jetzt auch einzeuch/ ist darumb/ das *Paeonia*^a anzeigt den *Caducum*/ sein zeit/ sein stund/ sein *Paroxysmum*/ sein wesen vnnnd alle eigenschafft: Das mustu auß der Natur *Paeoniae* lernen/ vnnnd ausserhalb dieser bistu nur ein geflickter Artzt/ der nichts kan/ dann was jhme der kranck sagt/ des Mund kein Arzt ist/ noch erkenner der Natur. Also auch in *Visco Quercino*^b

^a *Paeonia* is recommended by P. in treating epilepsy (S 2:79), as is “viscus quercinus.”

^b *Viscus quercinus* has an interesting application in the treatment and detection of epilepsy: those who have or are suspected of having it are to be given “viscum quercinum pro sale” in their meal; those who receive it in an otherwise unsalted soup and are satisfied have shown a “verissimum signum caduci” (S 5:224).

nothing is left but fool's gold. In the same way that brass takes its color from calamine—this is how you get your art and doctoral dignity. When you do something for a patient, the appearance is actually *volatilis* and does not withstand a test, no more than *talc* in fire. Consider that nature has hidden nothing in color or form. In the things themselves resides the *arcanum*, in which there is neither color nor duality. If nature can effect such a thing, what do you think, fool's gold physician, will it all come to if one bases [medicine] on your foolish work rather than on the true nature? Why am I causing such a vexation? I do so in order to bring you to nature, so that you will see yourself in its mirror and come to an awareness that the physician should be educated by external realities and not by that which is [only] within the human being. If there is a disease in the human being, you will not realize its nature or how it proceeds simply by examining the place where it occurs. Instead, you must realize and learn this externally,¹ as I have often said. I tell you this again: it is *paeonia*² that reveals *caducus*,³ its time, hour, *paroxysmum*, essence and all other characteristics. You must learn these things from the nature of the *paeonia*; if [you do] anything else, you will remain a poor excuse for a physician, who knows nothing except what the patient tells him—[the patient], whose mouth is neither a physician nor knowledgeable about

translucent to opaque, and having a soapy, greasy feel; a hydrous silicate of magnesium, $Mg_3Si_4O_{10}(OH)_2$, it usually contains small amounts of nickel, iron, and aluminum as impurities. Ruland gives an account of the varieties and properties of talc. *Cachymia* is the same as “cadmia” (MLW), “calamina” or zinc oxide (DML). Zedler's definition of *cachymia* is of interest in that it makes direct reference to P. This was a term used by P. to denote an imperfect metallic body, an “immature” *minera*, neither salt nor metal, arising from the three metallic principles. The *cachimiae* can be divided into three classes: 1. sulphurous, which include marcasites and cobalts; 2. mercurial, such as auripigment and arsenic; 3. saltlike, including all sorts of talc.

¹ “Externally” implies: by considering the macrocosm and the cure that is provided by the great world.

² *Paeonia*, peony or a related plant, “formerly regarded as both ornamental and medicinal—the roots were used to prevent convulsions” (NCE; cf. below). Brunfels writes of its traditional use against epilepsy “Peonieblüm”: “Galenus spricht/ das er es offt erfaren/ wann man die den jungen kinderen/ so den fallenden siechtagen haben/ an den halb hencket/ so vergang es yn” (cccix).

³ *Caducus*, the falling sickness, epilepsy. Though Galen had written that the peony could be used to treat epilepsy (see Temkin 25), P.'s diagnostic claims are even stronger.

erfaest du vrsprung *Caduci* eins andern geschlechts: Also auch in andern dergleichen *Arcanis*/ vnnnd so viel *Arcana*/ so viel *Species* auch diser krankheiten. Nicht allein in dieser/ sondern auch die vrsprung vnd herkommen der Würmen^a auß der *Hypericon*^b auß der *Tünella*^c vnnnd dergleichen: So du aber in disem grund nicht erfahren bist/ so bist du darinn kein ver| 35 |stendiger. Dann wiltu sie mit *Centaurea* vertreiben/ oder mit *Gentiana*:^d Was ist das für ein Arzt? ist gleich als einer der einem die Suppen gönnet/ vnnnd damit das er jhn auß der küchen treib/ so versalzt ers jhm/ vnd gibt jhm nichts guts. Meinent jhr Artzt das solchs auch ein grund in der Artzney sey? Je ein dölpetter grund/ der nirgend zu gut ist. Also ist allein die Philosophie ein Mutter des Artzts/ vnd eine Außlegerin aller glider des Menschen/ ein Außlegerin aller seiner krankheiten/ dann da ligt der grund: Da die hülff ligt/ in derselbigen ligt die erkantnuß/ verstand/ wissen/ vnd wz darzu dienet. Nuhn wirdt an dem ort allein weiter der gebrest sein/ das jhr nit werden wissen/ was ist in dem Kraut/ was ist in dem: Nuhn werdent jhr verzagen in der kunst/ oder jhr werdent der Impostur anhangen/ *in Nomine Domini*/ wie bißher/ also für vnd für tödten/ krümmen vnd erlähmen.

Wie groß ist ewer geschicklichkeit gewesen/ biß ihr zusammen gebracht habt *Modum Componendi*/ das ist/ die kunst zusetzen die

^a Sudhoff (83): “würmer.”

^b *Von den natürlichen Dingen* cites both *hypericon* and *angelica* for expelling worms (S 2:115). The traditional Basel-era *De Gradibus* mentions *centaurea* in terms of its color and degree, its elemental association, its arcane essence, and its curative application: “Praeterea observanda est regula de coloribus, qui simul indicant naturam rerum suarum, ut *centaurea*, quae est rubea, ergo calidae naturae” (S 4:12); “medicamenta elementata ad morbum terrae” (S 4:107). “Sic essentia centaureae etiam arcanum in icteritia habet” (S 4:120); “centaurea febres pellit” (131). Nevertheless, in the Basel or post-Basel era *Elf Traktat*, “centaurea” also has some sort of application in the treatment for worms (S 1:117).

^c Müller offers no other citation for *Tünella*, nor am I familiar with any.

^d Of the herbs “calidae naturae” (S 4:19), *gentiana* is useful in treating *pruritus* (S 5:358) but is also used in a false theriac: “Ex ostrutio et gentiana componitur theriaca, sed falso, ut faciunt circulatorios” (S 5:394).

nature. Thus, too, from *viscus quercinus*¹ you discover the source of another kind of *caducus*. The same holds for the other *arcana*. And there are as many *arcana* as *species* of these diseases. The same is also true of the source and origination of worms, from *hypericon*² and from *tünella*,³ among other examples. If you are not knowledgeable about the foundation, you will comprehend nothing of the sort. | 35 | For if you intend to drive [the worms] out with *centaurea*⁴ or *Gentiana*,⁵ what sort of physician would do that? It is as if someone prepared soup for someone else, but in order to drive him out of the kitchen, over-salted it and served nothing that was any good. Do you, physicians, think that this is the proper foundation for medicine? It is a foolish way of proceeding, of no good to anyone. So you see that only philosophy is the mother of the physician, and a proper interpreter of all parts of the human being [and] an interpreter of all diseases. For this is your [appropriate] foundation: Where there is a remedy there is an [appropriate] object of knowledge, understanding, [and] learning, [indeed] of whatever serves the same [end]. In this context, your main failing would be your ignorance of what lies within this herb or that. Given all of this, you will either lose heart in your pursuit of the [medical] art, or you will attach yourself to an imposture, [doing so] *in nomine Domini*, as always before; with the end result being nothing but killing, maiming, and crippling.

How great was your adroitness until you managed the *modum componendi*, that is, the art of composing prescriptions. What could

¹ *Viscus quercinus*, mistletoe from an oak tree; see Zedler, “Eichel.” On the tradition of its use in treating epilepsy, see Temkin.

² OLD, *Hypericum* (from Greek *hypericon*), St. John’s wort (cf. Pliny 26:84-87). In “Die Bedeutung der Heilpflanzen im ausgehenden Mittelalter und heute,” Strobl explains its uses for treating wounds, expelling worms, and easing depression (PS 136).

³ For a derivation of *tünella*, see Daems (161f., 350): *Cunella* (“*Alant*,” *Inula helium*). I am grateful to Gundolf Keil for bringing this to my attention.

⁴ *Centaurea* could be either “Tausendgüldenkraut,” i.e. English “centaurium”; or “Flockenblume,” English “cornflower” (Nikolov; cf. Marzell). Genaust (138-39) notes that the terms *centaurium maius*, *centaurium minus*, and the feminine alternate form were all of ancient origin but were often confounded in the Middle Ages. Like “Cheiron,” *centaurea* and *centaurium* derive from “Kentaúreios,” i.e. “pertaining to the Centaurs” (Genaust 138). Brunfels complains that “Tausentguldinkraut” may have been more than one species. Of relevance here, it is said to expel worms: “Treibet auß die würm” (cclxvi, cclxviii).

⁵ *Gentian*, used medicinally from ancient times may have been thought to drive out worms because of its bitterness (cf. “Enzian,” LMA; cf. below H 2:57).

Recepten: Was habt jhr gedacht im selbigen/ dieweil jhr der Natur wesen nicht verstanden habt in den krankheiten zu erkennen? Auch in den *Simplicibus*/ mit was fug vnnd billicher Concordantz habt jhr die Syrupen gesetzt/ vnnd die Pillen/ vnnd anders/ da der Natur arth/ wesen vnnd eigenschafft zerbrochen wirdt/ durch ewern vnuerstand. Die kunst zusetzen Recepten/ ist in der Natur/ vnd sie setzt sie selbst: Hat sie in das Goldt gethan/ das dem Gold zustehet/ fürwar so hat sie es auch *Violis*^a gethan/ ist etwas darinn/ das du nichts darzu darffst setzen/ weder Zucker noch Honig/ als wenig als du das Gold gantz machen solt. Also/ hat sie Berlen selber gemacht ohne dich/ so hat sie auch ohne dich gantz gemacht die *Verbenam*^b in *Restrictione Sanguinis*/ das du nicht darffst hinzu setzen/ weder *Bursam* noch *Barbam Iouis*.^c Also verstanden mich/ das die krafft gantz in ein simplex ist/ vnnd nicht getheilt in zwey/ drey/ vier oder fünff/ etc. Sondern in ein gantes: Vnd dasselbig *Simplex* bedarff nichts/ als allein der Alchimey/ die nichts anders ist dann ein ding mit dem Ertzknappen/ Ertzschmelzer/ Ertzman der Bergman: Es ligt im heraußziehen/ nit im Componiren: Es ligt im erkennen/ was darinn ligt/ | 36 | vnnd nicht dasselbig machen mit zusammen gesetzten vnnd geflickten stücken. Welches seind die besten Hosen? Nemlich die ganten: Die geflickten vnnd gestückten seindt die ärgsten. Welcher weiß Mann ist so einfeltig/ vnd so gar schlecht/ das er vermeinen wolt/

^a In the Basel *De Gradibus*, **viola** is listed with other “simplicia” mentioned here: Rosa, Solatrum, Anthera, Nenuphar, Camomilla, Hypericon, Centaurea, etc. (S 4:23). The “degree” corresponds to the origin, in the case of “viola” from the element earth (S 4:9). Sudhoff (84) interpolates the preposition: “auch in violis.”

^b In *De Gradibus*, **verbena** is counted with **bursa (pastoris)** among the *frigidae* (S 4:17). Its applications are to liver ailments and acute fevers: “Verbena citrina summum arcanum habet in hepate et in passionibus alterius elementi” (116). “Verbena summa medicina in febribus acutis” (123).

^c **Barba Jovis** is useful along with such other ingredients as *mucilaginis de foenugraeco*, *bursa pastoris*, or *camphora* “ad capitis calorem” and in combating pains and swellings of the throat (S 4:299).

you have been thinking about, given that you understood nothing of the essences of nature in diseases? The same applies to the *simplicia*: what was it that legitimized and systematized your composing of syrups and pills and similar things, considering that the character, essence, and properties of nature were violated by your lack of understanding.¹ The art of composing recipes is in nature and nature does this itself. Nature put into the gold what belonged in it. Indeed, [nature] did the same *in violis*:² there is something in them that you should not compound with sugar or honey, no more than you could ever perfect gold. [Nature] made pearls without your help and without your help perfected *verbena*³ *in restrictione sanguinis*, so that you need add nothing to it, neither *bursa* nor *barba Jovis*.⁴ You should understand what I am saying as signifying that the entire power is present in a simplex; and not divided in two, three, four, or five, and so on; but rather it is all in a whole. This same *simplex* requires nothing but alchemy which is [in turn] nothing other than what the smelter, ore specialist, or miner does.⁵ It is a matter of extraction, not of composition. It is a matter of recognizing what lies within, | 36 | and not a matter of making something by compounding it out of piecemeal components. Which pants are the best ones? Those that are whole. The patched and piecemeal pants are the worst kind. What sort of wise man could be so naïve and so simplistic as to imagine that nature

¹ P. is referring to the modalities of medieval medicine; cf. “*Simplicia*,” “*Composita*,” and “*Sirup*” (LMA).

² **Violets** have properties that should not be mixed with sugar or honey, common in compounds or syrups.

³ *Verbena officinalis*, a leafy branch or twig from any of a variety of aromatic trees or shrubs, used for medicinal purposes (OLD); cf. *verbenaca* (CPNH; Diosc. 4:60); “*vervain*” (NCE). Cited by Pliny for its medicinal uses (25:105), it was also known for magical properties (see HDA; Zedler “Wasser [Eisenkraut] *aqua verbena*”). Brunfels remarks its magical and sacred properties and its uses of “Ißenkraut” in treating wounds (xlviii-xlix).

⁴ The alternate version of *Paragramum* refers to *Bursa pastoris*, i.e., shepherd’s-purse (*Capsella bursa-pastoris*), according to DML an herb of the mustard family, a decoction of which has been used as an antidiysenteric, diuretic, and febrifuge (NCE). Bodenstein writes of “*Barba iovis*” as “a domestic herb that grows on roofs” (“hauswurtzen/ so auf den tächern wachst”). It is identified by Zedler as “Iovis-Bart,” “Silber-Bart” or “Silberstand.”

⁵ P. is thinking here in terms of alchemical medicine but his metaphorical exaltation of the miner’s work of extraction has a parallel in the 16th-century Lutheran pastor Matthesius who accorded the miner a supreme dignity by taking his work as a metaphor for Jesus’ earthly mission or descent into Hell (MAT 288).

die Natur hett ein krafft geheilt/ inn das Kraut so viel/ in das so viel/ in das so viel/ etc.^a Vnnd darnach euch Herrn Doctorn beuohlen zusammen setzen: Die Natur ist der weißheit vol/^b das [sie] euch solchen gewalt nicht soll vertrauen/ dann es ist nichts in euch. Die Natur hat die *Arcana* gewaltig gesetzt/ vnnd zusammen Componiert/ was da zusammen gehört: Allein lehrnet das jhr sie verstanden vnnd wissend/ vnnd nicht das jhr euch selber verstanden/ vnnd die Natur nicht: Die Natur ist der Artzt/ du nicht: Auß jhr mustu/ nicht auß dir: Sie setzt zusammen/ nicht du: Schaw du das du lernest wo jhre Apotecken seyen/ wo jhr *Virtutes* geschrieben standen/ vnnd in welchen Büchsen sie standen: Nicht in *Mesue*,^c nicht in *Lumine*,^d nicht *Praeposito*,^e dieselben seindt wider die Natur/ du findest bey jhnen nichts: Dann was gantz ist/ das zerbrechen sie/ vnnd heissen das zerbrochen gantz gemacht. Soll es nuhn vnbillich sein/ dz ich *de Gradibus*^f geschriben hab? darumb das ich nicht ewerm proceß nachgangen bin: Nein/ dann die Natur ist der Componist/ nicht der Artzt. Darumb ein falsch vnd ein betrug mit aller lügnerey vermischt ist/ wo ewer Recepten stehend/ endlich/ sie werden noch alle einander nach gemeldet werden/ jhr werdet^g sie nicht mögen erhalten: Allein es sey dann/ das die lügen ein fürgang gewinne. Das werdent jhr erlangen/ das etliche *Composita* gutt sindt/ damit wöllet jhr viel beschirmen: Ihr möchten so viel zusammen nemen/ jhr hetten Himmel vnd Erden in der handt. Es ist gleich als mit ewerm Seich sehen/ da ersehndt jhr vnd nemmt viel zusamem/ etwan müst jhrs auch treffen: Also ists mit ewerm zusammen setzen auch: Wie dunckt euch/ ich wil drey stuck hinweg

^a Sudhoff (84) eliminates the redundancy of “in das so vil.”

^b Extolling the divine presence and **wisdom** in nature, *De Potentia et Potentia Gratia Dei* (1533) refers to the divine powers at work in herbs: “got wirkt in allen, und ist alles ein got und herr, der alles in allem ist (G 1:138). Such assertions were hardly empty rhetoric.

^c “*Mesue*” (cf. vis-à-vis and H 2:10) is often criticized with Avicenna and Galen et al., as in P.’s recent work on the French disease: “so kan ich wol bekennen, das die composita so Mesue, Rasis, Avicenna, Galenus etc. hieher nichts tiglich seind, auch nit die bücher de simplicibus, auch nit de gradibus” (S 7:172-73).

^d In *Von den natürlichen Dingen*, P.’s attack on the apothecaries is barbed with this polemical word-play: “**lumen** naturae lesen, nicht **apothecariorum**. die got selbs componirt hat, die selbigen composita sollent fürgenomen werden” (S 2:115; cf. 191).

^e A similar attack on medical and apothecary practices and on “lumina et **Praepositum**” is voiced in *De Vita longa* (S 5:263); apothecaries take their recipes “aus dem Mesue, Lumine und Praeposito” (S 5:345).

^f See H 2:20.

^g Sudhoff (85): “werden.”

would have divided a power, i.e., so much into this herb, so much into that, so much into that, and so on; and then commanded you fine doctors to put it back together. Nature is replete with wisdom,¹ so that <it> does not need to entrust you with such authority. For in you there is nothing. Nature has crafted the *arcana* so potently and has put together what belongs together. You only need to acquire a knowledge and understanding of it. It is not a matter of understanding yourselves rather than nature. Nature is the physician, not you. It must come from [nature], not from you. It composes, not you. See to it that you learn where its apothecaries are located, where its *virtutes* are inscribed, in what sort of receptacles. Not in Mesuë,² not in *Lumine*,³ not in *Praeposito*; for they are against nature. You will find nothing in them. What is whole is fragmented by them, and they consider this fragmentation a making whole. Is it then improper what I have written *de Gradibus*? Because I have not followed your procedures? No, indeed. For nature is the composer, not the physician. This is why falsehood and swindle and mendaciousness of every kind are mixed in when it comes to your recipes. They will all be taken up one after the other. You won't be able to maintain them, not unless deceit turns out to win the day. It may be that you will succeed in having some *composita* turn out well. You will take cover behind that. You will want to include so many, as if you had the heavens and the earth in the palm of your hand. It is the same with your diagnosis: you see and take up so many things at the same time that you have to get lucky with something. And so it is too with your compounding. What would you do if I were to exclude three of the recipes, *theriacae*,⁴ *triferae*,⁵

¹ See H 1:69, note on **Weisheit**.

² **Mesuë**, see H 2:10.

³ The *Lumen apothecariorum* (Turin 1492) by the city physician of Padua Quiricus de Augustis (died after 1495) was a highly influential work of the late Middle Ages. Based on Pseudo-Mesuë, it offered practical advice to the apothecaries (see "Quiricus de Augustis," LMA), thus anticipating P.'s project in Basel.

⁴ Invented in antiquity, **theriac**, compounded of many ingredients including viper's flesh, was one of the most popular medications in and after the Middle Ages (see LMA, "Theriak"; cf. Siraisi 118-19)

⁵ Daems: "**trifera**" was among the great composita of the *Antidotarius magnus* and the *Antidotarius Nicolai*; it occurs in two forms: *trifera magna* and *trifera saracenic* (261-62); Med² clxix: "Trifera ist ein bereit latweg in appoteck."

thun/ auß den recepten/ *Theriaca*, *Triferae*, *Mithridati*,^a und die andern stuck/ deren wol hundert seind/ müssen nichts sein: Wo bleibt ewer *Compositio*? O jhr blinden.

Also ist die Philosophey ein Mutter der Artzney/ daß man die Natur soll erkennen: Dasselb erkennen ist des Menschen | 37 | anligen vnd notturfft/ als die eusser statt die den Menschen gar gibt/ vnnd alles was jhm anhangt. Vnnd als wenig einer kan oder mag ohne die natürliche anzeigung wissen farben zumachen/ Beum zuziehen: Als wenig ist auch möglich/ daß du dz sehen könnest/ was im Menschen ligt. Vnd wie du sichst durch die Natur/ was im Sahmen^b ligt oder ist/ also mustu auch den Menschen durch sie sehen vnd lernen. Vnd wie die *Galla*^c vnd *Vitriolum* geben eine schwertze/ also dermassen erfarestu auch was im Menschen ligt: dann alle ding eröffnet dir die Natur. Vnd als wenig du dz schwartze magst erkennen auß der schwertze/ warauß es komme/ als wenig magstu die krankheiten erkennen. Der da weist wz schwarz macht/ der ist der *Philosophus*: Der es nicht weißt/ sonder weißt das schwarz ist/ derselb ist nichts/ vnnd soll nichts dann zubescheissen oder malen mit der schwertze.^d Der nun also ein *Philosophus* ist/ der soll als dann in die Facultet der

^a Basel student notes on *De Gradibus* list these three together in a prescription “In futuris morbis descriptio diaphoretica”: ... “**theriaca, mitridati, tripherae**” (S 4:107).

^b **Same** is used in various senses. Most generally in *Philosophia de Generationibus et Fructibus Quatuor Elementorum*, it is a “seed” of all creation, from the “yliaster” (S 13:9). As a seed of procreation, it is self-contained in plants but of more complex provenance in humans, characterized as distinct from **sperma** in *Das Buch von der Gebärung der empfindlichen Dinge in der Vernunft* (“als ob sperma der same sei”—S 1:255), a work that refers the question of the origin of the soul to “paramiris, da tractirt wird vom herkomen der sêl” (S 1:271). The alchemical physician operates with his raw materials as with “ein samen, aus dem er sol ein größeres machen,” in the same way that flowers sprout from their seeds in the ground (S 7:265). Yet the “samen” also embodies a disposition susceptible to diseases, inherited by the children of Adam and Eve who were healthy prior to the fall: “also das die krankheiten der eltern für und für zu vergiftung des samens geneigt haben” (S 10:289). Subsumed under a broad metaphor, “samen” may refer to the origins of diseases and hence to a key criterion of the true medicine: “Damit und auch verstanden werd, was theorica sei medicae religionis: sie ist die, die da behalt und anzeigt mit ungezweifelter warheit herkomen, ursprung, materien, causas, eigenschaft, wesen und alle anfang, mittel und ende einer ietlichen krankheit. darzu auch ir heilung ... zu gleicher weis als einer, der ein samen seet; kennet er den samen, er weiß warhaftig was aus ime wachsen und komen wird” (S 11:201). On the biblical-metaphorical use of “seed”, see H 2:5, note.

^c **Galla** is listed among the herbs *frigidae naturae* (S 4:20; cf. vis-à-vis).

^d Sudhoff (86) introduces a paragraph break.

mithridati;¹ the other ones, of which there must be a hundred, cannot amount to anything then. What becomes of your *compositio* then? Oh, you blind ones!

In this sense philosophy is the mother of medicine: one should get to know nature. Knowing [nature] is pertinent and necessary for the human being, | 37 | [since nature is] the external place that gives us the whole man and everything pertinent to him. No more than someone lacking in natural instruction would know how to make dyes or to cultivate trees would it be possible for you to discern what resides in the human being. And just as you see, through nature, what resides and exists within a seed,² so too must you view and study [what is in] the human being through nature. In the same way *galla*³ and *vitriolum*⁴ give rise to something black, so also will you discover what lies within the human being. For nature reveals all things to you. And no more than you could comprehend what is black from [the abstract quality of] blackness, no more than you could understand what it comes from, no more than that could you comprehend the diseases. He who does know what makes [something] black is the *philosophus*. He who does not know this, but only knows that something happens to be black, is nothing, and can be expected to do nothing but swindle or paint by means of the color black.⁵ He who is a *philosophus* should enter into the faculty of medicine, and [commence to] turn the external

¹ Like theriac compounded of many ingredients, **mithridat** was a famous antidote to poison (Zedler).

² Here the tree is the macrocosm and the **seed** the microcosm: the former reveals what lay within the latter. The *limbus* can be understood as a fruit or seed extracted from the macrocosm. Plato's *Timaeus* speaks of a "universal seed of the whole race of mankind" (73). Of common use in P., the term "seed" may depend on biblical, Gnostic, or philosophical sources (cf. Pagel; Pagel 1962); or it might simply reflect a common experience of the mystery of change, as when Banquo interrogates the witches in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*: "If you can look into the seeds of time, And say which grain will grow and which will not." See H 2:5.

³ OLD: **galla** is the gall-nut or oak apple, used medicinally and for other purposes (Pliny 24:9; 16:26, 25:175); Wahrig: "Gallapfel," an apple-shaped growth on the leaves of deciduous trees.

⁴ On **Vitriol**, see H 2:31.

⁵ Here and in what follows, P. intuits the quandary into which the spirit of Nominalism leads: renouncing the universals (such as **blackness**), the mind is confronted with an infinity of distinct particulars.

Artzney tretten/ vnd das eusser in das inner wenden: das vmbwenden gibt den Artzt/ so auß der grossen Welt die kleine wirt/ in sich dermassen richten/ dz er in kein weg an dem inneren Menschen lehre: dann da ist nichts dann verführung vnd der tod. Dann biß einer den innern Menschen erlernt vnd erfährt ohne den eussern/ so möchten ihm [nicht] krancken gnug werden/ damit er zum ende möcht kommen/ vom ersten biß zum letsten. Dann im Menschen lernen/ fordert die notturfft/ daß man gleich so wol den letsten Menschen vnd den ersten/ vnd alle Menschen vor augen hett ligen. Dann in allen Menschen ligen alle kranckheiten: in eim Menschen ligt eine. So soll nun der Artzt aller Menschen Artzt sein/ wie will ers nun auß einem Menschen wissen? oder zehenen? oder hunderten? dieweil^a doch nichts da ist das dem end diene oder der gantzen summ/ ob schon etwas geschriben wer/ oder ist. Was ist mehr geschriben dann nuhr der Anfang? vnd in keim grundt. Darumb so muß die Welt geben den Menschen: dann derselbig Mensch/ der also auß der grossen erkennt wirdt/ derselbig hat alle kranckheit in jhm/ der gestorbenen vnd der zukünfftigen. Darumb so ist ein vnuollkommen lernen im Menschen/ dann es endet sich nicht/ gründt sich nicht/ vnnd die prob so begegnet/ ist Erkrimmen/ Erlahmen/ Verderben vnd Töden: | 38 | Das lernen die Artzt so im Menschen lernen/ das können sie. Allein der eusser Mensch lige in dir/ sonst bist nuhr ein *Experimentator*,^b das ist/ ein gerahtwoler vnd ein^c verzweiffelter Hoffer. Ist es Doctorisch oder Mörderisch solchs lernen? das mögen alle Leser wol vrtheilen/ ob Gott vns die Artzney mit solcher Mörderischen leer vnd probierung vermeint hab vnd zustehn lassen/ fürwar er hats nicht gemeint. Auß mit solchem schulrecht/ denn er hatt sie beschaffen/ auff das/ daß sie das leben geben/ so nemmen sie es: vnd solten wir durch solche Mordleren vnd probatz zu Meister werden vnd Doctorn? were besser Gott hette kein Artzney nie beschaffen/ dann mehr würden ermört im schulrecht/ dann alle Meister möchten erquicken. Also hatt vns Gott fürgesetzt die Philosophey/ das wir auß derselbigen solten lernen vnnd geboren werden/ vnnd Meister werden ausserhalb dem Menschen: dann solche mördet nichts. Aber es mag nit statt in euch finden/ daß

^a Sudhoff (86): “wissen oder zehenen oder hunderten, dieweil.”

^b In the three books on *Franzosen*, a physician without astronomical instruction is a mere “**experimentler**” (S 7:173). In the *Labyrinthus Medicorum Errantium*, the errant physicians lacking “theorica” or “weisheit aus got”: “finden in disem labyrintho experimenta experimentorum und all tollen labyrinthen” (S 11:166).

^c Sudhoff (87) omits “ein.”

into the internal. This conversion defines the physician in the sense that the small world issues forth from the great world, so that you are by no means indoctrinated to the inner human being [alone]; for in that orientation there would be nothing but deception and death. If you try to research and look for the inner human being without [reference to] the outer, there will be so many patients that you will find no limit between the first and the last. For learning about the human being requires that one has before one all human beings from the very first to the last. All diseases afflict all people. In a single person, there is only one. If then you are to be a physician for all, how should you learn what you need to know from the one? Or from ten? Or one hundred? For there is nothing there that could serve that ultimate purpose or take us to the final sum, no matter what has or has not been written to this effect. What could have been written beyond a beginning—one in which there is no ground? For this reason, the world must render up the human being [to our knowledge]. The human being as he has been made intelligible by the great world bears all diseases [potentially] within himself, those extinct and those of the future. For this reason there [can be] an incomplete [way of gaining] knowledge about the human being. It comes to no conclusion, discovers no foundation, and when it comes to a test the result is crippling, laming, ruining of health, and death. | 38 | This is learned by the physicians who research within [the confines of] the human being. This is all that they are capable of. Unless you have the external human being in you, you are nothing but an *experimentator*, which is to say, a haphazard and desperate hoper. Is it doctoral or is it murderous to learn in this manner? Let all readers judge for themselves whether God intended us to use medicine according to such murderous doctrine and practice. Indeed, he did not. It is at an end with the legitimacy of such a school. God brought [medicine] into being so that it would give and not take life. Should we become masters and doctors by way of such murderous doctrines and practices? It would have been better if God had not created medicine at all, for more will be killed in the legitimacy of the schools than all the [true] masters could ever restore to health. For this reason God presented us with philosophy, so that we should learn and emerge from it and [train to] become competent from outside the human sphere. This sort [of medicine] does not kill at all. But you have no

darzu komme/ sonder die tolle Beaney wirt fürtretten: vnd will ewer eigne Conscientz hierinn lassen richter sein/ daß jhr falsch vnd im zweiffel stohnd mit allem ewerm fürnehmen. Vnd so Gott die krancken nit bewart/ wer würd lebendig bleiben/ daß jr in der Güte Gottes [euch] selbst verwundern vnd entsetzen.

Nun soll die Anatomey in diesem eussern Menschen gantz dem Artzt eingeleibt sein/ vnnd also gantz/ daß er nit ein^a härlin auff dem Haupt/ nit ein *porum* find/ daß er nicht aussen auch vorhin zehenfach gefunden hab/ vnnd gewißt/ vnnd das alles augenscheinlich wol verstanden. Dann hierauß auß der Anatomey/ gehet die kunst der Recepten/ das glid zu glid/ Arcanen zu Arcanen/ vnd kranckheit zu kranckheit gesetzt werden. Dann hierinn ligt der Griff/ vnd nicht in der zahl/ im ersten/ im andern/ im dritten Grad/ etc. sonder glid zu glid/ so kompt kranckheit vnd *arcantum* zusammen. Also will die Natur/ daß die Artzney in die händ genommen werd/ vnd nicht nach art der Imposturen. Wo ist der verstandt erwachsen/ daß hitz/ kelte/ feüchte/ tröckne/ sollen die kranckheit machen? vnd sollen auch heilen? Was ist das die tröckne außderr? was ist das außderren/ dann das die feüchte von einer statt in die ander getriben werd? Als ein Sonn die derret auß ein Lachen/ die feuchte wirt | 39 | aber nicht verzert/ sonder da genommen vnd gefürt an ein ander statt. Welche kelte wirt von der hitz genommen? anderst dann daß sie bleibt/ allein im gewicht zu schwach. Zu dem/ daß da sind die vrsachen zu betrachten/ was die zeit berürt/ das berürt den verstand solcher Artzney.^b Nun sehet wie jhr der Philosophey so gar leer seid/ wie kan dann ewer verstand der Artzney mit warheit stehn? Es ist war/ es muß ein jegliches deren dingen arth in jhme haben: es ist aber die Artzney nit/ ist auch nit die *arcana*, sonder/ wz redt auß dem Menschen? was gsicht auß den Augen? was ist dz in den Ohren hört? kelte oder werme? deren keins nicht: noch so sind sie aber kalt vnnd warm/ feucht vnd trocken/ was gehets aber das gsicht an? Also auch muß die Artzney betracht werden/ daß da weder kelte noch werme zum gsicht genommen werden/ sonder wie das gsicht ein *Arcantum* ist der Augen/

^a Sudhoff (87) edits Huser's "in" to "ein" which I have retained.

^b Sudhoff (88) introduces a paragraph break here.

capacity for it. Instead of this only your mad sophomoric behavior¹ will prevail. So let your conscience be your judge regarding the [conclusion] that you are false and dubious in everything you do. If it were not that God preserves [human beings from] disease, who would ever remain alive, so therefore you should be amazed and terrified at the goodness of God.

The anatomy of the external human being should be intimately familiar to the physician, so completely in fact that there is not a hair on his head, not a pore [anywhere] that [the physician] would not already have found tenfold externally and could not have been certain that all this is comprehensible as [it is] visibly manifest. For it is from this anatomy that the art of recipes proceeds, so that organ is matched to organ, arcane powers to arcane powers, and disease to disease. For the crux of the matter lies not in number, [as in] the first, second, or third degrees, but rather in [the matching of] organ to organ: that is how disease and *arcantum* are [to be] brought together. This is how nature intends that medicine be taken in hand, not in the manner of the impostures. How did the idea ever come about that hot, cold, moist, [and] dry should constitute disease? And indeed that these [qualities] also heal? What is it that makes dryness wither? What is withering, other than that moisture is driven from one place to another? For example, the sun dries a puddle, but the moisture is not | 39 | eliminated. Instead, it is subsumed and conducted to another place. What coldness is taken away by the heat? All that happens is that it remains, but is outweighed. Moreover, we need to consider the causes involving time. For these have reference to the concept of medicine. Take heed that you are bereft of all philosophy: how then can your concept of medicine have any good standing with truth? It is true that every single thing must have the species of such things within it. But these are not medicine, nor is it a matter of the *arcana*. Ask yourself instead: what is it that speaks when the human being speaks? What is it that sees when the eyes see? What is it that hears in the ears? Is it cold or warmth? Of course, it is nothing at all of the kind. Of course, [those organs] are [also] cold and warm, moist and dry, but what does that have to do with [the sense of] sight? Medicine must be approached in this same way: [Thus] we do not deny cold nor warmth to the sight; but the point is that, just as sight is an arcane power

¹ See **Beane**, FNHDW: refers to “green” behavior of uninitiated students; cf. “Beaunium” (Cange).

also hingegen sind die *arcana* auch zu den Augen/ vnd zun anderen dingen. Darumb ich billich glid zu glid zugebrauchen melde/ dann da ligt die kunst der Artzney. Also in *Arcanis* ligt des Artzts Apotecken: dann hitz bleibt ein hitz/ kelte ein kelte/ vnnd lassen sich nit verzeren/ wasser bleibet wasser/ fewr fewr/ dann es seind Fix Elementen: vnd die Fix arth ist noch nie betracht worden/ daß die nesse jhr kelte Fix hat/ vnnd man will eine heisse kranckheit mit jhr vertreiben/ vnd kein kranckheit ist Fix in kelte oder hitz/ vnd Fix vnd Vnfix soll gegen einander streiten: Das ist nun der grund. *Contraria à Contrariis curantur*, das ist/ heiß vertreibt kaltes: das ist falsch/ in der Artzney nie war gewesen: sonder also/ *Arcanum* vnd kranckheit das sind *Contraria*. *Arcanum* ist die gesundtheit/ vnd die kranckheit ist der gesundtheit wiederwertig/ diese zwey vertreiben einander/ jedweders das ander: das seind die widerwertigen/ die einander vertreiben: vnd je vertreibt eins das ander mit dem Tod/ daß seines widerwertigen gar nichts mehr ist: welches gar vertreiben in der Kelte vnnd Hitz nicht ist. Die kunst des Vertreibens ist/ nimmermehr widerkommen: Wo ist je der Winter vertrieben worden/ oder der Sommer? Nie: Darumb so beweisen sie vns den Lauff der Zeit/ nicht der Kranckheiten. Ein anders ist die Kranckheit/ ein anders seind die Elementen: Die Element wer|40|den nicht kranck/ das *Corpus* wirt kranck. Also heilet *Scorpio*^a sein *Scorpionem*, *Realgar*^b sein *Realgar*, *Mercurius* sein *Mercurium*, *Melissa* sein *Melissam*,^c Hertz hertz, Miltz miltz/ Lung lung: Nit Säwhertz/ nit Kühmiltz/ nit Geißlungen/ sondern glid zu glid/ des grossen Menschen vnd auch des innern.

^a *Scorpio* is an astronomical entity, like Fish and Crab (S 4:454). The heavens govern poisons requiring corresponding diagnosis and treatment: “do ist das gift einmal saturnisch, einmal scorpionisch” (479).

^b The Basel student notes offer this characterization: “**realgar** est mercurius creatus ex stercorebus hominum” (S 4:94); “die farben, so in denselbigen apostematibus begegenen, aus art des realgars komen; dan carbunculus nimpt sein röte aus dem roten realgar und nit aus dem blut” (S 6:161; cf. Müller).

^c See notes on H 2:27, 29: because of its higher powers from the element air, the Basel student notes assert not only that, “**Melissa** omnium, quæ terra producit, optima ad cor herba est” (S 4:116), but that, “Melissa [summa medicina] in regeneratione [est]” (123).

[*arcanum*] of the eyes, so the [other] *arcana* stand in the same relation to the eyes and to the other things as well. This is why I speak of [applying] one organ to the same organ. In this lies the art of medicine. In *arcanis* lies the apothecary of a physician, for heat remains heat [and] cold, cold; and these cannot be destroyed. Water remains water [and] fire, fire; for these are fixed elements. It has never been observed regarding such fixity that moisture is fixed in such a cold way that one could expel a hot disease with it. No disease is fixed in cold or hot in such a way that the fixed and the unfixed would contend with one another. That is not their fundamental way of behaving. *Contraria à contrariis curantur*:¹ this signifies that the hot dispels the cold. However, this is untrue, and it has never been the case in medicine. Instead [it is the case] that *arcanum* and disease are the *contraria*. [For] the *arcanum* is health and the disease is counter to health. These two things expel one another, each the other. They are the opposites that dispel one another, each of them the other, with death, so that there is nothing oppositional left. [This is] an expulsion that cannot be confirmed with cold and heat. The [true] art of expulsion requires that what is expelled should never return. But when has winter or summer ever been expelled in this way? Certainly never at all. Therefore, they [and what they embody] reveal the passage of time, not of diseases. Diseases are one thing, the elements another. The elements | 40 | do not become sick. The *corpus* becomes sick. For this reason *Scorpio* heals its own *Scorpio*; *realgar*² its own *realgar*; *mercurius* its own *mercurius*; *melissa*³ its own *melissa*; heart, heart; spleen, spleen; lung, lung. [But] not a sow's heart, not a cow's spleen, not a goat's lung, but rather organ to organ, that of the great human being and that of the inner.

¹ Fundamental to P.'s medical philosophy is his advocacy of a therapy of *similia à similibus* against the prevailing Galenic-humoral *contraria à contrariis*. It is P.'s article of faith, bolstered by his certainty of divine mercy, that like heals like instead of this harsher alternative (cf. H 1:290). See Pagel 146f.

² *Realgar* (cf. Zedler, "Operment," from Latin *auripigmentum*) is a mineral, arsenic monosulfide (AsS), with a red or yellow color (NCE). For its use in P.'s time in treating superficial skin lesions, see ER 31. On the disputed origin and meaning of "*realgar*" ("Arsenik" or "rotes Sulfid"), see Goltz 241.

³ See Dorn: "**Melissa** non pro apiastro, sed pro manna sumitur, ex nobilioribus herbis tracta magisterio." Ruland: "Mutterkraut/ melision; sumitur & pro manna sumitur" etc. Not the earthly herb but the celestial manna may be intended here; cf. H 2:27, note on *Melissa*.

Damit ich meine *Auditores* nit zulang auffhalt/ wil ich sie in der gemein ermanen/ daß sie den grossen Menschen wöllen erkennen/ durch jhn nachfolgend den innern: vnd nit in glauben setzen die rede vnd lehr jhrer Præceptoren/ die jhnen selbst alle mal gewonnen geben vnd recht/ vnd bleibt jhn auch recht vber/ vnd geben jhn alle selbst gewonnen vnd nichts verloren. Besehet aber jhr dasselbig nit an/ sondern besehet jhre werck/ da werdet^a jhr finden/ wer sie sind. Was wöllen sie euch lernen/ da sie selber mit schanden müssen abstehen/ vnd selbst in offnen Lügen begriffen werden/ gsehen vnnd gehört. Sollen euch die zu grossen Doctorn machen vnd Meistern/ die selbs nie nichts gesolt haben? fassets in ewer gemüt: glaubt den wercken/ nit den worten: die wörter seind lehre ding/ die werck aber zeigen sein Meister.^b Das ich schreibe/ bitt ich euch/ lesendts/ ermessendts/ vnnd das mit fleiß: nit mit neid/ nit mit verachtung/ nicht mit gespött: dann die ding werden euch am letsten alle zustehen in ewer eigen verachten/ dadurch jr jetzt mich verachtet: so jhr doch *Auditores* sind/ lernent vnd hörent/ zu beyden seiten/ vnd klaubend herauß das/ das nutz ist. Dann dieweil in euch nit täglich ruminirt wirt das ich melde/ wo wirt euch der grund der Artzney geben werden? Also/ daß jhr den *Microcosmum* erkennet in der eusseren Natur/ darinnen jhr begreifen werdent wunder vnd groß heimlichkeit/ so im Menschen ligend: Nit mir zu dienst/ sonder euch vnd den krancken/ vnd Gott zu lob. Dann wer ist je gewesen/ der den Menschen als ein Menschen fürgenommen? Es seind in jm erblindt alle Faculteten/ niemandts kennt jhn: darauß entspringt nuhr verderben. Fürwar es würden die Theologen kleinlaut sein/^c so sie Artzt würden sein mit solchem verstand: auch die Juristen würden jhr klugheit wol sehen/ wo es jnen herauß wüchß/ vnd ander dergleichen. Das macht alles/ daß der Mensch fürgenommen wirt/ vnnd niemandts will jhn doch recht erkennen. | 41 | Dann jhr habt Metall im Wasser/ auch Metall der Erden/ auch des Fewrs/ auch des Luffts. Ihr habt viererley *Mercurij*, viererley *Betonica*,^d viererley

^a Sudhoff (89): “werden.”

^b Sudhoff (89/90) introduces a paragraph break here.

^c Elsewhere too, the knowledge of the Paracelsian physician offers a corrective of **theology**. In *Archidoxis*, alchemical medicine conveys a knowledge of the “mysteriæ naturæ,” from which it can be understood what God and theology are (S 3:94).

^d For P., this is a minor ingredient, *betonica* (cf. vis-à-vis), cited for liver ailments (S 4:116), “contra reuma capitis” (122); in treating “ragad[es] in orificio vulvae et ano” (314); in a “Balsamus in vulneribus ossium” (S 5:337); or in a prescription for the bite of a dog or snake, “huntsbiß, krottenbiß” (387, 388).

Since I don't want to detain my *auditores* too long, I will simply admonish them generally that they should know the great human being, pursuing it into the inner one; and should not give credence to the doctrine of their teachers who of course win out by agreeing with themselves, so that they have self-satisfaction to spare and pass the laurel to themselves without fail. Don't pay heed to that but consider their results instead: in these you will discover who they truly are. What might they teach you, considering that they all must depart in disgrace and are caught up in patent lies. Are they going to turn you into great masters and doctors—they who have never accomplished a thing? Take heed. Attend to the works, not to the words. For words are vacuous: results certify the master. What I write—I bid you read it, weigh it, doing so with care. Not with envy, not with contempt, not with scorn. For these things would accrue to you in the end for all the contempt that you now cast upon me. Since you are *auditores*, listen and learn: from both sides and take from it what is useful. Unless you ruminate daily on the things I tell you—how else would you arrive at the foundation of medicine? [How else] will you get to know the *microcosmus* in external nature, in which you will comprehend wonders and great secret things that reside within the human being. Do not do this for my sake, but for your own and for the patients and in order that God should be praised. For who until now has understood the human being as a human being? All the faculties are blind to him and do not recognize him, whence nothing but ruination results. Indeed, even the theologians would have to be meekly quiet, if they were to become physicians in this sense. The jurists would know what their cleverness amounts to, how it comes only from them, and so on and so on. All of this because the human being is taken up, and no one now wants to recognize him as he truly is. | 41 | For you would [know] metal in water, as well as metal in earth, as well as in fire, as well as in air. You would know [four] forms of *mercurius*, four of *betonica*,¹

¹ See “**Betonie**” (LMA), also called *betonica*, *vettonica*, or *stachys officinalis*: a medicinal plant known to Pliny (26:32) who cited its benefits for the stomach and eyesight (cf. Strabo *Hortulus*, ch. 21; Hildegard of Bingen, *Physica* I:128). Brunfels knows “Braun” or “Weisz Betonien” as “Hymmelschlüssel” (xxivff.).

Tereniabin,^a viererley Amethisten.^b Vnd deren allen ist kein ander vnderscheid/ als allein die form. Also seind viererley *Chelidonia*,^c also vier *Orizon*.^d Dise ding seind nit anderst/ dann wie sie im Menschen seind: dann vierfach ist er gesetzt/ vnd wol geformirt: in solcher formirung ligt des Artzts wissen/ kunst vnnnd heimlichkeit/ deren soll er sich nach richten/ vnd keiner andern Profession nach/ dann sie sind jhm nicht gemäß in seinen dingen. Damit wil ich also den ersten grundt der Artzney angezeigt haben/ gnugsamlich/ daß ohne solche Philosophey kein Artzt sein mag/ allein *impostures*, vnd gewachsen als das Mieß auff dem stammen.

^a The Basel student notes place *tereniabin* in a coherent analysis of “*Iliastes*” (“est prima materia omnium rerum...positus est in hisce tribus primis”). The elements are “matrices rerum quatuor.” In accordance with this scheme, the element of fire has seven planets, water seven metals, earth seven herbs, and animals have seven “membra principalia.” Moreover, “in aëre” there are “septem tereniabin” (S 4:106, cf. 33).

^b P.’s *De Gradibus* lists **amethyst** among the “gemmae” “ex aqua” that have “tertium gradum” (S 4:34).

^c The Basel materials include a “Descriptio de **chelidonia** contra icteritiam [jaundice]” (S 5:194).

^d Sudhoff (89): “viererlei orizon.” Beyond “horizon” (cf. vis-à-vis), or perhaps *oriza*, “rice” (OLD), the Basel *Libri Paragraphorum* offer other possible sources for **Orizon**: the medicinal “orizeum foliatum,” “geschlagen golt,” (S 5:285), gold leaf, or a related “juice”: “succus orizei ex minera auri” (305).

four of *tereniabin*,¹ four amethysts.² Between all there is no difference except form. There are four *chelidonia*,³ and four *orizon*.⁴ All these things are no different [in external reality] than they are in the human being. For he too is created fourfold and well formed [in this regard]. The knowledge, art, and secret powers of the physician reside in this formation; and he should proceed accordingly, and not follow after any other profession; for they are not suitable for him in his affairs. With this I hope to have demonstrated to you the first ground of medicine, with sufficient conviction that [you can see that] without philosophy there can be no such thing as a physician, but rather only *impostures* that grow like moss on the trunk of a tree.

¹ **Tereniabin**, see Zedler: “Manna.” Tereniabin is explained there as the Arabic name for a kind of edible tree sap said to have been known to Hippocrates as “cedar honey” and believed to have been the “wild honey” that nourished John the Baptist in Matthew 3:4. Ruland defines *Tereniabin* as “*pinguedo mannae. Est enim mel syluestre, tendens ad modicam nigredinem, non ex apibus, sed ex aere decidens, in cambos, arbores, & herbas, dulce vt aliud mel.*” The association with manna and heavenly provenance are pertinent to the planetary association found elsewhere in connection with this legendary substance (cf. H 2:29, note).

² **Amethyst**, from a Greek word for “remedy against drunkenness,” may refer either to a variety of corundum (cf. Nikolov), or to a bluish-violet crystallized quartz and jeweler’s stone (cf. LMA).

³ See Marzell, ***Chelidonium***, “Schwalbenkraut,” “Schöllkraut”; English celandine (Nikolov); cf. H1:251.

⁴ **Orizon**, as in late Middle English without “h” (ODEE), this may be a variant of “horizon”: there are four.

Der ander Grundt der Artzney/
welcher ist *ASTRONOMIA*^a

So nuhn der Mensch in seiner zusammen setzung soll gantz fürgenommen werden durch einen jeglichen Artzt: So wisset jetzt in dem andern Grund der Astronomiey/^b das dann der Ober theil der Philosophiey ist/^c durch den der Mensch gantz erkennt wirt/ wie jhr *Corpora* sollen verstanden vnd erkannt werden/ durch die obern Sphær/ also^d in der vndern *Microcosmi*, wie ein Firmament/ ein Gestirn/ ein natur/ vnd ein wesen da sey vnder getheilte gestalt vnd form.^e Nun ist die Astronomiey hie der ander Grund/ vnd begreiff zwey theil des Menschen/ sein Lufft vnd sein Fewr: Zugleichweiß wie die Philosophiey begriffen hatt auch zwen theil/ die Erden vnd das Wasser. Nun wie gesagt ist in der Philosophiey/ wil ich auch das hie in sonderheit gehalten werd in der Astronomiey/ also/ das im Menschen der Himmel sey vnd der | 42 | Lufft/ wie ausserhalb: also wol ein *Melissa* im Leib/ also wol als auff Erden: Also auch als wol *linea lactea* im Himmel/ als auch in vns: Also beyde *poli*, also wol auch in

^a Like the previous section, this one is parallel in length and content to *alterius*. Again small discrepancies indicate a slight shift in the intensity of focus: *alterius* cites the originally Aristotelian concept of “Aether” (H 2:130; S 8:168; cf. LMA “Äther”) and refers to “Montagnanischen Consiliis” (H 2:136; S 8:175), the *Consilia Medica* of Barthelme Montagnana, a noted Paduan medical professor who died in 1460 (Zedler).

^b As a matter integral to medicine, **astronomy** is anticipated by the “ens astrale” in *Volumen Paramirum. De Modo Pharmacandi* (S 4:437ff.) equates the understanding of the heavens with that of the microcosm (“aus der astronomei muß der arzt die anatomei nemen”—453). *Von Ursprung und Herkommen der Franzosen* asserts, “der astronomus mag nicht die astronomei beschreiben, er sei dan ein arzet, noch...der philosophus philosophiam...er sei dan ein arzet” (S 7:284). In *Von den hinfallenden Siechtagen der Mutter [Hysterie]* (S 8:319ff.), astronomy appears to describe destiny as written in the stars (340). But in *Zwei Bücher von der Pestilenz* (S 8:371ff.), the influence of the heavens shifts to magic and imagination (379); and in the later *Astronomia Magna*, the stellar realm is wholly absorbed into that of magic and theology.

^c The term “**Ober theil der Philosophiey**” refers to the fact that in external nature the heavens are above the earthly elemental realm of central to its philosophy. Both are “philosophy” and with respect to the decisive “inner,” non-phenomenal reality, they address interpenetrating phenomenal realms.

^d Sudhoff (91) drops “/” without introducing a comma: “sphaer also.”

^e Sudhoff (91) introduces a paragraph break here.

The Second Ground of Medicine

Which is *ASTRONOMIA*¹

Now that it has been demonstrated that the human being in his composition is to be taken up wholly by every physician, let us consider the second foundation, that of astronomy, which is the upper part of philosophy² by means of which human beings are altogether knowable; [for in this way] the *corpora* can be thoroughly studied with reference to the upper sphere as well as in the lower one of the *microcosmus*, and [we can know] that there is one common firmament, stellar realm, nature, or being, [albeit] in a twofold figure and form. Astronomy is the second ground and encompasses two aspects of the human being: his air and his fire, just as philosophy encompassed two, earth and water. As I have said with regard to philosophy, I intend to proceed the same way with respect to astronomy; by this I mean that the heavens are in the human being, as is the | 42 | air, just as they are outside the human being: [there is] a *melissa* in the body as well as on the earth; a *linea lactea* in the heavens as well as in us. The two *poli* [are in the earth], as well as in

¹ Though idiosyncratic, P.'s inclusion of **astronomy** in medicine appealed to tradition. In the Middle Ages, according to Siraisi, "The heavenly bodies were universally believed to influence human as well as all other sub-lunar bodies: the good physician was supposed to take astral influences—on the patient at conception and at crises of life and of health or illness, on medications and parts of the body—into account." Siraisi adds: "Astrology probably played a larger part in medical education and ideas in the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries than in the thirteenth century" (Siraisi 67, 189). The common early sixteenth-century symbiosis of astrology-astronomy with medicine and the production of horoscopes by physicians are summarized by Grafton (10ff.).

² The "**superior part of philosophy**" does not imply the kind of hierarchy of disciplines found in Agrippa von Nettesheim's roughly contemporaneous *De Occulta Philosophia* (1531, 1533), in which the celestial world, encompassing astronomy/astrology, is "higher" in terms of the valorizing spatial metaphor, in the mathematical training presupposed for its mastery, and in the proximity of its objects to the intellectual or divine worlds (cf. "Agrippa," DGWE). For P., mathematics is not a prerequisite for the study of medical astronomy. The powers of the *astra* are omnipresent in this world and accessible in herbs. P. is closer to Luther in conceiving theology as unconditioned by special learning, God as non-hierarchically accessible.

vns: Als wol *Zodiacus*^a vnd ander/ also wol auch dergleichen im Menschen/ Nichts vnd nichts weniger. Dann gleiche zahl im Firmament des Himmels gegen dem im Leib/ Also auch ein gleiche zahl mit dem Lufft. Nun ist solchs von nöten/ dieweil der Mensch solchs in jme auch hat/ denselbigen theil zu erkennen/ vnd in nichten darinnen gebresten zuhaben. Euch *humorales* Artzt möchte wol wunderen/ wie die *Galaxa*^b durch den bauch gienge/ auch wo der vnder vnnd ober *polus* stünden/ auch wo die Planeten/ wo der *Zodiacus* durchgiengen: vnd euch wundert gleich so wol als euch gewundert hat/ wie *Melissa* im bauch wachse/ vnd wie *ferrum* im leib zu rost werd: Nichts weniger/ als gelert jhr seid/ so muß euch billich etwas verwundern: Dann wen verwundert mehr als die Narren vnd vnweisen? Erstlich soll der Artzt wissen/ daß er den Menschen in dem andern halben theil was *Astronomicam Philosophiam* betrifft/ verstande/ vnd daß er den Menschen da herein bring/ vnd den Himmel in jhn/ sonst wirdt er kein Artzt sein des Menschen. Dann der Himmel in seiner Sphær/ halt innen den halben leib/ auch die halbe zahl der kranckheiten: Wer will ein Artzt sein dem die kranckheiten dises halben theils nit zustünden?

Also ist weitter mein fürnemen fürzufahren/ daß der Mensch sein Vatter habe im Himmel/ vnd auch im Lufft/ vnnd ist ein Kind das auß dem Lufft vnd auß dem Firmament gemacht ist vnd geborn. Nuhn wirt das merist hierinn sein/ daß ich das reime/ daß jhrs glauben. Nun aber ob nit gar diß hie beschlossen wirt/ ist von nöhten: dann es trifft den grundt der Artzney nicht an/ so weit ich jhn hie führe. Hie zeig ich an

^a For an instructive context of P.'s use of the term **zodiacus** (and the terms "**linea lacta**," "horoscopu(s)," "olympus," "virtutes coelestes," "ascendente(s)," "impression," "influenz," and "etherische leufe"), see his discussion of the "cura" for "Wassersucht" (dropsy) (S 1:18ff.). The stellar realm is re-contextualized with the operations of a medical alchemy, eschewing humoral medicine and mathematical astronomy in favor of the operative utilization of astral powers. This presupposes the harmonizing presence of the "first three." For the perceived compatibility of P.'s astrological approach with a Christocentric understanding of mental disorder or debility, see "Liber de Lunaticis" in *Philosophia Magna*: "also das wir sollen wissen am ersten den unsinnigen und in erkennen, in welchen planeten, zodiaco etc. <er> gefallen sei und nach dem selbigen die heilung anfahren." The cure then proceeds in accordance with the pronouncements of Jesus (S 14:67ff.).

^b Discussing "materia oculorum," P. says that "sulphur im element <feur> den **galaxam** macht" (S 3:472).

us. The *zodiacus* and other things besides are likewise within the human being. Nothing whatsoever any less. For the number in the heavens matches that in the body. Therefore also a common number with regard to the air. This has to be the case because the human has it within himself to recognize each component, and therefore can have no flaw in such things.¹ You *humoral* physicians will no doubt be wondering how it is that *Galaxa*² goes through the stomach and where the lower or the upper *polus* is located, where the planets are and which way the *zodiacus* passes. You will be wondering [about this], just as you wondered how it is that *melissa* grows in the belly, and how *ferrum* in the body turns to rust. Learned as you are, you will have to persist in amazement; for who can be more astonished than fools and the unwise? [For] first of all, the physician should know how to comprehend the human being in that second half part [of the world] which concerns *astronomica philosophia*; and how the human being is to be conducted into it and the heavens [likewise] into him. Otherwise, he will be no real human physician. For the heavens in their sphere contain half the body, as well as half the number of diseases. Whoever could possibly be a physician without understanding the diseases of that half?

I intend to proceed demonstrating that the human being has his father in the heavens, as well as in the air, and [that he] is a child made and born of the air and of the firmament. The most important point as I proceed will be showing how this is coherent so that you will believe it. Whether this is concluded altogether here is not decisive. For that does not impinge upon the foundation of medicine as I demonstrate it in this context. Here I am demonstrating what it is that a physician

¹ The ancient or medieval cosmos which P. associates with Aristotle drew sharper qualitative distinctions between the celestial and sublunary nature. The apparent hubris of P.'s equation of the heavens with the earthly, human or herbal, realms charts a course, seemingly makeshift, but guided by the archaic notions of macrocosm and microcosm, toward the universal nature and forces of the modern universe. Pagel records how early critics such as Erastus attacked P. for eliminating the real differences between plants, animals, and humans (324), and how some whom he influenced, notably Van Helmont, were led to abandon the concepts of microcosm and macrocosm (104). There are significant advantages in interpreting P.'s apodictic identification of the macrocosm and the microcosm in matters of disease and medicine by bearing in mind how late science arrived at the point of establishing that the chemical-physical reality of the external world is the same as that of the body.

² More commonly, **galaxia**: originally "Milky Way," formed on *galakt-*, *gála*, "milk" (ODEE).

das ein Artzt wissen soll: Dasselbig such er an den orten da es ist/ *in generatione hominis*,^a wirt er^b alles begriffen. Hie aber was dem gebrist/ der die nicht weist/ vnd was der sey/ der es weist/ vnd also für vnnd für mit allen dingen mich weiter verstehen sollen. Dann dieweil der Mensch nit nach disem grund vollkommen im Artzt eingebildet ligt/ dieweil ist kein warheit in der Artzney/ weder zu heilen/ noch das anligen zuerkennen. Dann | 43 | nicht auß dem Menschen/ sondern auß dem Vatter^c kommen die kranckheiten: Auß dem sie nun kommen/ auß demselbigen suche vnd lerne: Der Holtzwurm wachßt nit auß dem Holtz/ aber er ist im Holtz: Die Ofengrillen sind nicht auß dem Leimen/ aber sie sind im Leimen: Die Rauppen sind nit auß den Beumen/ vnnd hangen an Beumen.^d Sehet an den Roßkäfer wauon er wechßt: nit auß dem Roßzirck/ sonder auß derselbigen Constellation/ darnach in jn falt/ darnach wechßt er oder nit: Alle ding im Menschen kommen also auch auß dem Vatter.

Nuhn am ersten so wissent/ daß der Lufft vnd das Fewr nit sind *corpora*, die da begreiflich sind/ sonder empfindlich vnd sichtig. Also wie nun im Himmel/ dergleichen auch im Menschen solche *corpora* haben die kranckheiten. Vnnd wie die Sonne schaden thut oder nutz/ dermassen werden die *corpora* des Leibs angriffen/ wie die Erden von der Sonnen. Nuhn ist das Hertz nicht die Sonne/ noch das

^a This is presumably a reference to *Ein Büchlein (Philosophia) de generatione Hominis* (S 1:287-306) or to the parallel *Buch von der Gebärung der empfindlichen Dinge in der Vernunft* (S 1:241-283). These works undertake a spectacular defense of the unique generation of the human soul against aspersions attributed to Aristotle, humoral materialism, or common notions about human conception: “die edelste philosophia ist das ewig zu betrachten,” contemplation of what is eternal in the human being (298) leads us to “Christum, in welchem ein ietliche philosophia beschlossen sol werden” (257).

^b Sudhoff (92) edits “er” as “es.” Kritische Anmerkung (400) acknowledges “er” for both consulted texts.

^c In this context, **Vater** signifies the stars as understood by P. Their role in causing disease is inconsistently described. Some of the inconsistency can be resolved by bearing in mind that there are two understandings of astronomy, a conventional one he questions, and an idiosyncratic one stressing the omnipresent *arcana* and justifying this attribution. Elsewhere P. baldly asserts that “mer dan der halbe teil der krankheiten wird vom firmament regiret“ (S 12:3).

^d Goldammer’s explanation of the same example in P.’s commentary on Psalm 77 (78:46, “He gave their crops to the caterpillar”) suggests that P.’s words (**Rauppen...an Beumen/** “rappen an peumen”) refer to a kind of “tree cancer” discussed in medieval books on gardening. The point is that, as against the humoral understanding of disease, the disease is in or on the body but not of the body (G 4:65, n. c).

must know. Whoever [wants to] may look further in places where it is treated *in generatione hominis* in order to understand it all. For present purposes, [I will discuss] what they lack who do not know, and what one is who does know, [so] you will understand me thoroughly with regard to all things. For if it is the case that the human being is not completely present within the physician in the sense of this foundation, there is no truth in medicine, nor can it heal, nor recognize what is the matter. For | 43 | it is not from the human being but rather from his father that all diseases come.¹ So seek out and research that from whom they do come. The worm does not grow out of wood, but lives in wood. Crickets are not made of glue, but they subsist in glue. Caterpillars are not made of trees but they cling to trees. Just look at the dung-beetle, and [consider] what it emerges from: not from horse dung (**Roßzirck**),² but from the constellation with which it coincides.³ That is what causes it to grow or not. So, too, all things in the human being proceed from the father.

Now the first thing we need to know is that air and fire are not palpable *corpora*, but they are perceptible and visible. And what is true in the heavens is also true in the human being: such *corpora* [as these are what] have the diseases. And just as the sun can either harm or help, so the *corpora* of the body are assaulted as the earth is by the sun. The heart is not the sun, nor the brain the moon, and so on. For

¹ The role of astronomy in etiology was central to a bitter debate among medical historians when Sudhoff asserted P.'s superiority to astrological superstitions and J. K. Proksch the opposite (cf. Weeks 29, note 43).

² See Grimm, **Zirk**, ⁶**Zirk** (2b): the same word may refer both to dung ("Kot") and to the starry firmament. The pun resonates with a post-medieval awareness of an existence in the earthly filth, remote from the stars to which human thought and Christian faith aspire, similarly evoked by Montaigne's *Apology for Raimond de Sebonde* and Jacob Boehme's recollections in *Aurora* (Böhme, *Sämtliche Schriften* [1730] vol. 1, ch. 19, p. 265, cf. Weeks, *Boehme: An Intellectual Biography of the 17th-Century Philosopher and Mystic* [Albany: SUNY, 1991], 51).

³ See Grimm, **danach** (6): used as it is here in repetition, especially in proverbial sayings, it is relative and demonstrative ("as the constellation falls, so the creature emerges or grows"); **fallen** or **fallen in** was used both in physical and abstract senses including "to be born" (3) or "to merge into" (Luther: "der Main fällt in den Rhein"). Though our word "coincide" is colorless and inert, what is decisive here for birth is the coincidence as a coming together or merging of currents or powers.

Hirn der Mon/ vnnd also mit den andern: dann das Hertz/ das Hirn/ etc. die mithalten sich mit der Sphær der andern Elementen. Vnnd wie der Himmel in denselbigen wirckt/ also auch im Menschen ein *corpus* zu sein verstand. Nuhn/ was wiltu artzneyen ausserhalb dem grundt? daß du die krankheiten suchst leiblich/ die da nit leiblich seind noch *corpora* haben/ betreffend disen theil: Wie wiltu die werme der Sonnen der Erden nemen? mit nichten/ dann du hast kein gwalt wider sie/ anderst/ das du dich mit dem schatten bewarest/ oder in die Erden wie die Dachs vergrabest. Nun ist das den feind nicht genommen/ aber sein fürgang ist brochen. In dem weg vnnd in kein^a andern soltu auch verstehen den grundt anzugreifen/ dieselbigen^b Firmamentischen krankheiten.^c Nuhn auch so ist zu wissen daß eine theil der krankheiten diß Firmaments/ das da wirckt in eim andern theil: vnnd ist nicht anderst zuverstehen/ dann allein/ daß jhr sollen wissen/ daß die Erden vnd dz Wasser nimmer krank werden/ oder gebresten-haftig/ so die obern Firmament dieselbigen nit vrsachen. Dann werden sie faul/ so feulet es der Lufft vnd der Himmel: Werden sie vnfruchtbar/ so vrsacht es der Himmel vnd der Lufft: vnd wz^d jn vngesundens zufalt/ dasselbig alles vrsachet dz Firmament. Dasselbig ist nun ein sonderliche außlegung in | 44 | den krankheiten/ vnnd gibt ein sondern Artzt: so jedoch der Artzt solt getheilt werden/ als die Humoralisten/ vnd Wundartzt/ vnnd Leibartzt^e darumb kein ander vrsach ist/ dann beschemen vnnd nit können/ nicht verstahn vnd vbermut. So nun also derselbig theil/ wie angezeigt ist/ der Corporalischen *Specierum*, im Leib sind/ also die eussern zwey Elementen Erden vnd Wasser: So müssen jhrs auch wissen/ daß in des leibs gliedern auch also ist ein theil der krankheit auch zuverstehen. Darinn so volgt auff das/ so dieselbigen krankheiten verstanden werden/ ein anderer vrsprung der obern Sphær/ dann sie ligt in jhr selbst: auch zuverstehen/ in was maß vnd gestalt im selbigen orth beschehen mög. Vnd zugleichweiß wie sie im Himmel stehnd vnd nit anhangen/ nichts sie tregt/ sonder sie schweben frey ohne alle jrrdische art/ krafft vnd macht: dermassen sind sie auch im leib: Vnd wie im Himmel die

^a Sudhoff (93): “keim.”

^b Sudhoff (93): “grund, anzugreifen dieselbigen.”

^c Sudhoff (93) introduces a paragraph break here.

^d Sudhoff (93): “der luft und, was.”

^e Sudhoff (93): “die humoralisten in wundarzt und leibarzt.”

the heart, the brain, etc., cohere with the sphere of the other elements. And [yet] just as the heavens operate upon them, so also upon the human being, understood as a *corpus*. What could you possibly expect to treat without this foundation [of medicine]? Would you seek the diseases [in] physical [form], which are not physical and have no *corpora*? With respect to this aspect, would you attempt to draw the warmth of the sun from the earth? Of course not. For you have no power over it, unless you were to stay in the shade or, like the badger, were to bury yourself in the ground. This would not eliminate the opponent, but [only] prevent his issuance. In this way, and in no other, you should conceive of attacking the ground of these diseases of the firmament. You should also know that there is one part of the diseases of the firmament that act within the other part [of the cosmic scheme]. This simply means that you should know that earth and water never become afflicted or infirm unless the cause comes from the upper firmament. For if they become corrupt, they have been corrupted by air and the heavens. If they are infertile, this is caused by the heavens and air. Whatever occurs in them that is unhealthy is caused by the firmament. This is a very particular understanding of |44| the diseases, and it produces a very particular sort of physician. However, if the physicians are to be divided up as into humoralists and surgeons and physicians, there can be no other reason for this than their disgrace and incapacity, their lack of understanding and their arrogance.¹ If indeed the aforesaid portion of corporeal *species* is, as I have demonstrated, within the body, that is, [of] the external two elements earth and water, then you must be aware that in the organs of the body a [corresponding] portion of diseases is to be expected. Accordingly, it follows that these diseases are to be understood as having a separate origin in the upper sphere which resides within itself. We can also expect the measure and form [that is] to occur in the same place. Just as they [the elements] stand in the heavens and do not adhere to anything and are borne by nothing but instead hover freely without any earthly character, energy, or powers, this is also how they occur in the body. Just as the stars in the heavens lend their

¹ Following the tortuous argument with correspondences in the preceding sentences, this polemic against traditional medicine suggests that the thrust of the preceding remarks was negative and general, not positive and specific: unlike the traditionalist, the true physician must be guided by the reciprocal interrelatedness of the whole, not by reified constructs of the elements (fire) or humors, misconstrued as bodies and diseases.

Sternen tingiren/ vnd haben kein Corporalische vermischung/ also da auch im *Microcosmo*: vnd wie dise wirckung vnsichtbar gehet/ vnd wircket sichtlich/ also in der Artzney auch zuuerstehen ist/ dieselbige wirckt sichtlich/ vnd ist vnsichtlich. Dann das wir sehen/ ist nit die Artzney/ sonder das *Corpus* darinnen sie ligt. Dann die *arcana* der Elementen sind vnsichtbar/ vnd des Menschen auch: Das da sichtbar ist/ ist das eusser das nit darzu gehört.

Das sehet jr/ daß der Lufft ist ein *Corpus* des Firmaments: aber die augen probierens nit/ aber das Menschlich *arcanum*: vnd im Lufft stehet dz Firmament/ das ist/ das^a Element fewr. Nuhn ist bey vns zu reden/ nach vnserm gedüncken/ wie obsteht: der Himmel vnd sein Sterne tregt niemandts/ vnd niemandts führets in seim Lauff. Nun sind wir jrdisch/ jrdischen reden wir: Darumb sagen wir/ den Mond trag nichts noch die Sonne. Also auch sagen wir/ der Lufft ist nichts/ dann wir sehen jhn nicht. So aber das wesen des oberen verstands soll angehen vnd fürgenommen werden/ so finden wir/ daß es ein ding ist/ das^b Ober vnd das Vnder: nuhr allein gescheiden in dem/ daß wirs irrdisch nit begreifen/ vnd ist doch irdisch/ in der gestalt gescheiden als ir sehent/ Alß weiß ist ein farben/ Nun ist schwarz auch eine/ wie vngleich sind die zwey gegen einander? vberauß treffenlich. Also auch ist es ein gleichmessigs wunder | 45 | mit den *Corporibus*/ das wir sprechen: Wasser vnnd Erden seind *Corpora*/ der Himmel vnnd der Lufft aber nicht dergleichen: Vnd sie seind dergleichen: Oder der Mon sey ein *Corpus*/ die Sonne ein *Corpus*/ aber der Lufft nicht/ der auch ein *Corpus* ist. Nuhn sehet den Marmel/ der ist dunckel/ trüb/ das niemandts dardurch sicht/ allein darauff: Der Cristall ist lauter/ vnd du sights dardurch was vnder jhm ligt: Also bedeutet der Marmel die Erden/ der Cristall den Lufft. Vnd secht wie ein Hotz dick ist/ trüb/ vnd das Glaß/ das auß jhme kompt/ ist helle vnnd nicht trüb: Also solt jhr auch wissen/ das die zwo Sphæren dermassen zusammen vergleicht werden in solcher gestalt. Vnd laß sich niemand verwunderen/ das wir im Lufft gehn/ vnd soll ein *Corpus* sein. Dann sehet/ im Wasser wandern die Visch/ vnnd fallen nicht ghen boden/ noch ertrincken/ also auch wir im Lufft. Das Ey bewart das leben vnd das wesen/ der Dotter ligt im Claar/ vnd behalt den *Centrum*/ vnd falt auff kein seiten: Der Dotter bedeut die Vnder Sphær/ der Claar die Ober: Nuhn ist der Dotter Erden vnd Wasser/ der Claar Lufft vnd Fewr. Nuhn wie hie

^a Sudhoff (94): "ist das."

^b Sudhoff (94): "ist das."

tinctures without any corporeal admixture, the same is true in the *microcosm*. Just as this action proceeds invisibly, yet has visible effects, the same should be expected within the realm of medicine. There too there are visible effects of invisible processes. What we see [visibly], then, is not medicine, but rather the *corpus* within which it resides. For the *arcana* of the elements are invisible and so are those of the human being. What is visible is the external, which is not essential.

You can see that air is a *corpus* of the firmament, but the eyes cannot test this; the human *arcanum*, however, can. In air resides the firmament which is the element of fire. Let us put it in our terms in accordance with what has already been said: the heavens and its stars are borne up by no one. Nor does anyone cause them to revolve. Since we are earthly [beings], let us put it in earthly [terms]: nothing holds up the moon or the sun. Let us go on to say that air is nothing, for we don't see it. Yet if the character of the superior understanding comes into play and is demonstrated, then we recognize that above and below are the same: they are only distinguished by our earthly incomprehension, which is indeed earthly, in the sense that white is a color. Of course, black is one too. Yet how distinct they are! Completely so. It is a similar miracle | 45 | that we are able to say about the *corpora* that water and earth are indeed *corpora*, but not the heavens or the air. For they are indeed this. Or that we can say that the moon is a *corpus*, as is the sun, but [we say that] air is not, though actually it is. Just have a look at marble: it is dark, opaque, so that no one can see through it, only its surface. Crystal is transparent, you can see through it to what's behind it. Marble thus signifies the earth [and], crystal the air. Or consider how wood is dense and opaque, but glass that is made from it is clear and not opaque.¹ In this same way, you should realize that the two spheres are comparable in this sense. Let no one be amazed that we walk through air, and yet it is said to be a *corpus*. For behold, the fish travel through water without falling or descending to the bottom or drowning. In the same way, we travel in air. The egg holds life and essence. The yolk lies within the albumen and remains in the center and falls to no side. The yolk signifies the lower sphere; the albumen the upper. The yolk is earth and water, the

¹ See Zedler, **Glas**, for speculation on the natural origins of glass through "vitrification" of plant materials and the use of ash in glass production; cf. Grimm, "Glas" (B 3): "Glasfluß," an artificial gem.

eins vom andern getragen wirdt/ also versich dich nit anderst ausserhalb auch zusein: Vnd das der Lufft nichts sey/ als ein *Chaos*^a vnnnd *Chaos* nichts als ein Claar eines Eyes/ vnd das Ey ist Himmel vnd Erden.^b Also wiederumb auff das fürnemen zukommen: So ein solcher Claar/ der nicht Corporisch sicht/ vnd doch wie gemeldt/ Corporisch ist (das allein nichts dann die Augen scheiden) krankheit macht/ wie wiltu sie erkennen/ so du der Philosophy mangelst? Dann so du sprechen würdest: Es ist die *Phlegma*/ oder ist *Cholera*/ oder *Sanguis*/ oder *Melancholia*: So weistu das dise vier sich nit den Elementen vergleichen: Vnd da müssen sie sich den Elementen vergleichen/^c also das sie auch Elementen seind wie die anderen. Hierauß volget dir nuhn dieser krankheiten gebresten vnnnd wissen/ vnnnd verfürung alles deines fürnemens: Dann anderst wircken die Elementen/ anders die *Phlegma*. Vnd so du sie theilen wilt in die vier theil/ so mustu dich anderst einrichten dann die Humoralisten angefangen haben/ die im Dreck der Humoren ersauffen wöllen/ vnd nichts dann | 46 | Dreck suchen/ vnnnd vom Dreck Tractieren/ darauff jhr weißheit nichts anderst gericht ist/ dann zu Cristieren/ Purgieren/ vnnnd dergleichen: Was hie gebrist/ wirdt *in Modo Purgandi* erzehlt werden. Also müssen die *Humores* hindann gelegt werden/ vnnnd die eigenschafft der Elementen herfür genommen/ vnnnd inn demselbigen gesucht was gebresten sey/ die dich nichts werden von *Humoribus* lernen/ sondern inn den warhafften grundt der Artzney füren in dem du irre gehest vnnnd betrüglich fürfarest in allen deinen krankheiten.

Nuhn weiter/ so wissent jhr das der Himmel in vns wirckt: Wer wil das erkennen was die wirkung ist/ der den Himmel in seiner eigenschafft nicht erkennt? Was ist das erkennen/ als *Astrum*? So nuhn *Astrum*^d ist die kunst der weißheit des Himmels/ so soll der Artzt der

^a In the Basel materials, *chaos* specifically figures as a source and transmitter of certain diseases such as epilepsy. “der chaos” is the same “in homine” as “in terra” (S 5:222f.) and “sicut aer” (228). Materially, it occupies a liminal status: chaos is “kein leib und ist doch ein ding” (S 1:64). Though the characterization of chaos is vague and shifting, chaos is pertinent to P.’s “external” understanding of the human microcosm by way of the macrocosm, a principle which expressly includes “chaos” in his eight-book work of 1529 on the French disease (S 7:183ff., esp. 292). (On “chaos” as the element of air, see H 1:195.)

^b Sudhoff (95) introduces a paragraph break here.

^c Sudhoff (95) omits “Vnd da müssen sie sich den Elementen vergleichen.”

^d The *astrum* resides in the elements and is like a soul in flesh and blood or like a spirit in the corpus. In an herb, *astrum* is a power of medication: “das kraut ist die

albumen air and fire. Just as the one is borne up by the other, you should regard things no differently in the external [world]: for it is a fact that air is nothing but a *chaos*,¹ and *chaos* nothing but the albumen of the egg; and the egg is the heavens and earth. To come back to our demonstration: the albumen, which does not look corporeal, and yet, as I have said, is corporeal (made to seem otherwise by nothing except the false distinction drawn by the eyes)—[the equivalent of the albumen] is what causes disease. How would you try to grasp this without philosophy? For if you were to say: it is [a matter of] the *phlegma*, or *cholera*, or *sanguis*, or *melancholia*; then you [should] know that these four are not like the elements. And yet they have to be like the elements, for they are also elements, as is everything else. This is the source of failings [in the] knowledge of diseases and of all misconceptions in your undertaking. For the elements behave one way and *phlegma* another. If you want to divide them into the four, you must proceed differently than the humoralists, who immerse themselves in the filth of the humors, and seek nothing but | 46 | filth; and write treatises about filth. Their wisdom is directed to nothing but administering enemas and purgations and that kind of thing. What's wrong with that will be treated in *Modo Purgandi*. Accordingly, the *humores* must be thrust aside, and the qualities of the elements brought to the fore. In these you must seek out disorders, which you cannot learn from the *humores*. Rather, you must find your way to the true ground of medicine, since you are now in error and are treating all diseases dishonestly.

Now proceeding further, you should be informed that the heavens operate within us. Who could expect to understand that operation without understanding the heavens and their properties? What is such knowledge other than *astrum*? Since *astrum*² is the art of the wisdom

¹ Ruland: “**Chaos** præter omnium rerum confusionem, congeriem & informem materiam Theophrasto est aer: Sumitur & pro Iliaste vel Iliastro. Ein grobe vermischte Materien. Item Lufft vnd Iliaster.” The term’s possible sources (Lull and indirectly Eriugena), alchemical-mineralogical applications, and eschatological implications have been discussed by Pagel 1985, VI: 160-61; IX: 106-10. The origin and semantic range of “chaos” have been examined by Willem Daems, “Der *Chaos*-Begriff bei P.,” in *Licht der Natur. Medizin in Fachliteratur und Dichtung (Festschrift für Gundolf Keil)*, ed. Josef Domes et al. (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1994): 66-76, with the conclusion that *chaos* is first and foremost air (74). On the relevant Gnostic and biblical prehistory of the concept, see RLAC, “Chaos.”

² Ruland: *astrum* means “star” but denotes in alchemy the nature and power of a thing acquired from its preparation (“*Astrum hoc loco dicitur, virtus, & potentia*

sein: Vnnd so er derselbig ist/ so ist er jetzt ein Schuler der Artzney/ vnnd hatt den verstandt den Himmel im Menschen zu vrtheilen: Vnnd so bald er den inneren Himmel vrtheilet/ nuhn ist er ein Artzt/ vnnd sonst nicht. Dann so er den Himmel nur eusserlich weißt/ so bleibt er ein *Astronomus* vnd ein *Astrologus*: So ers aber im Menschen ordnet/ so weißt er zween Himmel. Nuhn machen zwey wissend einen Artzt auff den theil/ das die oberen Sphær antrifft. Nuhn muß hierinn das ohne gebresten im Artzt ligen/ das er weißt den *Caudam Draconis* im Menschen/ vnd wisse den *Arietem* vnnd *Axem Polarem*/ wisse sein *Lineam Meridionalem*/ sein Orient/ sein Occident: So er dz nicht weißt/ nur mit jhme in ein Kram/ das er von denselbigen lerne/ vnnd darnach ein Stattdoldner geworden/ so kompt gleichs vnnd gleichs in ein Mauren: Oder an ein Fürstenhoff/ dem fügen Krämer wol. Nuhn mercket hierinn das Ein ding ist/ das ober vnd das jnner Gestirne^a vnnd nicht getheilt in jren krefftten: Sondern zu gleicher weißt wie der Lufft in einem beschlossenen Glaß auff vnd ab gehet/ gut vnd böß sich wandelt/ wie der eussere vnd ein ding ist: Also sollen jhr auch wissen/ das ein ding^b im leib vnd im Himmel ist. Das Glaß bricht/ vnd scheid nichts in Elementen/ dann die Element sind vor dem Glaß gewesen/ vnd gewesen da das Glaß gemacht ward. Vnd wie also | 47 | ein Lufft da ist/ vnd aber gschiden: Also im Menschen ein Firmament/ wie im Himmel/ nicht aber von eim stuck/ sondern es sind zwey. Dann die

arzney nit, der leib nicht die sêl; also die elementa das astrum nit” (S 4:501). Elsewhere, the *astra* are a “lingen” or “line” of disease transmission (S 7:446).

^a The seemingly tentative assertions that the upper and inner stars are undivided in their powers; that “ein ding im leib und im himmel ist”; and that there is “im Menschen ein Firmament/ wie im Himmel” acquire magisterial tone and form in the *Astronomia Magna* (*Philosophia Sagax*, 1537-38), where the concepts of sidereal body (“der gestirnt leib”) and sidereal spirit (“der siderisch geist”) or “sidus des innern himels” are rendered explicit (S 12:51ff., 301ff.).

^b Sudhoff (97) adds emphasis: “das ein ding.”

of the heavens, this is what the physician should be. If he indeed is, then he is a student of medicine; and has the capacity to assess the heavens in the human being. As soon as he has learned to assess the heavens in the human being, he is a physician; otherwise he is not. For if he comprehends the heavens only in their external manifestation, he remains an *astronomus* and an *astrologus*. But as soon as he conceives the same within the human being, he is aware of two heavens. Knowing both constitutes the physician with respect to that aspect which concerns the upper heavens. Without fail, the physician must have it within himself to recognize *Cauda Draconis*¹ in the human being, and *Aries* and the *Axis Polaris*, as well as the *Linea Meridionalis*, the Orient, [or] the Occident. If he doesn't know this, but [if instead it is only] a deal made with him so he can learn something of it in order to become an urban mercenary [physician], then like will be repaid in like measure. Or he might find a place at a prince's court, since dealers of that kind fit in well there. Take note: it is one and the same thing, the upper and inner stars.² They are not distinct in their powers. Rather, just as in a closed vial the vapor rises and falls, [or] the good and the bad are transformed, it is entirely the same with the external [cosmic]. So, too, you should be aware that the same thing operates in the body, [as] in the heavens. If the glass breaks, there is no separation of elements; for the elements were there before the glass, and even before the glass was made. In the same way [47], the air is present, but it is distinct. So, too, in the human being [there is] a firmament, as there is in the heavens; but not all of one piece; rather there are two. For the hand that separated light from

rerum, ex preparationibus acquisita...Alß wenn der Mercurius sublimirt, der Schwebel mit einem Fünklein Feuer angezündet/ vnd das Saltz für sich selber soluiet vnd zerlöset wirdt/ so werden sie Astralisch/ Gestirmässig/ vnd heist das Gestirn/ Mercurii, deß Schwefels vnd Saltzes..."). Pagel: "'Astrum' finally becomes virtue in the widest sense...a virtue that can be used, cultivated and developed. It is in this sense that P. saw 'Astra' everywhere: on high as well as on the earth and in its 'fruits'" (38). Here there may also be an association with the star as animating soul or celestial intelligence (cf. Pagel 1962, p. 5: "Weiterhin sind die 'Astra' das platonische Ideal dieses Planes [i.e., des Verhaltens jedes Einzelwesens in der Natur], und es herrscht die Vorstellung, daß ein Abbild des Himmels mit allen Constellationen und Läufen auch im Einzelwesen wirklich vorhanden ist").

¹ *Cauda Draconis*, the Dragon's Tail, is the first of several references to constellations and astronomy.

² What follows here relies on alchemical event and observation as a *tertium comparationis* of body and cosmos. Indeed, the alchemist's glass vial is analogous to the living body revealed in its inner workings.

Handt/ die Liecht vnd Finsternuß gescheiden hat/ vnd die Hand die Himmel vnd Erden gemacht hatt/ hat das vnter im *Microcosmo* auch gemacht/ auß dem obern genommen/ vnd beschlossen in die Haut des Menschen/ alles was der Himmel begreiff. Darumb so ist vns der eusser Himmel ein Wegweiser des innern Himmels: Wer wil dann ein Artzt sein/ der den eussern Himmel nit erkennt? Dann im selbigen Himmel sind wir/ vnd er ligt vns vor den Augen: Vnd der Himmel in vns/ ligt vns nit vor den Augen/ sondern hinder den Augen/ darumb so mögen wir jhne nicht sehen. Dann wer sieht durch die Haut hinein? niemands: Darumb vor den Augen wachßt der Artzt/ vnd durch das vorder sieht er was hinder jhm ist/ das ist: Bey dem eussern sieht er das inner. Allein die eussern ding geben die erkandtnuß des inneren/ sonst mag kein inner ding erkandt werden. Darauff ist hierinnen zu wissen/ dise zwey Firmament/ das ober vnd das inner/ ob eins das ander vergifft: Darinnen mercken/ der Mensch vergifft das eusser nicht/ aber das eusser das inner. Auß der vrsachen/ das der Sohn vom Vatter erbt/ vnnd der Vatter erbt sein Gut vom Sohn nicht. Nun ist das Gestirn der Vatter des Menschen/ vnd vom Gestirn ist der Mensche: Nun gehet alle Infection ann im Gestirne/ vnnd vom Gestirn volget es hernach in Menschen: Das ist/ so der Himmel für ist/ so fahet der Mensch an. Nuhn ist es nicht/ das der Himmel hinein in Menschen stoß: Darumb wir nit sollen Rauch noch Gschmack machen: Sondern das Gstirn im Menschen/ das ist in der Hand Gottes verordnet/ nachzuthun/ das der Himmel eusserlich anhebt vnd gebiert/ darumb muß es hernach im Menschen. Wiewol die Sonn^a durch ein Glaß scheint/ der Monn auff der Erden ein Liecht gibt: Das ist aber nicht

^a Sudhoff (98): "im menschen, wiewol die sonn."

darkness,¹ the hand that created heavens and earth, also made the lower within the *microcosmus*, taking it from what was above and encompassing it inside the skin of the human being—everything [that is,] that the heavens encompass.² For this reason, the external heavens are a guide to the inner heavens. Who can claim to be a physician who does not understand the external heavens? For we are in those same heavens, and they lie before our very eyes. Yet the heavens within us do not lie before our eyes, but rather behind our eyes, so that we cannot see them. Who after all can gaze through the skin? No one can. For this reason, the physician is educated by that which lies before one's eyes, to recognize through that which lies before that which lies behind. This is to say: from the outer he recognizes the inner. Only the external things [can] yield a knowledge of the internal ones. In no other way can an inner thing be recognized. For this reason we need to grasp these two heavens, the upper and the lower, [to know] whether the one is poisoning the other. It must be understood that the human being does not poison the external [world] but vice versa. The reason for this is that a son inherits from a father, not the other way around. The stars are the father of the human being; and the human being is of the stars. Therefore, all infection arises out of the stars. From the stars it proceeds then to the human being. This is to say that that what the heavens have preceded [us] (**für ist**)³ in, the human being follows after in.⁴ It is not the case that the heavens intrude into the human being. For this reason, we should not make smoke or flavoring [in the treatment of disease]. Instead, the star within the human being that is ordered by the hand of God should be pursued: what the heavens initiate and generate has to follow in the human being. Though it is the case that the sun can shine through glass [and] the moon gives light to

¹ The reader may approach P.'s mentality by noticing that the “**darkness and light**” separated by the hand of God are more than figures of speech. Rooted in an extended allusion to Genesis 1:4, darkness and light are constitutive of a peculiar sort of cosmology and epistemology. They incorporate invisible and visible worlds navigated by the knowing, operating subject in eliciting new things from old. Darkness and light are real presences for common experience and higher contemplation (cf. Weeks, *Boehme*, 31-34, ch. 4, 5).

² This presupposes both the understanding of the *limbus* as stars and the use of inner and outer with reference to microcosm and macrocosm respectively.

³ See Grimm, **für sein** (6, 7): voransein, voraussein.

⁴ **Fanget an** suggests that what has already happened before in the firmament now follows, as the human being begins with or catches a disease. The phrase leaves open the question of causal determination.

gegen dem Menschen also seines leibs verderben/ zu den krankheiten. Dann als wenig die Sonn in das ort selbst kompt/ also wenig kommen die Gstirn in den Menschen/ vnd jre *Radij* geben dem Menschen nichts: Dann *Corpora* müssens thun/ vnd nit *Radij*/ das sind *Corpora Microcosmi Astralia*/ die des Vatters Art erben. | 48 |

Also/ dieweil der Mensch gleich ist gemacht dem Gestirn/ vnnd das Gestirn vor jhme/ vnnd er auß jhme: So müssen Vätterlich arbeit im Sohn ligen/ wie im Menschen. Darumb nicht mit dem eussern Himmel der inner handelt/ sondern hernach: Dann der Sohn geht nach seim Vatter/ vnnd nicht neben jhm oder mit jhme. Also hatt *Mars* seinen Sohn im *Astro* des Menschen/ also hat *Saturnus* in jhme seinen Sohn/ also *Iupiter*/ also *Mercurius*/ also *Venus*, *Soll*/ vnnd *Luna*/ vnnd alle andere/ nicht not zuerzehlen. Darumb jhr Artzt/ nicht verachtet/ das euch ewern namen bestett vnnd erfüllt. Wie lustig vnd ehrlich/ vnd wie warhafftig ist es/ so ein Artzt sein kunst weißt. Das ist nicht kunst/ pochiren/ kappen tragen/ groß namen: Dise ding schinden die kranken/ so heist mann euch schinder vnd verderber/ das ist euch eine schand. Vberredent euch selbst nicht/ das jhr gnug könntent *in Auicenna*, oder genug finden *in Galeno*/ oder satt gelert werden *in Mesue*: Diese ding alle seindt bey euch weniger nutz (so jhr wollen der warheit nachfahren) dann den Bawren *Petrus de Crescentiis*. Vnnd ist gleich zuuerstehen/ als wolt einer ein *Musicus* werden auß dem Dannhauser^a vnd Fraw von Weissenburg: Es dönet wol dem/ der gnug

^a If Sudhoff is correct that *De Occulta Philosophia* and *De Pestilitate* are spurious, then this only confirms the widespread interest voiced in those works in the meaning of the legend of **Tannhäuser** and of Venus of the Venusberg as a “nympha” (S 14:525) or the “seltsame historien” that include the accounts of Melusina or of Hildebrand of Verona (647). **Frau von Weissenburg** presumably figures in the same sort of material.

the earth, this causes no harm to the human body in advancing diseases. No more than the sun invades the places [upon which it shines] do the stars actually invade the human being. Their *radii*¹ have no impact upon the human being. For *corpora* must do this, not *radii*: it is a matter of *corpora microcosmi astralia* which inherit the nature of the father.² | 48 |

So you see, since the human being is made like the star and has the star before him and he is [made] from it, [the traces of] paternal labor must be present within the son, that is, within the human being. This is why the inner heavens do not act with the outer, but rather [follow] after them. For a son goes after his father, and not alongside or with him. Therefore, *Mars* has a son in the *astrum* of the human being, and so does *Saturnus*, and *Jupiter*, and *Mercurius*, and *Venus*, as well as *Sol*, *Luna*, and all others that need not be enumerated. So take note, you physicians, that you do not despise this, but rather that you confirm and fulfill your titles. How amiable and honorable it is, and how truthful, when a physician knows his art. For art is not a matter of strutting furiously,³ wearing your cap [or] having a great name. These things merely exploit the patients. This is why people call you exploiters and spoilers, much to your disgrace. Do not talk yourselves into believing you have got all you need with *Avicenna*, or that you can find it all in *Galenus*, or have gotten enough out of *Mesuë*. All these things are of less utility (if you are really after the truth), than a peasant would get out of *Petrus de Crescentiis*.⁴ It is as if someone wanted to learn to be a *musicus* by relying on [the tale of] *Tannhäuser*⁵ and of *Frau von Weißenburg*⁶: it will certainly be audible to whoever

¹ *Radius* could refer both to the immaterial ray of the sun or ray of “sight” proceeding out of the eye and to the firm spokes proceeding out from the nub of a wheel (OLD).

² Revealing the virtually congenital relationship of stars to diseases, a relation that interprets the mystery of action at a distance, this passage presents a confabulation of categories for which the often cited concept of magical sympathy is perhaps too superficial.

³ See Grimm, **pochen**, bochen (6): trotzen, prahlen, zürnen.

⁴ **Petrus de Crescentiis** (Bologna ca. 1233-ca. 1320), author of an influential agronomic work of the Middle Ages, *Opus ruralium commodorum*, based on ancient and contemporary sources and incorporating elements of veterinary medicine and medicinal herbs (LMA).

⁵ P. refers to the medieval tale of **Tannhäuser** printed in a popular version in 1515 (Frenzel); cf. H 1:325.

⁶ In German legend and song, **Frau von Weissenburg** is a betrayer, “die Frau, die ihren Herrn verrieth” (cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, 3rd edition, no. 552). I am grateful

daruon hat/ vnd frewet niemandts baß/ dann den singer selbst: Soll es dann dem Artzt nicht sein zu betrachten/ so ein Mensch seins Vatters Anatomey ererbt vnd besitzt? Vnd das mag jhm nimands nemmen/ vnnd der Sohn mag ohn den Vatter nicht erkannt werden/ sondern durch den Vatter: Vnd der Vatter ist nicht *Adam*/ die *Heua* ist auch nicht die Mutter der Menschen/ dann sie waren beide Menschen. Nuhn ist der Mensch nicht auß dem Menschen geboren: Dann im ersten Menschen ist kein Vormensch gewesen/ sondern die Creatur/ vnd auß den *Creatis* ist der *Limbus*^a vnd der *Limbus* ist der Mensch worden/ vnd der Mensch ist der *Limbus* blieben. So er nuhn der blieben ist/ so muß er je/ dieweil er mit der haut beschlossen ist (vnd niemands sicht hinein/ vnnd die wirkung seind nicht sichtbar in jhm) auß dem Vatter fürgenommen werden/ vnd nicht auß jhm selbst. Dann der eusser Himmel vnnd sein Himmel ist ein^b Himmel/ aber zween theil. Wie ein Vatter vnnd ein Sohn seind zween/ ist ein | 49 | Anatomey/ der einen erkennt/ der erkennt auch den andern. Nuhn aber im wissen der krancken gesundtheiten ist es nicht also/ den Menschen für ein Menschen zu nemen/ dz ist für all/ dann der leib leidet/ nicht das Ewig in jhme: So nuhn der leib leidet/ der ist der *Limbus*: Nuhn sind alle Menschen ein *Limbus*/ vnnd seindt alle kranckheiten ein *Limbus*.^c Nuhn theil auß/ das alle kranckheiten aller Menschen nur

^a **Limbus**, an abiding prime matter of the human being that incorporates the essences of earth and heavens, is developed in one of the works cited at the beginning of *Paragranum*. The brief *De Modo Pharmacandi* equates alchemy with digestion and discusses the evolution of diseases and metabolism of nutrients in the digestive process. What is permanent in all process? The tract promises to focus on “die letzten materien” to be discussed in the conclusion of the work (S 4:437). Just as at the root of a material nature in flux there are the divine forces or virtues of the eternal *magnalia dei*, in human nature the substantive and permanent “limbus” bears the divine image (S 4:467). Some later writings use the term *limus terrae* to indicate much the same thing (S 11:179; 12:52). Since the *limbus* or *limus terrae* encompasses both heavens and earth, it constitutes the essential material of the visible and invisible human being, though not the soul. The *limbus* incorporates all the essences of the celestial and terrestrial realms, as well as the primal sources of disease. It therefore also figures in the *Philosophia de Limbo Aeterno*, in his writings on the Eucharist or his Psalm Commentaries, where it is a term for comparing the old and the new life: “dann Adams limbus ist dot in Christo; sein speis, so aus seim limbo get, ist auch dot. lebendig ist Christus, der limbus auch (G 4:119).

^b Sudhoff (99) adds emphasis: “ist e i n.”

^c Though Müller’s citations to the *cagastum* all fall into the mainly spurious writings in S 14, the sense of this reference corresponds to the term. The notion that diseases are contained *in nuce* in the stuff of human creation is intelligible in reference to P.’s allusions to the notion that everything present in the first seeds of the

has heard enough of it; and no one will like it better than the one singing it. Can we not expect that a physician should consider that the human being has inherited and possesses the anatomy of his father? No one can take that away from him. The son cannot be understood without the father but rather only through him.¹ Nor is the father Adam, nor [is] Eve the mother of the human being. For they too were human beings. The human being did not originate from the human being. For the first human being would have had no human precursor, but rather only [some created substance]; and out of the *creata* arose the *limbus*,² and the *limbus* became the human being; and the human being has remained the *limbus*. Having remained it, he must always—for as long as he remains enclosed in his skin (and no one can see into it and the actions within it are not visible)—be extrapolated from the father and not from his own [substance]. For the external heavens and his own heavens are a single heaven, though in two divisions. [It is] the same as that a father and son are two; [but have] a single | 49 | anatomy, [so that] whoever understands the one understands the other. As regards the knowledge of the health of the sick, it is not the case that we should take the human being as a human being in his entirety; for it is the body that suffers, not that which is eternal in it. Insofar as the body is suffering, it is the *limbus*. All people are a [single] *limbus*;

to Prof. Helmut Möller for calling my attention to this theme and to Dr. Waltraud Linder-Beroud of the Deutsches Volksliedarchiv (Freiburg) for confirming that this song was known in a manuscript of Valentin Holl (Augsburg) as early as 1524-25.

¹ Mt 11:27, [Jesus:] “no one knows the Son except the Father.”

² The origin of the concept *limbus* is uncertain. Least helpful are its definitions as the border or girdle of a garment (OLD), or as the “limbo” to which the patriarchs and infants are consigned (NCA). As used by P., it refers to a substance formed from the first created things (heavens and earth) which in turn constitutes the essential prime material of the human creature (cf. Gen 2:7; S 1:316; H 1:81). *Limbus* may be a neologism signifying the heightened degree of *limus terrae*, a material which embodies in certain passages of the later writings (cf. vis-à-vis) not only the elements of earth but also the essences or *astra* of the star (*Iliaster* as “star stuff”). Of relevance to the latter, *limbus* in Latin could refer to the zodiacal circle (see OLD) as well as to the belt or girdle of zones encircling the globe, as in Honorius Augustodunensis’ *De Imagine Mundi*: “Quinque enim zonas mundi in modum limbi ambit” (PL 172:133). Though there can be little certainty of P.’s sources, his proximity to the Middle Ages is intimated by the similar terms of Honorius, for whom the cosmos is an “*ovum*” consisting of “*vitellum*,” “*albumen*,” and “*testa*” (121); the substance of the elements is called “*hyle*” (121); the human being is “*microcosm*” (140); the “*firamentum*” is “*inter medias aquas*” (141); and the “*oceanus*” and the zones around the earth are “*quasi ... limbus*” (133). See also Rudolph² 5.

eins Menschen krankheiten seindt: Nuhn als offft ein Mensch/ als offft ein Anatomey (nach den Humoralisten) wer wolt da in das end kommen? niemands. Darumb so wissendt/ das ein Artzt soll inn allen krankheiten sein wissen tragen ohne gebrästen/ dz nimpt er auß dem eussern Vatter/ das er weiß/ was *in Arabia/ was in Europa/ was in Italia/ was in Germania/ etc.* ist. Dann so weit die Welt gehet/ soll er ein Artzt sein/ vnnd nicht eins Menschen/ das muß durch den Vatter beschehen/ der lernet^a *Gabalisticam Scientiam/* die lerne.

Dieweil nuhn im Menschen der Himmel ligt/ vnnd nicht anderst sein mag/ so wisset hierinn jhr Artzet alle/ das im Menschen ligen alle Ascendenten. Nuhn wer wil sagen das/ den Menschen eim Ascendenten vnderworffen zu sein/ als allein der eusser außgedorret *Astronomus?* Der Artzt muß klar dz machen vnd entdecken. Dann so vil Ascendenten der Himmel vermag/ so viel vermag der Mensch. Also wirt der Mensch in viel hundert wesen gesetzt: Dardurch jhm volgt/ an dem orth gesundt/ an dem kranck/ an dem also/ an dem also/ heut also/ morgen also: Vnnd also in seim leib täglich kein augenblick in keinem glied sicher/ krankheit vnnd der gesundtheit. Dieweil es nun des leibs gesundheit vnd krankheit antrifft/ so ist von nöten/ dz ein Artzt der Ascendenten/ der Coniunctionen/ der Planeten Exaltation/ etc. vnd alle Constellation erkenne/ verstande vnd wiß: Vnnd so ers weißt aussen im Vatter/ so volgt jetzund hernach/ wie er den Menschen einbringe/ dieweil die zal so groß ist der Menschen/ vnnd jhr viel seindt: Wo er finde den Himmel in einem jedlichen mit seiner Concordantz/ wo gesundt/ wo kranck/ wo anfang/ wo außgang/ wo ende/ wo todt. Dann der Himmel ist der Mensch/ vnnd der Mensch ist

human being must then unfold in the life of the world: “das von got das ens seminis also beschaffen ist, das alle die gestalt, farben, form der menschen müssen erfüllt werden deren keine zal ist.... so der jüngst tag kompt, so werden die farben und sitten der menschen alle erfüllt sein” (S 1:181).

^a Sudhoff (99): “leret.”

and all diseases are a [single] *limbus*.¹ So now think of it [as] divided up in such a way that all diseases of all human beings are [really] only diseases of a [single] human being. There are supposed to be as many anatomies as there are human beings (according to the humoralists): who could get to the end of that? No one. So let it be known that a physician should have flawless knowledge of all diseases: this comes from the father, so that one knows what is *in Arabia*, what is *in Europa*, what is *in Italia*, what *in Germania*, etc. For the [knowledge of the] physician should extend as far as the world itself extends, and not [be confined to a single] human being. This comes about through the father who teaches *gabalistica scientia*. Learn it.

Now that we have established that the heavens reside within the human being, and that it cannot be otherwise, all you physicians should be advised that all ascendants reside as well within the human being. Who, then, could maintain that the human being is subject to a [single] ascendant: no one but the external, outmoded *astronomus*. The physician must reveal this and make it clear. For the human being has a capacity for as many ascendants as the heavens. For this reason the human being is created in many hundreds of essences. Therefore, it follows for him that here he will be healthy, there sick, here this and there that, and tomorrow something else again. For this reason he is not assured of health or illness in his body for any moment of any day. Insofar as it is a matter of the health and illness of the body, it is important that the physician recognize and be aware of the ascendants, conjunctions, planetary exaltations, and so forth, along with every constellation. By knowing of this externally in the father, it follows that [the physician] can treat the human being correspondingly, though the number of human beings is vast. [He needs to know] where he can discern the heavens in each and everyone with their concordance; where [they are conducive to] health, where [to] disease; where it begins, whither it proceeds, where it ends, where there is death. For the heavens are the human being and the human being is the heavens;

¹ Without mentioning it, this passage evokes the *cagastrum*. (Ignored by Ruland, the term is characterized by Pagel as a pathogenic counterpart to the primordial matter of the *iliaster*: “This expression conveys the idea of something bad and degenerative”—Pagel 114). For an elaborate philosophical interpretation, albeit based on marginal writings, see Pagel 113ff.; and Pagel 1962 89: “*Das Cagastrum*...ist das Reich der Materie, in dem die ursprüngliche göttliche Einfachheit und Einheit zersplitterte in die unendliche Vielheit der kommenden und gehenden, vergänglichen und verderbbaren Wesen.”

der Himmel/ vnnd alle Menschen ein Himmel/ vnnd der | 50 | Himmel nur ein Mensch: Solches ist zu wissen/ warumb in dem ort das/ vnd da das/ da ein newes/ da ein alts/ da ein anders. Nun ist das zuerkennen/ nit in der form/ nit im Himmel der gestalt halben/ sondern in der außtheilung der Impressionischen krafft: Dieselbig ist die/ so ein Artzt am höchsten bewerdet. Dann also zuuerstehen: Dieweil wir Menschen ein Himmel haben/ vnd er ist in ein jedlichen besonder ein Himmel/ vnd vnzerbrochen/ sondern gantz vnnd allein da: Wie da sey die vrsach/ das auch nit ein Lauff sey mit allen Menschen/ das ist/ ein^a sterben/ ein todt/ ein kranckheit/ gleich in allen Menschen/ dann jeder Himmel muß sein wirckung haben. Dieweil nuhn ein Himmel/ auch ein lauff/ dieweil ein Mensch/ auch ein Himmel/ vnd also für vnd für müssen alle Menschen mit einander gleich gesundt vnd gleich kranck sein: Dasselbig beschicht nit/ sondern das wirdt gebrochen in der zeit des Himmels geburt. Dann ein Kindt/ das empfangen wirt/ das hat jetzt sein Himmel: Nun so alle Kinder in einem Puncten würden geboren/ so würde ein Himmel sein/ vnd also ein lauff/ wie obsteht. Darumb so wisset/ wie der groß Himmel stehet/ also Imprimirt er den Himmel in der geburt:^b Das also wunderbarlich ist/ so zehen tausent Kind tag vnnd nacht würden geboren/ noch nit möchten ein Himmel haben/ als weit von einander/ als der Nidergang von dem Auffgang. Dann zu gleicher weiß wie sich mehret vnd zunimpt der Baum auß der Erden vom samen/ je lenger je grösser: Also wachsen die stundt auff diser Erden gegen Himmel: Das/ so viel^c grösser der Baum ist gegen seinem sahmen/ so viel lenger die Astralische stundt gegen dem Irrdischen/ also groß/ das in vnsern stunden auff Erden nit mögen Monat begriffen werden vnder vnsern Minuten. Solches gibt die wunderbarliche arth/ das wir vns hierinnen dermassen müssen verwunderen/ als wol/ als das in vns ist Himmel vnd Lufft/ wie er ausserhalb mit gemelter grösse/ dann im Puncten ist gleich so wol ein Circkel als im Ring. Nun wie groß ist der Ring gegen dem Puncten/ vnnd sind beyde gantz? Wie also das dem Circkel möglich ist/ das er

^a Sudhoff (100): “das ist ein.”

^b Here P. implicates his notion of predestination, “predestinaz” (cf. S 1:205-08).

^c Sudhoff (101): “das ist, so vil.”

and all human beings are [the same] heavens; and the | 50 | heavens are indeed but a single human being. One needs to know why this applies here, and that applies there, there something new, there something old, [and] there something else. This is to be recognized, not in [accordance with] the form, not in the heavens by virtue of [their] configuration, but rather in the distribution of the force of impression. It is in this that the physician proves his abilities to the highest degree. For this is what needs to be understood: the fact that we human beings have the same heavens, and they behave in each in a particular way, doing so without breach [of order], but rather in their entirety and uniqueness; [for] this is why not all human beings have the same course [of life], all the same demise, the same death, the same illness, equal in all. For the heavens must exercise their force in a particular way. [One would think:] the same heavens, the same course [of life]; just as [one thinks:] the same particular human [nature], the same heavens, so that all people would have to get well or ill in the very same way. But this does not happen; instead the [uniformity] is broken through the time of the celestial birth. For a child that is conceived at a particular moment has its own heavens. If all children were born at the same point, there would be the same heavens [in them all], hence also the same course [of life], as I have explained above. So take into consideration: as the great heavens stand, so do they imprint the [human individual] heavens at birth. It is therefore wondrous that if 10,000 children are born [in a single] day and night, they do not have the same heavens, but rather [are as far apart] as sunrise is from sunset. For just as the tree rises and grows out of the ground out of its seed, [and] the longer [the time], the higher [the tree gets], so also do the hours of the earth grow in comparison with the heavens: as greatly as the tree preponderates over its seed, that is how much greater the astral hour preponderates over [what is] earthly, so greatly indeed, that in our hours upon earth our minutes may not even be counted less than [astral] months. This sort of circumstance yields a wondrous nature, so that we have to be so astonished at it, just as we are that the heavens and [the element of] air lie within us, as they also lie outside of us in the implied magnitude. For within a point there is as much of a circle (**Cirkel**) as there is in the [outer] ring. Yet how great is the ring compared to the point and [yet] are both not whole?¹ Just as it is possible for the compass

¹ P. evokes the sense of mathematical or geometrical paradox associated with

ein Fuß setze/ der gibt einen Circkel/ vnnd mit dem andern ein weiten vmbkreiß: Also auch ein zunehmen ist inn der größ vom Menschen gegen | 51 | dem^a Himmel. Vnd im abnehmen vom Himmel gegen dem Menschen/ als die streimen vom Circkel so wider in sein Puncten gehen. Dann wie es möglich ist auß der Summa so weit außzuthelen: Also auch sich außdenen die eussern gegen allen inneren dingen.

Darumb das nuhn der Mensch auß der Erden kompt/ auß dem Himmel/ etc. Darumb muß er leiden das sie leiden müssen/ vnnd muß auch an sich ziehen dasselbig das in jhnen ist: Dann er hatt dieselbigen in jhme/ darumb gehet auch die fürung auß demselbigen. Dann warumb begert der Mensch zu essen/ dann darumb/ das er auß der Erden ist? Warumb zu trincken? Darumb das er vom Wasser ist: Warumb den Athem? Darumb das er vom Lufft ist: Warum werme? Darumb das er vom Fewr ist. Nuhn also aber/ was gehet das mein fürnehmen an? Es ist das wissen/ darauß ein Artzt macht des^b Regiment: ausserhalb dem wirdt kein Regiment gemacht/ vnnd ist allein ein vrsprung eusserlicher kranckheiten/ vnnd nicht der rechten Elementischen. Dann da merckent den vrsprung der kranckheiten/ das der *Centrum*^c die kranckheit macht/ darumb ein jedlicher *Morbus* sich Centriert/ vnnd ausserhalb des Centrums wirdt kein kranckheit. Darumb vmb sonst vom faulen Luft geredt wirdt/ vnnd/ Thu die Stuben zu/ nicht gang an den Nebel: Allein die *Constellation* sey in dir/ sonst wirdt dirs nichts schaden. Nuhn hierauff wisset/ das der grundt inn solchen dingen muß nicht aus dem Laufft genommen werden eusserlich/ als einer der vom Sonnenschein redet/ vnnd nicht von der Sonnen mit: Die Sonn letzt kein Monn/ allein die Sonnen: Der Monn kein Sonnen/ allein den Monn: Auß demselbigen vrsprung verstanden die geburten der kranckheiten/ nicht vom eusserlichen anwehen. Das ist also/ demnach der Laufft ist/ demnach ist vnser gesundheit vnnd kranckheit/ dann inn entwedern seindt wir versprochen: Wir seindt dem Laufft heimgesetzt in kranckheit vnnd in

^a Sudhoff (101): “den.”

^b Sudhoff (102): “das.”

^c This extends the preceding astronomical orientation focused in geometrical relationships (*Centrum* < Circkel), and is therefore a reassertion of the macrocosmic cause of epidemic disease; hence the accompanying denial of a contagion carried by odor or taste, as in the miasmatic theory of plague. *Uslegung der latinischen synonyma* defines: “Centrum ist der anfang in der krankheit” (S 9:658). For P.’s innovative plague theory, see *Zwei Bücher von der Pest und ihren Zufällen* [Nördlingen, 1529 or 1530] (S 8:369ff., esp. 376-85).

(**Cirkel**) to be applied at one of its points so as to produce a circle and with the other a broad circumference: So it is, too, with the increase in magnitude of the human being with respect to | 51 | the heavens. Moreover, in the contraction of the heavens with regard to the human being, the rays¹ of the circle recede back into their point. For it is also possible to distribute the sum [of all things] to such a great extent, just as it is to extend the external with respect to the internal things.

Because the human being comes from the earth [and] comes from the heavens, he must suffer what they suffer and must attract to himself the very things that are in them. For he has the same things within him; and this is why the things have a guiding function. For why else is it that the human being desires to eat than that he is made of earth? Why else [does he desire] to drink? Because he is of water. Why breath? Because he is of the air. Why warmth? Because he is of fire. But now what does this have to do with my argument? This is the knowledge from which the physician constructs the regime [of health]: from nothing else can the regime be constructed. [Yet this constitution] is solely a source of external diseases, and not of the elemental ones properly speaking. For take note of the [true] source of disease which is made by the *centrum*, for which reason each and every disease is centered; moreover, outside of that center no disease arises. For this reason it is pointless to talk about bad air, or to say, “Close the room off,” [or] “Don’t go into fog.”² Unless the constellation lies within you, you will not be harmed. Know in this regard that the rationale in such matters should not be deduced from the [celestial] course in an external sense, as if [one were] to speak of sunshine without speaking at the same time of the sun. The sun does not have any impact on the moon, only upon itself; and likewise the moon. The origins of diseases are to be understood from that source [explained above], and not from any external wafting of it. This is to say: in accordance with the [celestial] course our health and illness follow; we have no promise of anything, neither in the one nor in the other. We are subject to the [celestial] course in disease and in health

Nicholas of Cusa’s writings of the previous century. The paradox of **circle and point** conveys the unique particularity of the finite; the relations of **seed to tree** conveys the exponential increase implicit in the generation of the particular.

¹ See Grimm, **Streim** (1c): light ray.

² P. alludes to the miasmatic theory of **bad air** as a cause of disease especially of plague (cf. Siraisi, 128-29); cf. Caroline Hathaway, “Environment and Miasmata,” CEHM, 292ff.

gesundtheit/ vnnnd denen heimgegeben: So wir darinnen gefangen ligen/ so müssen wir je wissen vom selbigen/ vnd nicht vom andern. Wer will ausserhalb solcher kunst vrtheilen? Inn der die erkandnuß der Coniunction/ der Exaltation vnnnd andern gutten | 52 | vnnnd bösen tagen ligt: Wer wil so viel vnzalbarliche Vätter vnnnd Mütter erkennen ohne die kunst/ auß dem der Mensch gemacht ist? Wer wil so vielerley Kinder im Menschen finden durch die *Humores*, durch *Causam Primitiuam*, *Antecedentem*, *Coniunctam*? O du schützerey vnnnd leckerey/ wer hat den Bachanten gelernet die krankheiten dermassen außzuthailen? Die außtheilung der krankheiten nimpt sich in dem weg/ das nicht möglich mit der zal zubegreifen. Nicht in Antecedenten zu lernen/ sonder in Ascendenten/ den haben die krankheiten/ vnnnd der Himmel weißt nichts von *Antecedente*/ dergleichen *Primitiua*. Wer ist *Primitiua* als der Vatter? Was ist *Coniuncta* als *Coniunctio*? Wer hatt gnug das aller krankheiten vrsprung soll also erkannt werden? Ein jedliche krankheit wil sein gantzen *Philosophum* vnd *Astronomum* haben: Vnd wie mann verstehen soll den vrsprung der ding/ also auch der krankheiten. Wer ist dann/ der inn der geburt natürlicher dingen/ solche außtheilung gedulden mag/ noch viel weniger der Artzt/ soll das Vniuersitetisch sein? jhr Leußiager. Es ist ein leichte sach also reden/ wann es war wer: Aber die Artzney laßt sich nicht also brocken/ vnnnd also müsset jhr nur mit den Dreck Syrupen vmbgehen/ vnnnd auff solchen grundt setzet jhr ewer *Curam*. Nuhn sehet wie stehets euch an/ wie ewer Theorick ist/ also ist auch die Cur: Fürwar so jhr euch der Bachanterey werdent abthun/ vnnnd für euch nemen die eigenschafft Himmels vnnnd Erden/ jhr werdent nicht allein ein Buch verbrennen/ sondern alle: Vnnnd so^a es euch möglich were/ die Meister selbst auch. Ihr werdet mich nicht erschrecken durch ewer Sophisterey/ ich hab noch meine Stichblettlein vnnnd bessere^b Pfeil/ im Köcher.

Also wirdt auch verstanden/ vnnnd da erhebt sich der anfang der vorsagung zukünftiger krankheiten/ das der groß Mensch/ das ist/ des Menschen Vatter/ auch inn krankheit felt vnd kompt/ auß welchen des Vatters krankheiten/ dem Sohn seine krankheit auch angezeigt wirdt. Nun aber in dem hatt der *Astronomus* sein Feld/ das er redt in die gemein vnd weißt nit wen es trifft: Dann jhm ist nicht

^a Sudhoff (103): "alle und, so."

^b Sudhoff (103): "besser."

and under their sway. When we are captive to it, we can only know about what we have and not about anything else. Who could judge anything without this [kind of] art—in which the recognition of conjunctions, exaltation, and of other good | 52 | evil days is found? Who could hope to understand those innumerable fathers and mothers out of which the human being is made without such art? Who could hope to find so many children in the human being by means of the *humores*, by means of *causa primitiva*, or *antecedens* [or] *conjuncta*? Oh, you juveniles and sycophants, who has ever taught a sophomoric student to measure out the diseases in such a way? The distribution of the diseases is of a sort that defies all number. This is not to be learned in antecedents, but in ascendants. That is where the disease arises. The heavens know nothing of *antecedens* or of *primitiva*. Who could be [the] *primitiva* other than the father? What could be *conjuncta*¹ other than *conjunctio*?² Who knows enough to recognize the origin of all diseases? Each and every disease needs an entire *philosophus* and *astronomus*. In the same way that one understands the origin of things, one must understand the origin of diseases. Who is there that would countenance such a distribution in the birth of natural things? Certainly not the [established] physicians. Is that what you call academic, you lice catchers? It is easy for you to speak as you do, if only what you say were all true. But medicine is not to be parceled out. This is why you have to strut your filthy syrups and base your *cura* upon them. But just consider how things stand: as your theory goes, so does your cure. Truly, if only you were to abandon your sophomoric foolishness and embrace the properties of heavens and earth, then you would not burn just one book but all of them. And if you did that, your masters would go the same way. You will not frighten me with your sophistry. I have stronger armor and better arrows in my quiver.

Therefore it is also clear that from this proceeds the initiation of the prediction of future diseases: the great [cosmic] human being, or father of the human being, also falls ill, and in the diseases of the father the illness of the son is prefigured. It is in the field of the *astronomus* to speak of things in general without knowing to whom it

¹ On *conjuncta*, see OED, “conjunct” (3, obsolete): the immediate or direct cause, as opposed to an antecedent one (citation from Lanfranc’s *Cirurgia*, ca. 1400).

² See OED, “**conjunction**” (1d obsolete): mixture or union of elements or substances; one of the processes of alchemy (citation again from Lanfranc’s *Cirurgia*); cf. DML, *conjunctio* (1d); *conjugere* (3).

wissend der kleine Mensch/ wie er gegen dem Himmel steht: Dem Artzt ist | 53 | nun solches auch vnwissend. Wiewol er weißt wen es antrifft/ jedoch aber dieweil er nicht der Cosmographie bekannt ist mit allen Personen/ so muß er auch solches dermassen anzeigen/ wie es sich gebürt/ außlegen. Dann was ist das ende der Philosophie vnnd Astronomie/ als der Mensch? So nuhn der Mensch nit im wissen ist/ so sind bemelte künstte todt/ Dergleichen wz ist im Artzt der nit beschleußt mit der Cosmographie/ deren er sonderlich ein wissen soll haben/ zugleichweiß als wol als das/ daruon ich gemeldt hab: dann alle erkandnuß gebüren sich in der Cosmographie/^a vnd ohne dieselbigen geschicht nichts.^b Nuhn ist der Himmel sein Artzt selbs/ wie ein Hund seiner wunden: der Mensche aber hat in solchem sein mangel. Dann dieweil er mehr ist dann ein tödtliche Creatur/ muß er auch mehr wissen haben: Dann soll er wissen was im Himmel ist/ was in der Erden/ was im Lufft/ was im Wasser: warumb ist das? darumb/ daß er erkennt/ wer er sey/ vnd warauß er sey: so diß erkandnuß nit noth were/ der Mensch würde nit kranck sein. Aber daß der Mensch sehe wer vnnd was er sey/ darumb muß er sein vatter erstatten mit kranckheiten vnnd gesundtheiten. Vnd sehend/ das glid^c hat *Mars* gemacht/ das hat *Venus* gemacht/ das hatt *Luna* gemacht: das ist der *chaos*, hie bistu ein theil *Tereniabin*: an dem orth hastu dein blut vnnd fleisch auß dem wasser/ das auß der Erden. Diese kranckheiten der Menschen vnd jhre gesundtheiten sind allein darumb/ daß der Mensch *limbum* erkenne/ auß dem er geboren ist: vnd dz Vihe im Wald vnd im Feld erkenn/ auff daß er sehe/ daß er gleich wie das Vihe ist/ vnd nichts bessers. Darumb soll der Mensch sich selbst betrachten/ vnnd erfahren sein/ in allen Creaturen/ auff das er sich selbst erkenn. Zu solcher erkandnuß ist keiner höher dann der Artzt/ dann im selbigen ligt solchs wissens ein warheit/ vnd ein grundt/ dem ist zu glauben vnnd nachzufahren/ vnd weiter keim nicht. Dieweil nuhn der Mensch höher ist/ als andere alle geschöpff/ vnd sie sind alle in jhme: vnd die erkandnuß ist im geben erblich auß Adam/ sich zu vrtheilen/ wie hoch er sey/ auff daß er nit falle in die hoffart Lucifers/ der solches nit wußt/ sondern sich gleich Gott schetzte: Das dann ein vrsach ist/ dz der Mensch anderst beschaffen vnd geordnet/ | 54 | das ist/ daß Gott solches hatt fürgesehen/ vnnd jhn gemacht auß den tödtlichen dingen/

^a In P.'s view that the disciplines are for understanding the human being, *Cosmographia* is subsumed within the speculative context of macrocosm and microcosm.

^b Sudhoff (104) introduces a paragraph break here.

^c Sudhoff (104): "gesundtheiten. wir sehent, das glid."

will apply. For the small human being [microcosm] is not within his cognizance in relation to the heavens. Nor does the physician | 53 | know this. Although he does know to whom it applies, nonetheless, since he is not familiar with cosmography with respect to all persons, he can only indicate it, appropriately, by way of interpretation. For what other end is served by philosophy and astronomy, if not the human being? Insofar as the human being is not known, these arts are dead. The same holds true for the knowledge of the physician who does not encompass cosmography which is required of him in particular, in the same way as the other aforementioned things are. For all discernment is requisite in cosmography, without which nothing can come to pass. The heavens are the physician of themselves, like a dog [tending to] its wounds. However, the human being is lacking in this respect. Since he is more than [simply another] mortal creature, he must also know more as well. Indeed, he should know what is in the heavens, in earth, in air, and in water—and why is this? It is so that he will understand what he is and of what he is made. If this were not necessary to know, [it would be because] the human being did not get sick. But because the human being must indeed know who and what he is, for the very same reason he must accord to his [astral] father diseases and health. [He must be] aware that this organ was crafted by *Mars*, this one by *Venus*, this one by *Luna*; this is *chaos*; in this you are in part *tereniabin*;¹ there you have your blood and flesh from water and there from earth. These human diseases and states of health are the reason why the human being must get to know the *limbus*, out of which he arose: and he must recognize the forest and field animals in order to grasp that he is like them and no better. For this reason, the human being should contemplate himself and be knowledgeable about all creatures, in order to know himself. No one is more highly qualified for such knowledge than the physician; for in him reside the truth and the [single] foundation of such knowledge: he merits belief and obedience as does none other. For the human being is superior to all other creatures; and all of them are within him; and by inheritance from Adam he has been granted the knowledge to assess how high he is without falling into the pride of Lucifer, who did not have such knowledge, but instead counted himself equal to God. This, then, is the reason why the human being has been made and ordered differently, | 54 | which is to say that God has ordained these things,

¹ **Tereniabin**, see notes on H 2:29, 41.

vnd jhm das zu erkennen geben. Auß dem dann volget/ daß^a der Mensch soll ein erkendtnuß nemmen durch den Artzt: dann jhn hat Gott beschaffen/ daß er dir sagen soll wer du seyest/ wo mit du gefangen vnd gebunden/ vnd wo mit du zu ledigen seyest: das alles ist ein anrichten/ allein dz der Mensch auß den eussern Creaturen beschaffen ist/ daß er sich selbst betracht durch sein anligen/ auß wem er gemacht sey.^b

Nun ist der Himmel auch kranck/ wie obstehet/ aber er fart fort: der Mensch erbt das/ dann sein Himmel volget dem Vatter hernach: aber es gehet die kranckheit nicht also für/ dann sie hatt ein leib in jhr/ der selb vierdt stehet/ nicht in eim: die vermischung ist des Artzts *subiectum*, des *subiecti* arth soll der Artzt wissen/ daß der Himmel diß tödt/ daß auch der Lufft diß tödt: auß der vrsach soll der Artzt wissen/ warumb die Ober Sphær so gewaltig angreiff/ vnd wo/ vnd am selbigen orth/ daß der Todt allein sey sein verhalten/^c also/ daß der Himmel nit kan durchgehen: das verhalten ist ein erstickung des/ das in der haut ist. Dann da ist zumercken/ daß die innern Gestirn/ von wegen daß sie tödtliche *corpora* haben gedoppelt in jhnen/ daß dieselbige dople natur macht die kranckheit/ die für die haut hinauß muß: der Himmel treibt solches nicht/ dann er ist nit gedoppelt. Wie will der Artzt dises tödten fürkommen? der nicht weißt daß dise *Astra* durch jhren Himmel brechen vnd durchfallen: vnd so sie durchbrochen haben/ allein der todt hinauß getriben wirt/ nicht die gesundtheit. Von den^d liß *Paramirum*, das Buch dz ich sonderlich von vrsprung der kranckheiten geschriben hab.^e

So vil ligt im grunde der Artzney/ wo die Recepten nit geordnet werden wider die eigenschafft der Gestirn/ vnd des/ das an dem orth

^a Sudhoff (105): “aus dem folget, das.”

^b The *Spital-Buch* (1529) defined the physician as the highest embodiment of art and love (S 7:369ff.). Its tendency is outdone by the physician’s quasi-religious mission. Medicine transcends mere doctoring to lay claim to a supreme Christian humanism: “darumb der weis man, der aus got lernet, uberwindet das gestirn in seiner vernunft, es sei gut oder böß, durch götliche weiseheit. ... und die aus got gelernet sind, sind die gelertesten, die aus dem gestirn, die minsten, die aus dem liecht der natur, die mittelsten” (S 10:267); “ein arzet sol der höchst, der best, der ergründest sein in allen teilen der philosophei, phisica und alchimei. ...der höchste erkenner und lerner, darnach ein helfer der kranken” (277-78).

^c Sudhoff (105): “verhalter.”

^d Sudhoff (105): “gesundtheit? von dem.”

^e On P.’s repeated announcements of coming “**paramiran**” writings of key importance, see H 1:67.

and created him from transient things and let him know this [to be the case]. From this it follows that the human being should receive a knowledge from the physician; for God created him in order that he should tell you what you are, by what it is that you are captured and bound, and how you are to be set free. All of this is an arrangement for no other reason than because the human being has been made from external created things, [in order] that he should study himself [and] what he has been made of.

The heavens are also ill, as I have said, but they go on and on. This is passed on to the human being, for the human heavens follow their father; but the disease does not go on, for it has a body to it which stands fourfold and not onefold. This admixture is the physician's *subjectum*, the nature of this *subjectum* is what the physician should know: that this is killed by the heavens, this by the air. This is the reason the physician should know why the upper sphere attacks so powerfully and where it happens; and [how it happens] at that same place in which death can be the only result, to such a degree that the heavens cannot penetrate: the result is a suffocation of what resides inside its skin. Moreover, one should be aware [of] the inner stars, because they contain the mortal *corpora* twofold in themselves: The same doubled nature causes the disease that must exit through the skin. The heavens do not do this, for they are not double. How should the physician halt this mortality if he does not know that the *astra* fragment and penetrate through their heavens; and when this has happened, that only death can be forced to issue, and not health? On these matters, read *Paramirum*, the book I have written in particular on the origin of diseases.

So much is to be found within the foundation of medicine; for if it is the case that prescriptions are not formulated with respect to the properties of the stars, [directed] to this or that which is acting up just

vbel handelt oder die vrsach der kranckheiten ist/ so wirt nichts da geheilet: dann wie der Stern ist/ also ist die kranckheit/ vnd der den Stern kennt/ dem ist die kranckheit auch bekannt: diß bekandnuß lernet nichts/ als allein die eigenschafft fürzunemen der Artzney. Dann erkennestu den feind/ so erkennestu auch den freund/ ist der Himmel ein feind/ so ist der freund in der Vndern Sphær: Ist der feind auß der vn| 55 | dem Sphær/ so ist die ober Sphær freund: Nicht allemal die gewächß/ sonder auch die Himmlischen *arcana*^a helfen.^b Nun ist kein kranckheit die nicht mit gwalt angriffen werde/ allein mit der eigenschafft/ vnd nit mit der complex/ vnd hingegen mit solcher eigenschafft widerumb gehandelt. Dann die Würme die da wachsen/ haben jren vrsprung auß der eigenschafft/ vnd weder auß kelte noch werme: dise eigenschafft ist in allen kranckheiten die vrsach. Wer will nun ein angriff thun/ vnd beschreiben die kranckheiten/ der dise eigenschafft nit erfahren? Noch vil weniger/ wer will sie lernen heilen? der das nit weißt/ darumb beyde *Sphaerae* die Arcanen seinem Artzt befehlen.^c Nun scheiden sich die Arcanen von einander/ sie vnd die Artzney in dem/ daß die Arcanen im wesen handeln/ vnd die Artzney in den widerwertigen Elementen. Nun tretten die Arcanen für die Artzney nit: Daß sind die Artzney/ da kalts mit werme/ da vile mit purgiren hinzunehmen vnderstanden wirt. Also gehen die Wesen der Arcanen/ daß sie der Natur sind/ gericht gegen der eigenschafft des feinds/ als ein Fechter gegen dem anderen. Also will die natur daß jhr fechten/ list gegen list/ etc. gebraucht werd: vnd alles so wir natürlich auff Erden besitzen/ dasselbig will die Natur in der Artzney auch gehalten haben. Vnnd ein Artzt soll jhme das lassen ein beyspiel sein/ Wie sich zween feind gegen einander stellen/ die beyde kalt/ die

^a Are “**die Himmlischen *arcana***” distinct from other “*arcana*”? Book Five of *Archidoxis* (S 3:138ff.) makes a theoretical distinction between “*arcanum dei*,” “*arcanum naturae*,” and “*arcanum hominis*” (139), as well as four subcategories of the *arcana*, “*prima materia*,” “*lapis philosophorum*,” “*mercurius vitae*,” and “*tinctura*” (140), yet it draws no clear practical distinction between the divine and the natural and even the distinctions which are drawn are not applied consistently in other writings. The *arcana* are incorporeal, perpetual, and excellent with a power to transform and restore us: “hat macht uns zu verendern, zu mutiren, zu renoviren, zu restauriren” (138-39). The “Himmlischen *arcana*” may reside either in the heavens or in the earthly realm (cf. note on H 2:15).

^b Sudhoff (106) introduces a paragraph break here.

^c Sudhoff (106) introduces a paragraph break here.

here or causing precisely these illnesses, then nothing at all will get healed. For as the star, so the disease; and whoever knows the stars also knows the diseases. This knowledge teaches us nothing less than which properties are of relevance in medicine. For if you know the enemy, you also know the friend; and if the heavens are an enemy, then the friend is to be found in the lower sphere. If the enemy is to be found in the | 55 | lower sphere, then the upper sphere is the friend. It is not indeed [just] vegetation, but rather the celestial *arcana*¹ that help. There is no disease that is not to be counteracted with all due force employing solely that property, not the complexion, but rather making use of the very same property in its turn. For when worms grow [in the body], they stem from the property, not from cold or warmth: properties of the sort [that I mean] are the cause of all diseases. Who should dare try to counteract [or] characterize the diseases without knowing about such properties? Indeed, who should even think about wanting to heal them? Whoever does not know that does not know that both *sphaerae* lend their arcane powers to the physician. Now it happens that the arcane powers are distinct from [the presumptive] medication in that the arcane powers act within beings (**wesen**), but the medication within the inimical² elements. [In that context] the arcane powers do not stand for medication; rather [here] medication is understood to mean the reducing of cold by means of warmth or of surfeit by means of purgation. In the [correct] sense, the essences (**wesen**) of the arcane powers, since they are integral to nature, proceed against the property of the enemy, the way one swordsman fights against another. Nature intends that this fight, cunning against cunning, and whatever accrues to it should be made use of; and indeed all we possess upon the earth is intended by nature to serve in medicine. A physician should take as exemplary the way two enemies square off and go at each other; for, though both may be

¹ Ruland: the *arcanum* is an occult and eternal incorporeal entity embodying the exalted virtue of an object or herb. It can be extracted in certain forms: 1. "*Arcanum res est secreta, incorporabilis, atque immortalis, quae ab homine cognosci non potest, nisi per experientiam....* das ist eins ieden Dings Tugend/ mit tausentfältiger Besserung"; 2. "*Arcanum materiale est extractum specificum materiae corporis viciniis....*"; 3. "*Arcanum specificum est extractum naturae interioris.... est duplex: Vnum formalius est, & appellatur astrale; alterum materialius.*" See Grimm on the range of meanings of its near synonym: "Tugend." See also H 2:15.

² See Grimm, **widerwärtig** (2). Though the term suggests an almost personalized enmity, the context invokes the theory of contrasting or mutually neutralizing elements or humors.

beyde heiß sind/ die beyd im harnisch sind/ die beyd mit gleichem Gewehr in kampf tretien. Wie nuhn da der sieg ist/ also sollen jhrs auch wissen im Menschen/ daß die zwen kempffer natürlich hülf begeren auß einer Mutter/ dz ist/ auß einer krafft: Mit solcher krafft handlen auch die *arcana*. Darumb mit nichten der Artzt sich solcher gschickligkeit soll gebrauchen in den Artzneyen/ weder harnisch noch spieß der Artzney in die hand geben/ sie hats selbst: allein schick dz wesen/ vnd laß sich selbst verthedingen. Solchs zeig ich darumb an/ daß den *gradibus* nit glauben geben werde/ dieweil sie so hefftig wider den Himmel stehend. Dann alle betrachtung steht in eim solchen exempel. Einer der verwundt wirt/ vnd blütt seer/ vnd da will kein verstellen helffen: vnder zwentzig oder dreissigen aber etwann ein vngereimpts/ etwan von jm selbst. Was ist in solchen^a einen Artzt zu wissen? allein der Sphær lauff: der Stern muß sein gang haben/ | 56 | da hilfft nichts für. Vielerley sind solcher Läuuff vnnd gäng/ vilerley auffhören des blutstellens: Nuhn als oft ein Lauff/ als oft ein Blutstellen. Nun ist die kunst in dem/ daß viel blutstellungen sind/ nemlich so vil der Leuff sind: blutstellung auff sein lauff/ das ist das *arcanum*, daß der Stern vnd sein Artzney betracht werden/ warmes zu warmen/ gegen kaltem kaltes: anderst ist hie nichts zu betrachten/ als allein/ wesen gegen wesen/ eim jeglichen sein Weib zu: einer jeglichen jren Mann zu: In dem ligt die Artzney am höchsten/ zu ergründen von bösen vnd guten zeichen/ von verletzung der glidern. In solchen ist etwas angfangen/ aber nit erfarnen Artzt habens in die ordnung gesetzt: dann der Artzney ist vergessen worden/ das halb theil ist allemal fürgelegt/ das gantz dahinden bliben.

Dieweil nun so vil am Himmel ligt/ vnd seine wirckung zu wissen in der Artzney/ die jhr^b so gewaltig regiert: darumb von nöthen ist den grund/ so ich fürhalt/ endtlich zuhalten/ nichts ausserhalb demselbigen fürzunemen. Darauff sich auch gebürt/ was wider disen grund fürgenommen oder geschriben wirdt/ in das feür zuwerffen/ dann nichts als verfürung bey jhnen. Wer will mir verargen daß ich *Plinium* verwerff

^a Sudhoff (107): "solchem."

^b Sudhoff (107): "er."

cold or both hot, nonetheless both are armed and both go at one another with the same weapons.¹ Just as in that instance there is a victor, so, too in the human instance the two combatants will seek natural assistance from a mother, which is to say from a [particular] force. It is with a force of this kind that the *arcana* exert their influence. This is why the physician does not at all need to exert his agility with medications, does not need to hand medicine a shield or pike; for it already has its own: simply send forth the essence (**wesen**) and it will put up its own defense. I emphasize this so that you will not place credence in the doctrine of degrees, since these run so strongly counter to the [doctrine of the] heavens. For the entire lesson to be considered is embodied in an analogy of that sort. Consider one who is wounded and bleeding severely; no stanching of it does any good: [not] among twenty or thirty cases, but for no reason it may [happen] of itself. What is the lesson for the physician in this? [Know] the course of the spheres: the star must follow its course, | 56 | nothing else does any good. There are many such paths and courses; just as there are many stoppages of bleeding. As varied as the astral paths, just as varied are the ways in which bleeding stops. The art lies in [knowledge of that the fact that] there are many forms of stoppage, just as there are many astral paths. [Recognizing] the stoppage with respect to the path is a matter of the *arcanum*, [of] contemplating the stars together with medicine: warm to warm, cold against cold. There is no way of looking at it that avoids recognizing that essence goes against essence: for each man his woman, for each woman her man. The highest degree of the medicine of evil and good signs, pertaining to harm of the organs, is to be found in this [principle]. A beginning was made in this, but the inexperienced physicians took it from there and applied it. For true medicine has been forgotten: only a part of it was retained, as a whole it was abandoned.

Since so much depends upon the heavens, so that its action must be known to a medicine which is so forcefully dominated by them, the foundation that I propose here must be observed so that nothing is done outside its bounds. This is why it is indeed appropriate that whatever is done or written counter to the foundation should be cast into the flames; for there is nothing but incitement to error in [such teachings]. Who should hold it against me that I reject *Plinius* in his

¹ Since P. intends this as a rebuttal of the humoral theory of disease as imbalance or opposition, the sameness of the opponents here contradicts their opposition.

in seinen schriffthen/ von den kräfte[n] natürlicher dingen? Der da nichts schreibt/ das da mit warheit oder nutz befunden wirdt. Es ist nit weniger/ etwas ist also: Aber wer ist der/ der da wisse in wem/ oder wann dasselbig warhafftig gefunden wirdt? Der Himmel wirkt zu seiner zeit/ vnd er ist der/ der da eröffnet die kräfte der dingen: vnd kräfte vnd tugent sind vnderworffen dem Himmel. Warumb darff dann einer schreiben die tugent/ der nit hinzu setzt der Tugent stund? Was ist das anders/ dann ein auffgelesene vnuerstandene läre red geschehen/ zu schreiben da nichts innen ist: solchem schreiben hangen die klapperleut an/ dann die Kreütler wissen nichts zu loben/ als allein was süß in der zungen ligt/ da alle betrug innen wachsen. Oder wer will mir verargen/ daß ich die andern solche Scribenten/ *Macrum*^a vnd seins gleichen nicht hoch acht/ oder nicht zu lesen verbeut? Ist das ein kleine vrsach daß einer schreibt dreyfach: daß einer vergißt der dingen eigenschafft/ wo sie sich hin specificieren. Vergißt zum andern mal den Proceß/ der den dingen | 57 | gleich so wol geben ist als die tugent: vnd der den Proceß nit weißt/ wie kan er wissen die tugent/ dann der Proceß beweißt die tugent/ vnd tugent gehet durch den Proceß. Darzu auch zum dritten/ daß der Authoren verstandt weder in kranckheiten noch in den dingen nie verstanden ist worden: soll solchs nit zuverboten sein? einem der da nicht gedencket der Mutter der Natur/ deß Liechts der Natur/ oder dergleichen des vrsprungs natürlichs herkommens. Was ist es alles bey jnen anders/ dann daß sie auffgelesene ding beschriben haben? des grund anderst (den sie nit verstanden gehabt haben) gewesen ist: als sich dann pflegen die Poeten zuschreiben/ diß vnd anders dergleichen/ deren Feder nichts dann Gifft in der Artzney ist. Also soll der grund der Artzney lauffen/ daß der Kißling^b in ein Saphir gebracht werde/ in ein Smaragd/ die *Venus* in *Solem*: das nit allein durch die kunst beschehe/ sonder durch den Himmel: Nit allein die form/ sonder auch die tugent. Also soll geschriben werden vnd geleret/ daß alle Corallische tugent im

^a P. sees **Macer**, Dioscorides, and **Pliny** as an oppressive tradition that impedes the new understanding of nature and medicine (S 2:87; cf. “In errores Macri”—S 3:383ff.). P. hints at respect of an original “Macer” who was better than what the poets made of him (“Macer...durch die versmacher zerbrochen”—S 2:207).

^b The doctrinal rationale for this optimism of qualitative transformation is in *De Mineralibus*, where most substances mentioned here (“**schmaragd**, **saphir**, **kisling**...**balsam**...**perlin**...**corallen**”) are attributed to the *tria prima* (schwefel, salz und mercuri[s]) which supplant the four elements (S 3:32).

writings on the powers of natural things? For he wrote nothing that can be found to have served truth or utility. Nothing less than this is the case. What is true is true. But who is the one who has knowledge about for whom and when that same thing may be assessed as true. The heavens effect [things] in their own time; they are the one that reveals the powers of things; and [indeed] the powers and virtues are subject to the heavens. How should anyone write of the virtues [of things] without adding the timing of those virtues? When that happens, what does it amount to but an eclectic, misunderstood, empty utterance, written with nothing in it. The chattering folk adhere to that sort of writing, for the herbalists do not know how to commend anything except what is sweet to the tongue, from which the whole swindle arises. Who should hold it against me that I do not respect the other scribblers of this kind, Macer¹ or his ilk, or that I advise against reading them? Is it such a small matter that someone writes committing three different omissions: that someone forgets the properties of things when they should be specified, then forgets the processes that accrue | 57 | to things as much as their virtues (for if one does not know the process, how can one know the virtues, since it proves the virtues, and these go [forth] through the process); and, third, that such authors understand nothing of the diseases, nor have they ever had any understanding of such things: shouldn't writings of that sort be forbidden? By someone who does not take into consideration the mother of nature, [or] the light of nature; or similarly the source of natural origination? What else can you say about such writings than that they are eclectically written? Writings that have their (completely misunderstood) source in the following: they are the sort of thing that the poets like to gather up, this and that, they whose pens have never brought anything but poison into medicine. It is in the following way medicine should proceed: [limestone] gravel should be turned into sapphire [or into] emerald [and] *Venus* into *Sol*. This does not happen solely by art but also by means of the heavens. [It does not happen] merely in form, but in virtue as well. It should be written and taught that all the virtues of coral are to be found in marble; and of

¹ On the identity of **Macer**, see LMA, "Odo von Meung": an eleventh-century author who attributed his work to "Macer" but drew on classical and medieval sources; cf. Zedler, "Macer" was thought to have been a Roman poet who described the effects of herbs in heroic verse that were published in 1477, around 1500, and again in 1546 as *Macer de re medica*, actually the work of a more recent poet who drew upon Pliny.

Marmel gefunden werden/ vnd der Marmel in Corallen.^a Das ist ein leicht schreiben/ der die farben schreibt: der schreibt leicht/ der auffzeichnet seines Nachbaurn rede/ das sind nit Scribenten: Es soll auß dem grund gehen der Mutter/ des Kinds arth zu beschreiben. So wirt ein jegliches ding/ daß da^b ander ist/ vnd keins besser/ keins ärger. Also habens solche Scribenten dahin bracht/ daß man muß *Rhabarbarum* jenseit dem Meer suchen/ vnnnd Hermodactylen:^c Auß der Beaney entspringt der Apotecker grundt/ die verlassen den grund vnd erkandtnuß der Artzney: Ist gleich dem Exempel/ als einer/ der ein Redner bestelt/ der für jhn redt/ vnd diser hat selbs Mauls^d gnug: daumb gebriest jhm nichts/ als daß sein Maul zu wenig kan/ nit dahin geführt. Vnd wie auß eim Bauwrn ein Doctor kan werden/ also auß *Entiana*^e ein *Rhebarbara*. Lasset euch das eingedenck sein/ wie eins jeglichen maul mag gezogen werden/ also eim zwang die Natur auch vnderworffen ist/ dann die Artzney wachßt in Gärten/ wachßt beim Krancken. Da aber die Experimentler auffstunden vnnnd die Humoralisten/ da must man Griechische Artzney brauchen den Teutschen: ist gleich als mit dem Tuch/ je weiter je besser/ das heimsch dz sein werme auch gibt/ | 58 | wirt veracht: was ist eins mehr dann das ander? allein der lust vnd die geile vnd grosse thorheit/ das ligt alles in der verführung der augen/ die vbersichtig werden/ sehen tausent meil ein kraut/ vnd das vor den füßen nicht/ vnd der Himmel ist gleich so wol vor den füßen als vber tausent meil. Kan der *Ascendens* den krancken finden zu würgen/ so kan auch der *Ascendens* den krancken finden zu behalten: es ist ein jeglichs doppelt/ Wo kranckheit/ da Artzney/ wo Artzney/ da kranckheit. Dann in den *arcanis* wirdt der Dufftstein

^a “De **Corallis**” in P.’s “*Herbarius*” specifies the virtues of corals in accordance with their colors. Their virtues are applicable to psychic or spirit phenomena and monsters (S 2:40ff.); cf. H 2:74, on melancholy.

^b Sudhoff (109): “ding, das das.”

^c *De Gradibus* lists “**hermodactylus**” and “**rhabarbarum**” among the herbs of 2nd and 3rd degree respectively (S 4:29); the latter was prescribed by P. as a “laxative” (S 11:290).

^d Sudhoff (109): “maul.”

^e The bitterness of “**enzian**” is subsequently given the status of a “signatur,” an external sign signifying inner or occult properties (S 11:101; cf. note on H 2:35).

marble in coral.¹ It is easy to write [just] about the colors [of things]. It is easy to jot down what your neighbor has said. Those are not really writers [who write such things]. Instead, it should proceed from the ground of the mother to describe the character of the child [of nature]. In this way is [written the character of] each thing, none worse and none better. But in this [aforementioned] way, the writers have brought it about that people think they must seek *Rhabarbarum*² beyond the seas, and likewise with *hermodactylus*.³ From this sophomoric silliness [of seeking abroad for that which is available in common herbs at home], arises the rationale of the apothecaries who have abandoned the foundation and knowledge of medicine. You might compare this to one who hires a speaker to speak for him though his own voice would be sufficient. All that is wrong with him is that his mouth is not up to it and not applied to the task. Just as a peasant can be turned into a doctor, you can turn gentian⁴ into *Rhebarbara*. Let that be an example to you, how the mouth of anyone can be educated, so that nature is subject to a single compulsion. For medication grows in gardens, it grows near to the patient. But when the experimenters and humoralists had their way, the Germans had to use Greek medication, like a woven cloth that is better for being from further away: though the homespun can also provide warmth, | 58 | it is despised. Why is the one any better than the other? It is simply because the covetousness and greed and foolishness of our foolishly deceived eyes which are farsighted in spotting an herb a thousand miles away instead of the one at our very feet, even though the heavens are as much at our feet as they are a thousand miles away. If the *ascendens* can find and kill the patient, the same *ascendens* can find him to preserve him. Everything [of this kind] has a double aspect: Where there is disease, there too, there is medication; and where medication, there also disease. For by virtue of the *arcana*,

¹ See “**Koralle**” in LMA on the medieval or pre-modern understanding of coral as a stone possessing medicinal and preventive virtues.

² P.’s spelling of **Rhabarber**, rhubarb, varies, here evoking both “Barbare” (“barbarian”) and “Barbara Kraut” or “Barbara,” an associated herb whose traditional medicinal properties are mentioned by Marzell. See note on H 1:300.

³ **Hermodactyl**, *hermodactylus tuberosus* whose medicinal uses were known to Dioscorides according to Marzell. Nikolov translates it as “snake’s iris head.”

⁴ **Gentiana germanica** or *Gentiana lutea*, Enzian, “Bitterwurtz” was thought to have medicinal properties known to Dioscorides (cf. Marzell), a source of bitter tonics (NCE); see H 2:35; under “Enzian” (H 2:77).

Hyacint/ der Leberstein ein *Alabaster*, Kißling ein Granat/ der Leim ein edler *Bolus*, der Sandt Perlin/ die Nesseln *Manna*, *Vngula* ein Balsam.^a Hierinnen ligt beschreibung der dingen/ in diesen dingen soll der Artzt gegründet sein.

Ein jeglich ding das durch die zeit gehet/ das ist dem Himmel vnderworffen/ das vrsachet die feule der dingen: dann so bald der außlauff da ist/ vnd desselbigen end/ so bald ist auch da die zergehung desselbigen. Nach einer jeglichen zergehung soll angeführt werden ein newer Ascendent/ vnd ein newer eingang. Dann auß dem volgt daß offtmals x. oder xx. infalt einem glid vor dem der gantz Himmel vndergehet. So nun also neue vnd andere Constellation angehen/ vnd nützlich dem leben/ schädlich der gesundtheit/ so zwischen dem end vnnnd der gesundtheit ein gang dergleichen eingefallen wer: dann ein augenblick bricht/ das nimmer mag wider eingefürt werden. Nun volget aber auß dem das glück der vnbeschnitnen Artzt/ daß ein Artzney da hilfft dem/ dem/ dem nit/ vnd ist doch einig/ ein zeit fürsich gehet/ die ander hindersich.^b Nun gehöret zu solchen dingen

^a The equation or transmutation pertains to P.'s program for extracting essences from metals, precious stones, herbs, and other entities. The Basel-era *De Gradibus et Compositionibus* juxtaposed minerals or gems with herbs in terms of degree and provenance. *Philosophia de Generationibus et Fructibus Quatuor Elementorum* operates with gems and metals in terms of the *tria prima* (S 13:45ff.). In this particular passage, the lesser thing becomes a superior thing by virtue of arcane powers. In the case of porous **Dufftstein** (Grimm: Duckstein: *tophus*) to alabaster this could no doubt be undertaken with mortar and pestle. Sand to pearls embodies an arcane operation of nature; **Nettles** to **manna** is a bit of traditional wisdom resembling a Christian parable shared by Brunfels (cf. vis-à-vis).

^b Sudhoff (110): "für sich ... hinder sich."

tofa¹ turns into hyacinth;² liver stone³ becomes alabaster;⁴ limestone gravel becomes granite (**Granat**);⁵ glue becomes a noble *bolus*;⁶ sand becomes pearls, nettles⁷ become *manna*,⁸ *ungula*⁹ a balsam. Here you have an account of how [the essential] things are: in them you should discover your [medical] foundation.

Whatever proceeds through time is subject to [the power of] the heavens. This is what causes things to decay. For no sooner does the [ordained] expiration come about, and [with it] the end, than disintegration sets in. After every disintegration a new ascendant is applied, and [with it] a new beginning. From this it follows that this [cycle] is often incurred by an organ [or part of nature] as many as ten or twenty times before the entire heavens pass away. When a new and different constellation sets in, serving the purposes of life, [or] counteracting health, a cycle of the kind between demise and health is incurred: for in a moment that can be undermined which is never again to be restored. This is the source of the good fortune of the reckless physicians. This patient is helped by a particular medication. So is that patient. That patient isn't. And yet it is the same medication.

¹ On **Duf(f)stein**, see H 2:11, note.

² See NCE, Zedler: **Hyacinth**, the flower of the Greek youth loved by Apollo and accidentally killed by a discus thrown by that god. Its petals are thought to spell the cry of pain "AI" or to have sprung from blood shed by Ajax (cf. Pliny 21:66, "The Magi think that to wear a chaplet of this plant, if unguents too be taken from a box of the gold called apyron, leads also to popularity and glory of life").

³ See Grimm, **Leberstein**: either a gray, slate-like soft stone, or stones found in the liver.

⁴ **Alabastrum**, used in medicine for a variety of purposes including treatment of ulcerations (Zedler).

⁵ **Granat** can mean pomegranate; but the parallelism of transformations suggests granite (cf. H 1:178).

⁶ **Bolus armenus** (Greek for "earth-clump"), a mix of aluminum silicates colored brown-red by iron oxide used for medical-pharmaceutical purposes such as salves and stanching of blood (LMA; cf. H 1:147).

⁷ Recognizing the same moral, Brunfels refers to the providential properties of the lowly herbs: "Wie Gott der Herr seine wunderwerck würcket ... in den nichtigen vnd verachtlichen dingen dißer welt/ damit er die größe/ vnd so eines hohen ansehens/ zů schanden mache/ also thut er auch in den vngeachten kreüteren. Was ist nichtigers/ vnd verachtlicher/ oder auch verhaszter dann ein Nesszel? Was ist holtseliger dann ein **Hiacynthus**/ ein Narcissvs/ ein Gilg? Noch dann übertrifft die **Nesszel** diße allsament" (cxxxiii). Med³ had cited authorities from Avicenna to Albertus on "Vrtica. Nesseln" but only in a factual tone (clxxl verso).

⁸ **Manna**, see H 2:29.

⁹ **Ungula**, see H 2:20.

ein wissen der Reuolution/ Ein wissen der Alteration/ ein abwächßlen des Ascendenten/ enderung der Exaltation/ neue art der Coniunction/ in solcher anderen arth/ wer will die Artzney richten vnd sie füren? Nun jhr Artzt/ wo wöllent jhr den grund ewers glücks sehen oder suchen/ oder wen wöllet jhr tadlen/ so jr in vnfal fallen? oder loben/ so es euch wol gehet? Was ist das glück oder dz vnglück? sagt wie sicht der Mon/ wie hat er augen vnd nasen? So jhr im lauff des Himmels vnderricht werdet/ so sprecht jhr: Da ist/ da ist nicht: Nit ich will versuchen/ Gott geb vns glück. Kein glück ist/ dz nit sein grund hab | 59 | oder ein vorwissen dem Erfarnen: Was ist das glück anderst dann ordnung halten mit wissenheit der natur? Was ist das vnglück/ dann wider die ordnung ein eingang der Natur? die natur/ gehet sie recht/ so ist das ein glück/ gehet sie vnrecht/ so ist es ein vnglück. Denen allein also gesagt/ die da nit anderst meinen/ dann das glück sey ein Mann/ der thue ein jeglichen wz jhn lust/ dieweil das nit ist. Dann wir haben vnser verordnet wesen in der Natur: der im liecht wandelt/ hat kein vnglück/ der finster wandelt/ hatt auch kein vnglück/ sie haben beyde recht: Der da nicht falt/ hat die ordnung/ der da falt hat sie brochen. Darumb glück oder vnglück nit dermassen sind wie der Schnee oder der Windt/ sonder auß dem grund der Natur zurichten vnd zuerkennen: darumb ist vnglück ein vnwissenheit/ glück ein wissenheit. Der im regen wandelt/ ob er schon naß wirt/ ist nit vnglück: der in der Sonnen wandelt/ ist nicht vnglück. Dann in beyden glück vnd vnglück/ sind allein von zweiffelern vnd von den hoffern erdacht/ bey denen zu beiden seiten nichts dann das maul auffgespreit ist/ ob etwz darein fliegen wolt. Ihr sollent euch dermassen in wissenheit richten jhr Artzet alle/ daß jr kennet vrsprung glücks vnd vnglücks: dieweil jhr das nit können/ so stehet der Artzney ab. Dann tödten den krancken ist nit ein vnglück: gesund machen den krancken ist auch kein glück: es ist das end/ nach dem vnd ein jeglicher kan/ nach dem ein jeglicher sucht: Dann das end bewert/ wer im glück oder vnglück wandelt/ im wissen oder im vnwissen. Wer weist die zal der kranckheiten/ denn der da weist die zal natürlicher gewächß vnd natürlicher Arcanen? Nichts ist eins mehr dann des andern/ nichts ist weniger das zu viel vberbleib als der tod allein/ der in keiner zahl

One timing advances it, another retards it. For such matters a knowledge of revolution is needed, a knowledge of alteration, [a knowledge of the] changing of the ascendant, [of] exaltation, [of the] new mode of conjunction. If it is in another mode, who then could hope to direct and guide medication? But as for you, physicians, where would you hope to find the basis of your good luck? Whom would you want to blame when misfortune befalls you? Or praise when all goes well? What is the cause of good or ill fortune? Tell me: how does the moon see, what sort of eyes and nose does it have? If you were instructed in the course of the heavens, then you would [know how to] say: "It is there." "There it is not." Instead of: "I don't want to risk it." "God grant us good luck." There is no such thing as a luck that doesn't have a reason, | 59 | or [for which] there is no prescience for the experienced. What else is good luck than staying in line with the knowledge of nature? What else is bad luck than going against the order of nature? Nature, if it goes well, is the good luck. If it goes badly, it is the bad luck. This is said for the benefit of those who have no better idea about it than that luck is a man who will do for everyone what you want. It is not so. For we have our ordained being in nature: Whoever walks in the light can't be said to be unlucky. Whoever walks [in] the darkness can't be said to be unlucky either. Both are right in that sense. [However], he who does not fall has kept order; he that does has broken it. This is why good or bad luck are not things like snow or wind. Rather, they must be directed and understood with regard to the ground of nature. For this reason, bad luck is ignorance; good luck knowledge. He who walks in the rain, even if he gets wet, is not unlucky; nor is he who walks in sunshine unlucky. For in either case, good luck or bad are the inventions of the doubters and the desperate, both of whom have their mouth wide open [only] to see if something flies into it. You physicians should orient yourself in knowledge in such a way that you recognize the source of good or bad luck. If you can't, then get out of the medical profession. For killing a patient is not a matter of bad luck. Restoring health is not a matter of good luck. It is rather the [defining] purpose that decides to what you aspire and what your abilities are. The purpose decides who is lucky or unlucky, [and] who has knowledge or ignorance. Who else knows the number of diseases than he who knows the number of [kinds of] natural herbs and natural arcane forces? The one is not a bit more than the other, none is less so that the difference would amount to a death that is outside of number.

stehet. Dieweil nun ein gleiche zahl ist zu beyden seiten/ Wer ist der anfang in der zahl die zunehmen als der *Philosophus* für ein theil? vnd so viel vnd dieselbigen/ der ander theil der *Astronomus* ist/ vnd jedweder sind als vil als der ander/ vnd die halten die zal der kranckheiten. Dem Artzt ist nit möglich dieselbigen zu erfahren: denn der Artzt ist nur ein Land/ ist nur ein Jar/ dz erst jar/ dz ander jar/ wz weißt er dann? auß jm selber weißt er nichts warmit die nammen erfunden werden/ da ligt auch der grund der matery/ wesen/ erkantnuß vnd eigenschafft. | 60 |

Soll nun das vnbillich sein/ euch Beanen zu eröffnen ewer thorheit vnd Irrsal/ vnd verführung der krancken? jhr müssent in ein andern grund dann jhr habt/ oder jhr müssen ärger dann Todtschleger vnd jhrs gleichen in ein spectaculum gehen.

Meinet jhr/ es sey mir zu verwerffen/ oder mir sey das Land zu verbieten/ so ich solches red vnd fürhalt? das nichts anderst ist dann ewer Mörderey im grund zu eröffnen. Euwer platz wirt nicht lenger bleiben/ dann biß auff das vrtheil der krancken/ als dann werdet jhr geoffenbaret werden. Ihr werdet ewer Beaney nie beschirmen mit ewern Gevattern vnd Schwägern/ mit ewern liebkoßlen vnd dellerschlecken bey den Fürsten: sondern jr werdent in ander weg daran müssen/ vnd sie mit euch. Vnd allein ewer grund sey/ daß der kranckheiten nammen werden sein *Leonis, Sagittarij, Martis, Saturni, etc.* sonst sollent vnd werdent jhr nichts außrichten/ dann im vnglück stehn. Welchen werdet jhr den krancken für den warhafftigen grund fürhalten? so sie die lügen wißten vnd erckenten/ euch würden mehr^a stein auff den rugken gelegt dann vnder die füß. Nicht saget/ das ist *Melancholia*, das ist *Cholera*, dann es ist nit also: Nemmet die warhafftige erkantnuß in dem eussern/ so werdet jr nit mit lügen gezigen. Ihr werdet mir mit euwerem dröwen/ schenden nichts abgewinnen noch erschrecken/ dann ich weiß vnd kenn den harnisch damit ich mich wehren soll/ so es an die bundtriemen gehen wirt.

Hierauß nuhn ermessent jhr *Auditores*, jhr Leser/ mit was grund sie vnd ich gegen einander standen: ob ich mein grundt auß doller weiß hab/ oder auß der Schwartzen kunst/ oder auß dem Teuffel/ wie sie sagen. Vnd besehent jhren grund den sie haben/ auß wem derselbig auch kompt. Der mein ist in der warheit/ Nun mögent jhr deß grunds vatter wol erkennen: der jre ist ein lügnerey/ darumb jhrs aber wol

^a Sudhoff (112): “würden vil mer.”

Since indeed either number is the same, who then initiates the increasing number but the *philosophus* for his part? And who for the other part but the *astronomus*? And both are equal in number and between themselves comprehend the number of all diseases. The physician [left to his own devices] is not able to learn this, for a physician is [restricted] to a single land, or to this year[’s experience]. This is one year, this is another. So what does he know after that? From his own devices, he does not know how they will be designated. [For that] there is the foundation of matter, of beings, of knowledge, and of [all] properties. | 60 |

Is it improper then, sophomoric fools, that I publicize your foolishness and error, your leading astray of the patients? Either you have to change to a different foundation, or you must go on making a spectacle of yourselves as worse than a mob of murderers.

Do you think that I am the one who should be cast out or banished from the country, because I demonstrate such things which amount to nothing less than exposing your murderousness? Your status will no longer wait, only until the judgment of the patients has been given: then you will be exposed for all to see. You will not be able to cover up your immaturity with your godfathers and brothers-in-law, with your kissing up and sponging off the princes. It will be your turn for something else, and they will have different things in store for you. Let it instead be your foundation that you understand the diseases as being of *Leo*, *Sagittarius*, *Mars*, *Saturnus*, etc. Otherwise you will accomplish nothing but abide in misfortune. Which basis will you then present to the patients as the true one? If they were to know and recognize your lies, then more stones would be placed on your back than you have under your feet. Do not say: this is *melancholia*, this is *cholera*—for it is not so. Discover true knowledge in that which is external, and you will be accused of no lies. With all your threatening [and] swindling you will not profit nor frighten anyone. For I truly know the armor of my defense when it is time to enter the lists.

From this, reckon, you *auditores*, you readers, on what basis they and I stand opposed to one another, whether I proceed in some mad fashion or make use of black art or come from the devil, as they say that I do. And consider the ground on which they stand and from whom it is inherited. Mine is of truth, so its father should be known to you. Theirs is falsehood. For this reason, everyone should be aware of

mögent erkennen/ eins jeglichen anfang vnd ende.^a Damit ich also den andern grund beschlossen will haben hie an dem ort: Aber mit weiter erklärung an den enden vnd ortten/ da die Natur vnd der Mensch beschrieben wirt: das dann hie mein fürnemmen nit ist/ sonder allein anzuzeigen/ warauß die Artzneyung/^b vnd wie sie soll erkannt werden vor den betriegern/ die sie mit worten bißher beschirmt haben. | 61 |

^a Sudhoff (113) introduces a paragraph break here.

^b Sudhoff (113): “arznei.”

its source and destination. With that I conclude the second foundation [of medicine] in this context. But more will be said elsewhere and to other purposes, upon characterizing nature and the human being, which is not my purpose here. Rather, I merely want to demonstrate from what medicine arises and how it should be discerned as against the swindlers who until now have been covered up by words. | 61 |

Der dritte Grundt der Medicin/
welcher ist *ALCHIMIA*.

Nuhn weiter zu dem dritten grund darauff die Artzney stehet/ ist die Alchimey: Wo hierinn der Artzt nicht bey dem höchsten vnd grösten gevliessen vnd erfahren ist/ so ist es alles vmbsonst/ was sein kunst ist. Dann die Natur ist so subtil vnd so scharff in jhren dingen/ das sie ohn grosse kunst nicht wil gebraucht werden: Dann sie gibt nichts an tag/ das auff sein statt vollendet sey/ sondern der Mensch muß es vollenden: Diese vollendung heisset *Alchimia*. Dann ein Alchimist ist der Becke in dem/ so er Brodt bacht: Der Rebman in dem/ so er den Wein macht: Der Weber in dem/ das er Tuch macht. Also was auß der Natur wächst dem Menschen zu nutz/ derselbige der es dahin bringt/ dahin es verordnet wirdt von der Natur/ der ist ein Alchimist. Auff solches nuhn so wisset ein solche vnterscheidt mit dieser Kunst^a das zu gleicher weiß als so einer neme ein Schaffshaut/ vnnd legt sie so rohe an für einen Beltz/ oder für einen Rock: Wie grob vnd vngeschickt das ist gegen dem Kürßner vnd Tuchmacher: Also grob und vngeschickt ist es/ so einer auß der Natur etwas hat/ vnd dasselbig nicht bereitt/ vnd mehr grob vnnd vngeschickter: Dann es trifft an gesundheit vnd den leib vnd das leben: Darumb mehr vleiß darinnen

^a The exaltation of art (**kunst**) and other themes and terms of this passage are close to those of the brief *De Mineralibus* (S 3:29-62), a work of eschatological optimism on the perfectibility of the arts in general and metallurgy or alchemy in particular; here, the *tria prima* are at work in art, being innate to the nature of the elements and embodying the divine being who is all in all: “er ists allein, alles in allem, er ist rerum prima materia, er ist rerum ultima materia, er ist der alles ist” (34). The *tria prima* are also “die sêl des elements und sein geist und das recht wesen” (41). Their innate creative presence in art is evident in that no one can engage in art alone. The work of the smelter assumes that of the processor, the vendor, the consumer. The transforming “*archeus naturae*” parallels the transforming genius of the social division of labor and social distribution (“**becker**,” “**weinman**,” “schmelzer, kauer, verkauffer, verbraucher”—46-47; an equation of microcosm and macrocosm comparable to Rabelais’ “praise of debtors and borrowers” in GP III, ch. 3-4).

The Third Foundation of Medicine which is
*ALCHEMY*¹

Now to proceed on to the third foundation on which medicine rests, it is alchemy. If the physician is not practiced and experienced in this [art], which is the highest and greatest that there is, then his entire art² is in vain. For nature is so subtle and sensitive in its [substances] that it does not lend itself to use without great art. For [nature] brings nothing to light that is complete as it stands. Rather, the human being must perfect [its substances]. This completion is called *alchimia*. For the alchemist is the baker in baking the bread, the vintner in making the wine, the weaver in weaving cloth. Thus, whatever arises out of nature for human use is brought to that condition ordained by nature by an alchemist. Accordingly, the following distinction should be acknowledged with respect to the art: If someone [lacking the appropriate knowledge] were to take a sheepskin and crudely finish it as a fur or a coat, how coarse and rough it would be compared to the work of a furrier or maker of cloth. When something is taken directly from nature and not processed, it is not serviceable and all the more crude and inept. The same applies to health, to the body, and to life:

¹ The best brief introduction to the **alchemy** of P. is in the articles by Joachim Telle, "Alchemie" in LMA (the precedents of mineralogical and medical alchemy, its procedures, utensils, and symbols) and "P. als Alchemiker" in PS 157-72 (the developed state of alchemy and distillation in his era). On the importance of food and cooking in the history of alchemy and its saturation with spiritual elements (of major relevance for P.), see R. J. Forbes, "Chemie," RLAC. An insightful extensive treatment is Wilhelm Ganzenmüller's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Technologie und der Alchemie* (Weinheim/Bergstraße: Verlag Chemie, 1956). It is at issue whether P. was closer to the practical or the spiritual pole of alchemy. P.'s distance from the practical or un-theoretical alchemy is evident in comparison to a handbook of the period: *Rechter Gebrauch der Alchimei/ Mitt bißher vorborgenen/ nutzbaren vnn d lustigen Künsten* (Strasbourg, 1531); but aspects of P.'s spiritualizing theory had also been anticipated in Brunschwig's practical *Kleines Destilierbuch* (1500) and Book Three of *Med*² (1505). The former juxtaposed "materialisch" and "geistlich" (*Vorred*), the latter extolled the medicinal powers of the *quinta essentia* as "dz höchst wesen des elements" (clvvi). Though P.'s particular sources are uncertain, the connection of this chapter and the preceding one was anticipated by the yoking of medical alchemy with Ficino's astrological medicine in *Med*².

² P.'s reference to art (**kunst**) recalls the question whether medieval medicine was an art or science as well as the attendant disputes over theory, practice, and experiment (see LMA: *Ars medicinae*), but P. goes on to evoke a Renaissance optimism concerning progress toward perfection displayed in all the craft arts.

zusuchen vnnnd zuhaben ist. Nun haben aber alle Handtwerck der Natur nachgegründt/ vnd erfahren jhr eigenschafft/ das sie wissen in allen jhren dingen der Natur nachzufahren/ vnd das höchst als in jr ist/ darauß zubringen. Allein aber in der Artzney/ da das genötigst were/ ist es nicht beschehen/ die ist die gröbste vnnnd vngeschickteste kunst/ in der gestalt: Wie kan ein gröber Mensch sein/ dann der das Fleisch rohe frist/ vnd die Haut vngearbt^a anlegt/ vnd macht sein Dach vnter den nechsten Felsen/ oder bleibt am Re| 62 |gen? Also wie kan ein gröber Artzt sein/ oder wie kan es gröber zugehen in der Artzney/ dann wie man in der Apotecken kochet? Nun mag es doch fürwar nicht gröber sein/ dann sudeln vnd delcken durcheinander/ bescheisens vnd beschabens mit allen dingen: Vnd wie der in der Haut bekleidet ist/ also ist auch dieser Apotecker versorget. Dieweil nun aber hie in bereitung der Artzney/ der grundt/ darauff die Artzney stehen soll/ gefürdt wirdt: So wisset hierinn/ das dieser grundt auß der Natur gehen muß/ vnnnd nicht auß den Spintisierischen köpffen/ als wan ein Koch ein Pfeffer kocht: Dann da ligt das trefflichst vnd dz letzt treffen in dieser Bereytung. Also/ so^b do verstanden wirdt die Philosophey vnd die Astronomey/ das ist/ der kranckheiten arth vnd der Artzney/ vnd all jr zusammenfügung: so ist darnach der Beschluß das genötigst/ also in der gestalt/ wie du [das] das du^c kanst/ brauchen solst. Dann die Natur zeigt dir selbst an in den dingen/ was du dich hierinnen befleissen solt/ damit das du deine Artzney in ein wirckung bringest. Gleich als der Sommer die Birnen vnd die Trauben: Also soll auch dein Artzney eingefürt werden: Vnnnd so sie also eigefürt wirdt werden/ so wirstu deiner Artzney gutt end haben. So es nun darzu soll kommen/ dz wie der Sommer seine frücht bringt/ also dein Artzney: So wisset/ das der Sommer durch die *Astra* das thut/ vnd nit one dieselbigen. So nun die *Astra* dz thund/ so wiß hie an dem ort auch/ das diese bereitung dahin wirdt gericht werden/ dz sie den *Astris* vnderworffen seind: Dann sie sind die/ die da volbringen dz werck des Artzts. Darumb so sie die sindt/ so muß die Artzney nach jhnen verstanden werden/ gradiert vnd genaturt. Nit zu sagen/ das ist Kalt/

^a Sudhoff (181): “ungegerbt.”

^b Sudhoff (182): “bereitung also, so.”

^c Sudhoff (182): “du, das du.”

therefore [in medicine], one should seek after and obtain [the requisite art] all the more assiduously. Now all the crafts have sought to understand nature and have discovered its properties, so that they understand how to follow nature in all its objects and how to elicit the highest [qualities] that are in it. It is only in medicine, where this would be most needed, that this has not come about. Medicine is the crudest and least adept of the arts. It is as if the following were the case: there could be no cruder person than he who would eat meat raw and wear hides that are not tanned and who finds shelter in the next best cliff or stays out in the rain. | 62 | In the same fashion, how could there be a cruder physician: how could things be done any more primitively in medicine than the way they are boiled and kneaded¹ in [our] apothecaries? For indeed things could not be cruder than [their] cooking and mixing of everything together, [their] slopping and slicing whatever they have. And as it would be the case with the man clothed in hides, so our apothecary is equipped. However, inasmuch as the [true] foundation of medicine is to be advanced preparatory to [the new] medicine, let it be known that that foundation must proceed from nature and not from the fanciful brains [of those who behave] like a cook stewing something up with pepper. For in the [aforesaid] preparation [of the true medicine] lies that which is most excellent, achieving the ultimate. Therein is subsumed philosophy and astronomy, that is to say, the nature of diseases and of medicine [itself] and of its entire composition and context: from that is to be concluded what is necessary in the sense of <that which> can be done [and] needs to be done. For nature reveals itself to you in its objects, indicating to you what you should pursue most persistently in order to render your medicine highly effective. Just as summer ripens pears and grapes, in that same way should your medicine be brought to maturity. And if it is indeed conducted this way, it will also bear good fruit. If we consider that in medicine it is [also] as if the summer brought forth fruit, let it be known that the summer effects this by means of the *astra* and not without them. Moreover, if the *astra* [can] have such an effect, it must be taken into consideration that the preparation [of medicine] will proceed under the direction of these *astra*. For it is they that perfect the work of the physician. Therefore, since they are the ones, medicine must be understood in accordance with them, [and thus] varied and conditioned. Do not speak in terms of

¹ See Grimm, **delken** (citation to this use).

das ist Heiß/ dz Naß/ das Trucken: Sondern zu sagen/ das ist *Saturnus*/ das ist *Mars*/ das *Venus*^a dz *Polus*: Also ist der Artzt auff dem rechten weg. Vnd das er darnach wisse den Astralischen Mars vnd den gewachsenen Mars einander vnterthenig zu machen/ vnd zu coniungieren^b vnnnd vergleichen: Dann hierinn ligt der Butz/ den noch nie kein Artzt vom Ersten biß auff mich gebissen hatt. Also wirdt das verstanden/ das die Artzney soll in die Gestirn bereit werden/ vnd das sie Gestirn werden. Dann die Obern Gestirn kräncken vnnnd tödten/ machen auch gesundt. | 63 | Nuhn soll do etwas beschehen/ so mags ohne die *Astra* nicht geschehen. Sols nuhn mit den *Astris* geschehen/ also in dem weg/ das die bereitung dahin gebracht werde/ das zu gleicher weiß die artzney durch den Himmel werd gemacht vnd bereit/ als die Prophezeyen vom Himmel/ vnd andere Thaten vom Himmel. Das ist/ jhr sehet/ das die *Astra* anzeigen die Prophezeyen/ anzeigen Schawt/ wetter/ etc. anzeigen Todten/ kranckheiten/ etc. der Fürsten/ etc. Zeigen an Schlachten/ Kranckheiten/ Pestilentz/ Hunger etc. Das alles zeigt der Himmel an/ dann er machts: Was er macht/ das mag er wol anzeigen. Diese ding gehn durch jhn/ durch jhn gehend auch die Künst desselbigen wissen. Also nuhn/ so sie durch den Himmel sindt/ so werden sie auch durch den Himmel geregirt/ nach seinem willen zu thun auff das das beschehe/ das vorgesagt ist vnd angezeigt: Also diese gemelte ding seindt bereit vom Himmel inn seim willen/ vnnnd darumb so füret sie der Himmel. Nuhn auff das so wisset auch in [den] dingen: So die Artzney auß dem Himmel ist/ so muß sie ohn alle Einred dem Himmel vnterworffen bleiben/ vnd demselbigen volge thun/ vnd in seim willen stehn. So nuhn das also ist/ so muß der Artzt seine weiß lassen fahren mit *Gradibus* vnd *Complexionibus*, *Humoribus*, vnd *Qualitatibus*/ sondern muß mit gewalt die Artzney erkennen in die Gestirn: Das ist/ Er muß der Artzey arth erkennen nach dem Gestirn/ das also oben vnnnd vnden *Astra* sindt. Vnd dieweil die Artzney nichts soll ohne den Himmel/ so muß sie durch den Himmel

^a On the correspondence of **planets** to organs introduced and then expanded in this paragraph, see *Volumen medicinae Paramirum. Von den fünf Entien* (S 1:205, 208-9): “das herz gibt seinen geist durch den ganzen leib wie die sonn uber alle gestirn und erden” (209). The organs associated with the same planets as in this paragraph are said to “run their course” through their avenues in the body (“die renes laufen iren gang durch die harnweg (209). Other writings add an alchemical dimension to the planets (cf. S 1:238).

^b A background of this discussion of “**coniungieren**” is found in P.’s critique of an exclusively astrological theory of meteorological events, as opposed to one rooted in his alchemical model (see “Vom Schlag,” *Elf Traktat*, S 1:87ff.).

cold and hot, moist and dry. Instead it should be in terms of *Saturnus*, in terms of *Mars*, or *Venus*, or the *Polus*. With that the physician is on the right track. It is also proper that he should know how to subject the astral Mars and the organic Mars to his will and how to bring them into conjunction and assimilate them. For in this lies the kernel (**Butz**)¹ which no physician from the first down to me has yet bitten into. This means that medicine must be learned with reference to the stars and [it must] become the stars. For the celestial stars cause disease and death, as well as effecting health. | 63 | Whatever is to happen, it cannot happen without the [power of the] *astra*. But what is to happen by the power of the *astra* comes about in that preparation is made for it so that medicine is effected and induced in the same way by means of the heavens as prophesy and other actions are [fulfilled] by the heavens. This means that you witness how the *astra* reveal prophesies; [how they reveal] rains [and other] weather conditions,² etc; [how they reveal] fatalities [and] illnesses, etc. of princes; reveal battles, diseases, pestilences, famines, and so on. All these things are revealed by the heavens because they cause them. What they cause they are indeed able to reveal. These events happen through their agency; [and] through their agency also arise the arts pertaining to the same events. Hence, since they owe their being to the heavens, they are ruled by the heavens, proceeding in accordance with the celestial will in such a way that things happen that are predicted and revealed. Therefore, the aforesaid things are prepared by the heavens in their will, and therefore the heavens guide them. For this reason, you should know this as well with regard to <these> matters: to the extent that medicine proceeds from the heavens, there is no denying that it must obey the heavens, following them, and abiding in adherence to their will. This being the case, the physician must forget about [the medicine of] degrees and complexions, humors and qualities. Instead, the physician must decidedly base his knowledge on the stars. He must define medicine in accordance with the stars, recognizing that the *astra* are both above and below.³ And since medicine can do

¹ See Grimm, **Butze** (3): used by P. for *umbilicus pomorum*, Fruchtknote, here signifying that which either is or could bear fruit.

² See HDA, **Astrologie**, on the “weather stars” which are implicit here.

³ On the sources and context of the Hermetic precept that is apparently alluded to here, see “Hermetic Literature: Antiquity, Middle Ages, Renaissance-Present” in DGWE. The *Tabula Smaragdina* (it begins, “**That which is above is like to that which is below**, and that which is below is like to that which is above, to accomplish

geführt werden. So ist sein fürung nichts/ als allein das du jhr hinweg nemest die Erden: Dann der Himmel regiert sie nicht/ allein [sie] sey dan gescheiden von jhr. So du nun sie gescheiden hast/ so ist die Artzney inn dem willen der Gestirne/ vnnd wirdt vom Gestirn geführt vnd geleitet. Das also zum Hirn gehört/ das wirdt zum Hirn durch *Lunam*^a geführt: Was zum Miltze gehört/ wirdt zum Miltze durch den *Saturnum* geführt: Was zum Herten gehört/ wirdt durch *Solem* zum Herten geleyt: Vnd also durch *Venerem* die Nieren/ durch *Iovem* die Lebern/ durch *Martem* die Gallen. Vnnd also nicht allein mit denen/ sondern auch mit allen andern/ vnaußsprechlich zu melden.^b | 64 | Dann mercken hierinn/ was ist/ das die Artzney die du gibst für die Mutter den Frawen/ so dirs *Venus* nit dahin leitet? Was wer die Artzney zum Hirn/ so dirs *Luna* nit dahinn fürete? Vnd also mit den andern: Sie blieben all im Magen/ vnd giengen durch die Intestinen wider auß/ vnd blieben ohn wirckung. Dann hierauß entspringt die vrsach/ so dir der Himmel vngünstig ist/ vnd wil dein Artzney nit leyttten/ dz du nichts außrichtest: Der Himmel muß dirs leyttten. Darumb so ligt die kunst hie an dem orth/ in dem das du nicht sagen solt/ *Melissa* ist ein Mutterkraut/ *Maiorana*^c ist zum Haupt: Also reden die vnuerstendigen. Solches ligt in der Venus und in *Luna*: So du sie wilt also haben/ wie du fürgibst/ so must ein günstigen Himmel haben/ sonst wirdt kein wirckung geschehen. Da ligt die jrrung/ die in der Artzney vberhandt genommen hatt: Gib nur ein/ hilffts so hilffts.

^a Sudhoff (183): “luna.”

^b Sudhoff (184) introduces a paragraph break here.

^c On the maternal benefits of *melissa*, see vis-à-vis; the applicability of *maiorana* to ailments of the head is evidenced by its use in prescriptions “contra reuma capitis” (4:122), in a “Descriptio ad nares” (S 4:351, 354), in a cure for head wounds (S 5:344), or in a treatment for trembling (S 5:358, 368).

nothing without the heavens, it must be guided by the heavens. This guidance is [recognizable in no other way than] that you should [hypothetically] take away [medicine's association with] the earth.¹ For the heavens [can only be understood to] rule, if <medicine> is [thought of as] separate from [the earth]. Now that you have separated them, medicine lies in the will of the stars and is led and guided by the stars. What pertains to the brain is conducted to the brain by *Luna*. What pertains to the spleen is conducted to it by *Saturnus*. What pertains to the heart is conducted to it by *Sol*. And so also by *Venus* to the kidneys, by *Jovis* to the liver; by *Mars* to the gall. And this is not so only in their case but with all other [organs or members] as well, and with all else besides, which defies recounting. | 64 | For consider in this context of what use would the medication that you give women for [medical needs of] mothers be if it were not under the direction of *Venus*? Of what use the medication for the brain if it were not guided for you by *Luna*? And so on with all the others medications: they would simply remain in the stomach and pass out through the intestines and have no effect. From this you can see that the [decisive] cause [of failure] arises from the heavens being unfavorably disposed toward you and refusing to direct your medication so that you remain ineffective. The heavens must direct it for you. In that case medication is a matter of your not saying something like, *melissa*² is a maternal herb, or *maiorana*³ is good for the head. Only the uncomprehending speak like that. It is [instead] a matter of Venus or *Luna*. If you want to have them in the way you intend, you need favorable heavens. Otherwise, there will be no effect. This is the source of the errors that have come to prevail in medicine: “Just give a [medication]—if it

the miracles of one thing”) circulated during the Middle Ages and was printed for the first time in Latin translation in an alchemical compilation in Nuremberg, 1541, a decade after P.'s stay there.

¹ This difficult passage can be interpreted in light of a. the aforementioned presence above and below of the *astra* (i.e., the transforming inner forces and power of the celestial element fire) and b. the negative valence of earth per se (i.e., as the realm of the Galenic-Aristotelian, non-alchemically understood, inert elements). P. means that we must forget about the latter in order to recognize the prevalence of the former in medicine.

² **Melissa**, balm(-mint), known as “Müterkraut,” “mother’s herb”; English “bee balm.” See H 2:27, 40.

³ See HDA, “**Majoran**”: marjoram was in used in Southern Germany against epilepsy and evil spirits; since P. makes use of marjoram for treating head ailments and injuries (cf. *vis-à-vis*), the critique of *directoria*, which apparently include such herbs as these, concerns their use without knowledge of the stars. (cf. Pliny 21:61).

Solcher Practicken kunst kan ein jedlicher Baurenknecht wol/ darff keins *Auicennae* darzu/ noch *Galenii*. Aber jhr Artzt/ von denen geborn/ sagent/ mann^a muß *Directoria* geben zum Haupt/ zum Hirn/ zur Lebern/ etc. Wie dörrffen jhr^b solche *Directoria* setzen/ dieweil jhr den Himmel nicht versteht? derselbig dirigiert. Vnnd noch Eins^c haben jhr vergessen/ das Euch alle zu Narren macht: Ihr wisset was dirigiert zum Hirn/ zum Haupt/ zur Mutter/ züm Scheissen vnnd zum Seichen: Ihr wisset aber nicht/ was da dirigiert zur kranckheit. So jhr nuhn wisset/ wz zu der kranckheit dirigiert/ so wisset jhr nicht/ wo sie ligt. Vnd euch ist gleich mit den Heuptgliedern/ die jhr allzeit kranck heissent/ wie den Pfaffen mit den Heiligen: Müssen alle im Himmel sein/ ob sie schon inn der Hellen vergraben ligen: Also müssen euch alle kranckheiten in der Lebern/ Lungen/ etc. ligen/ wann es schon im Arß ligt.

Diewiel nuhn der Himmel durch sein *Astra* dirigiert/ vnd nit der Artzt: So muß die Artzney dermassen in Luft gebracht werden/ das sie von *Astris* mögen geregiert werden. Dann welcher Stein wirdt von *Astris* auffgehoben? keiner/ allein dz *Volatile*. Hierinn ligt nuhn/ das viel in der Alchimey *Quintum Esse*^d gesucht haben/ dz dann nichts anderst ist/ dann so die vier *Corpora* genommen werden von den *Arcanis*/ vnnd als | 65 | dann das vberig/ ist das *Arcanum*. Diß *Arcanum* ist weiter ein *Chaos*/ vnd ist den *Astris* möglich zufüren/ wie ein Federn vom Windt. Also sol nuhn die bereitung der artzney sein/ das die vier *Corpora* von *Arcanis* genommen werden: Vnnd darnach soll das wissen da sein/ was *Astrum* in diesem *Arcano* sey/ vnnd darnach/ was *Astrum* dieser kranckheit sey/ was *Astrum* in der Artzney

^a Sudhoff (184): “geboren sagent, man.”

^b Sudhoff (184): “dörrfenir.”

^c Sudhoff (184): “noch Eins” = “noch eins” (elsewhere capitalized “Eins” is rendered with emphasis).

^d According to *De Meteoris*, “er [der mensch] ist **quintum esse**,” as distinct from the element (S 13:135). In the later work on *tartarus* diseases, the term is used in connection with the alchemical transformation of copper and vitriol (S 11:102). On the distinctions of *quinta essentia*, see also *Archidoxis*, Book Four (S 3:118ff.; cf. H 2:18, note).

helps, it helps.” Any farm laborer could practice such an art: you don’t need *Avicenna* or *Galen* for that. But you physicians born from their spirit assert that one must indeed administer such *directoria* for the head, the brain, the liver, etc. How do you intend to apply such *directoria* when you don’t understand the heavens? It is they that do the directing. Moreover, you have forgotten something else which makes fools of you all. You know what is conducive to the brain, the head, the mother, for shitting and crapping. But you do not know what is conducive to the disease. And even if you do know what is conducive to the disease, you do not know wherein it lies. For you, it’s the same thing with the main organs: you are always declaring them to be ill. It’s [a matter of faith], as with the priests and their saints. They all have to be in heaven, even if they’re buried in hell. Similarly, all your diseases have to be in the liver, the lung, and so on, even if it were all in the ass.

Inasmuch as the heavens, not the physician, rule by their *astra*, medication must be introduced to the [realm of] air in such a way that it is ruled by the *astra*. For what stone can be raised up by the *astra*? None can. Only that which is *volatile* can. For this reason many have sought in alchemy the *quintum esse*.¹ It can be said to be that which remains when the four *corpora* [i.e., the four elements] are removed from the *arcana*; and | 65 | that which is left over is the *arcanum*. Such an *arcanum* is furthermore a *chaos*² and can be conducted by the *astra*, like a feather by the wind. Moreover, by the same token, there must be a knowledge of [such matters as] which *astrum* lies in a particular *arcanum*, and also of which *astrum* lies in a particular disease, [and of] which *astrum* in the medication [works] against the

¹ Ruland offers one definition for “*Quintum esse cuiuslibet elementi per se solum, est animal ex eo solo productum, Ein jedes Elements Thier,*” and several for *Quinta essentia*: the force, virtue, color, life, spirit, or quality, abstracted by alchemical art from a thing; the fifth substance in the hierarchy of elements; or the outer cosmic sphere which does not share the elemental qualities of warm, cold, moist, or dry. A celestial “mysterium,” it can be extracted from animals, vegetables, or minerals according to Ruland. (Cf. DAI: the “fifth element” is “the product of reconciling the four warring...elements into one harmonious and perfect unity...the incorruptible, pure and original substance of the world”; cf. note on H 2:18). Greater diversity and particularity are intimated by P.’s preferred term for such essences: *arcanum*. *Arcana* are at home in a less hierarchical cosmology and conform to the medical need for mixing and assigning uses and dosages.

² See H 2:45, for Ruland’s definition of *chaos*. Though the *arcanum* is conceived as a particular, unique entity, as a *chaos* it approaches the monadic condition of that which is *omnes in ominibus*.

sey wieder die kranckheit. Da geht nun her das dirigieren: So du ein artzney eingibest/ so muß dirs der Magen bereiten/ vnd er ist der Alchimist. Nuhn/ ist es dem Magen möglich dahin zubringen/ das die *Astra* annehmen/ so wirdt sie dirigiert: Wo nicht/ so bleibt sie im Magen/ vnnnd gehet durch den Stul auß. Was ist höhers an einem Artzt/ dann das wissen beyder *Astra* Concordierung? Dann da ligt der grundt aller kranckheiten. Da ist nuhn *Alchimia* der Eusser Magen^a der da bereit dem Gestirn das sein. Nicht als die sagen/ *Alchimia* mache Gold/ mache Silber: Hie ist das fürnehmen/ Mach *Arcana*/ vnd richte dieselbigen gegen den kranckheiten: Da muß er hinauß/ also ist^b der grundt. Dann diese ding all nemmen sich auß anweisung der Natur vnnnd auß jhr bewerung. Also wollen^c die Natur vnnnd der Mensch zusammen in gesundtheit vnnnd in kranckheiten verfügt werden/ vnnnd zusammen vergleicht vnnnd gebracht. Hierinn ligt der weg der Heilung vnd gesundtmachung: Solchs alles bringt zum Ende der Alchimey/ one welche die ding nicht beschehen mögen.^d Nuhn ermessent/ dieweil die *Arcana* alle Artzney sindt/ vnnnd die Artzney sindt *Arcana*/ vnnnd die *Arcana* seindt *Volatilia*: Wie kan dann der Suppenwust vnd Sudelkoch Apotecker hierinn sich berühen ein *Dispensatorem*/ vnd ein Koch? ja freilich ein *Dispensator*/ vnnnd ein Koch der Lumpen. Wie groß ist die Narrheit in *Doctoribus*/ die also in diesem Suppenwust die Bahren vmbführen vnd bescheissen/ vnnnd geben jhnen *Electuaria*, *Syrupos*, *Pilulas*, *Vnguenta*, vnnnd ist alles weder grundt noch artzney/ noch verstandt/ noch wissen drinn: Vnnnd ewer keiner mag bey seinem Eydt behalten/ das er mit warheit handele. Vnnnd also thut jhr auch mit Ewerm Seichsehen/ da besehendt jhr den Blawen Himmel vnnnd liegen vnd triegen/ das jhr selbst müssen zeug| 66 |nuß geben/ das den mehrentheil nichts ist dann Rätterey/ vnd gedüncken vnnnd wehnen/ vnd kein kunst/ dann was ohne geferd getroffen wirdt. Also ligen jhr in den Apotecken auch/ vnnnd sudlen vnd spülen/ vnd brauchet so grosse meisterschafft/ das ein jedlicher nicht anderst meinet/ dann bey euch sey das Himmelreich/ so ists die Abgrundt der Hellen. So jhr ewer Stümperey liessen fahren/ vnnnd giengen den *Arcanis* nach/ was sie weren/ vnnnd wer jhr *Director* were/ vnnnd wie die *Astra* die kranckheit/ vnd die gesundtheit werendt/ so

^a **Alchimy** as the “external stomach” touches on an essential concept in P.’s medicine and philosophy; see note on **archeus**.

^b Sudhoff (185): “hinaus, ist also.”

^c Sudhoff (185): “wöllen.”

^d Sudhoff (185/86) introduces a paragraph break here.

disease. This is where the guidance comes into operation. If you administer a medication, the stomach has to prepare [i.e., process] it for you; and the stomach is the alchemist [of the body]. The stomach is capable of bringing about a state of affairs in which the *astra* are accepting: then it [i.e., the medication] will be directed [properly]. Otherwise it remains in the stomach and passes out in the stool. What could be more exalted for a physician than to recognize the concordance of both the *astra* [i.e., the stars and the astral virtues in a medication]. For therein lies the basis of all diseases. In this regard, alchemy is the external stomach which prepares for the stars what they require. It is not that one should be saying, “Alchemy makes gold or it makes silver.” Here is the real purpose: to make *arcana* and to direct them against the diseases. This is the path [the physician] must follow: this is the foundation. For all these things stem from the intention of nature and from its proved certainty. Accordingly, nature and the human being are to be joined together, harmonized and assimilated with respect to health and disease. In this lies the path of healing and convalescence. All of this is brought about by alchemy without which these things would not happen. Furthermore, consider how all *arcana* are medicine and how medicine consists of the *arcana* which are in turn *volatilia*. How could any crackpot of a brewing and stewing apothecary ever claim to be a *dispensator*,¹ a cook? Yes, indeed, a *dispensator* and a cook of dregs! What remarkable foolishness there is in these *doctores* who lead the peasants by the nose and swindle them, giving them *electuaria*, *syropi*, *pilulae*, [and] *unguenta*,² and there is neither rationale nor medicine, neither knowledge nor understanding in any of it. None of you are capable of keeping your oath to act in truth. And the same holds for your diagnosis: you look off into the blue heavens, lying and deceiving, and should all be testifying | 66 | that the greater part of it all is nothing but guesswork and assumption and fancy, with no other art except that of the random lucky guess. This is how you conduct yourselves in your apothecaries, brewing and rinsing with such great cunning that people conclude that you must be in charge of heaven. In reality, it is the abyss of hell. If you were to desist from your quackery and pursue the *arcana*, [investigating] what they are and who is their *director* and how the *astra* cause disease and

¹ Zedler defines *dispensatorium* as an apothecary or registry of its stock; cf. DML, “*dispensatorius*” (3).

² *Electuaria*, *syropi*, *pilulae*, *unguenta*, electuaries, syrups, pills, and unguents were standard forms of medication during and after the Middle Ages (see LMA).

müsten jhr auch hierbey wissen/ das ewer grundt nichts dann Fantasey were. Alles fürnemmen hie ist/ das der grundt der Artzney am letzten inn den *Arcanis* stande/ vnnd die Arcanen den grundt des Artzts beschliessen. Darumb so inn den *Arcanis* der Beschlußgrundt ligt/ so muß hie der grundt *Alchimia* sein/ durch welche die *Arcana* bereitt vnnd gemacht werden. Darumb so wisset allein das/ das die *Arcana* seindt/ die da tugent vnnd krefft seindt: Darumb so seindt sie *Volatilia*/ vnd haben keine^a *Corpora*/ vnnd seindt *Chaos*, vnnd seindt *Clarum*/ vnnd seindt durchsichtig/ vnnd seindt in gewalt des Gestirns. Vnd so du das Gestirn weist/ vnd die kranckheit weist/ so hastu deinen verstandt/ was dein *Ductor*/ vnd was die *Potentia* sey: Das bewerer die *Arcana*/ also/ das^b nichts ist in *Humoribus*, *Qualitatibus*, *Complexionibus*, vnd dz ist *Melancholia*/ vnd das ist *Phlegma*, etc. Sondern/ dz ist *Mars*, dz ist *Saturnus*, vnd also ist dz *Arcanum Martis* vnd *Arcanum Saturni*: Hie ligt *Physica*. Welcher wolt vnter euch *Auditoribus* diesem grundt feindt sein? Allein Ewere *Preceptores*: Ihnen ist wie den alten bewmigen Studenten.

So nun ein Artzt die ding soll wissen/ so stehet jhm zu/ das er ein wissen hab/ was Calcinieren sey/ was Sublimieren sey: Nicht allein mit der Handt/ sondern mit der Verenderung auch darinnen/ daran mehr ligt/ dann an dem andern. Dann durch die ding/ wie sie in der bereyftung begriffen werden/ die geben die zeitigung^c die offft die Natur nicht geben hatt: Vnnd auff die zeitmachung^d muß der Artzt sein kunst haben/ dann er ist dieser Herbst/ Sommer/ vnd Gestirn an dem/ das er sie muß volbringen: Das Fewr ist die Erden/ der Mensch die | 67 | ordnung/ die ding in der arbeit/ der Sahmen. Vnd wiewol die ding alle in der Welt einfach verstanden oder gemeint werden/ so seint sie doch mancherley in dem Endt: Mancherley also auch an dem ort im Endt. Wiewol durch ein Proceß alle *Arcana* werden im Fewr geboren/ vnnd das Fewr ist sein Erden/ vnd diese Erden ist die Sonn

^a Sudhoff (186): "kein."

^b Sudhoff (186): "arcana also, das."

^c Stars and planets embody time: therefore the timing of preparations and processes betokens the authority of astronomy in medicine. Like the diverse forces of nature, time is an array of distinct processes and the entities they bring to light: "Von dem underscheit der zeit und verenderung der kreften und unkreften zu philosophiren, ist erstlich zu wissen, das die zeit im jar ungleich ist und nach der zeit sich auch alle kreften verwantlen und ab und zu nemen wie der mon und umbgên wie ein rad" (see "Von der underscheit der zeit," S 13:337f.).

^d Sudhoff (187): "zeitmachung."

health, then you would also recognize that your foundation is nothing but a fantasy. Our entire proposition here is that the foundation of medicine ultimately resides in the *arcana*, and that the *arcana* constitute the true ground of the physician. Accordingly, to the extent that the premise resides in the *arcana*, alchemy must be the foundation by means of which the *arcana* are prepared and made. Therefore, let it be known that it is nothing other than these *arcana* which are [identified with] the virtues and forces. For this reason they are also *volatilia* and lack bodies [or elements]; they are *chaos*; they are *clarum*, that is, transparent; and they rest in the power of the stars. And if you recognize the star, and recognize the nature of the disease, then you also have an understanding of what the *ductor* and what the *potentia* are. This is assured by the *arcana*. Accordingly, nothing is in the *humores*, *qualitates*, *complexiones*; and this applies to the whole teaching that says, that is due to *melancholia*, and that is due to *phlegma*, etc. Instead, it should be said: that is *Mars*; that is *Saturnus*; for indeed, it is the *arcanum Martis* and the *arcanum Saturni*. In this lies the science of the physician. Who among you listeners should be opposed to such a foundation? None but your *preceptores*. They are disposed to it like aging, obstinate students.

If a physician is to understand the requisite things, he needs to know what calcinating and sublimating are. It is not enough to know it as handiwork; one must have a knowledge of the pertinent transformation as well, the latter being more important than the former. For by means of the things as comprehended by the [knowledge pertaining to] preparation, the ripening¹ can be known, a knowledge that is often not [openly] surrendered by nature. Furthermore, the physician must apply his art to timing, for the physician himself embodies the particular fall [and] summer, as well as the stars, in the sense that he has to complete them [i.e., their effects]: the [alchemist's] fire is the earth; the human being the | 67 | order; the objects of his work the seed. And even though all things in the world are comprehended as one, nevertheless, in effect they are many and diverse: varied indeed even in a single process in the final outcome. Inasmuch as all *arcana* are born by way of a single process in the fire, and the fire is the [alchemist's] earth, and, as earth, it

¹ “**die zeitigung**”: Helpful here is the discussion of “Paracelsus’ Conception of Time,” Pagel (1958) 72ff.

damit/ vnnnd ist Erden vnd Firmament ein ding^a in dieser andern Geberung: Hierinn kochen sich die Arcanen/ hierinn Fermentieren sie. Vnnnd wie das Korn/ dz faull wirdt in der Erden/ vor dem vnd es wachst/ vnnnd darnach in seine frücht gehet: Also hie auch im Fewr die zerbrechung geschihet/ vnnnd da Fermentieren sich die Arcanen/ vnnnd geben von jhnen die *Corpora*/ vnnnd gehend in jhr auffsteigen zu jhren *Exaltationibus*/ deren zeit ist Calcinieren/ Sublimieren/ Reuerberieren/ Soluieren/ etc. Vnnnd zum andern mahl in die Reiteration/ das ist/ in die Transplantation.^b Nuhn geschehen diese wirckung alle durch den Lauff/ den die zeit gibt: Dann ein zeit ist der Eussern Welt/ eine zeit des Menschen. Nuhn ist die wirckung im Himmlischen Lauff wunderbarlich. Wiewol der kunstler sich selbst vnd sein arbeyt seltzam mag schetzen: Jedoch so ist daß das höchst darinn/ das der Himmel gleich so wol so seltzam durcheinander Kocht/ Dirigiert/ Imbibiert/ Soluiert vnnnd Reuerberiert/ also wol der Alchimist: Vnd der lauff des Himmels lernet den Lauff vnd das Regiment des Fewrs in dem *Athanar*. Dann die Tugent/ so im Saphir liget/ gibt der Himmel durch *Solutionem*/ vnnnd *Coagulationem*/ vnnnd *Fixationem*. So nuhn durch die drey ding der Himmel dermassen geschaffen ist in seiner wirckung/ biß ers dahin bringt: So muß auch dergleichen die zerbrechung *Saphyri* in solchen dreyen puncten hinwider^c stehn. Diese zerbrechung ist also/ das die *Corpora* daruon kommen/ vnd das *Arcanum* bleibt. Dann vor dem vnd der Saphir war/ ist kein *Arcanum* gesein: Nachfolgend aber/ wie das leben im Menschen/ also auch das *Arcanum* in diese *Materiam* durch den Himmel geben. Nun muß das *Corpus* hinweg: Dann es hindert dz *Arcanum*. Zu gleicher weiß wie auß dem Sahmen nichts wachset/ noch wirt/ allein es werd dann zerbrochen/ welches zerbrechen allein dz ist/ das sein *Corpus* faulet/ vnd das *Arcanum* nit: | 68 | Also hie ist auch das *Corpus Saphyri*^d allein das es das *Arcanum* empfangen hatt. Nuhn ist sein zerbrechung

^a Sudhoff (187): "ein ding."

^b See H 2:30, note a; H 2:92.

^c Sudhoff (188): "hin wider."

^d On the medicinal application of **sapphire**, H 2:20.

comprises the [alchemist's] sun as well, and earth and firmament are as one in this second generation: in this process the *arcana* are cooked; in it they are fermented. Moreover, just as the grain must rot in the earth in order that it grows and passes into fruit,¹ in the same way the destruction in fire [will] proceed here; and in that process the *arcana* ferment and yield of themselves the *corpora* [elemental bodies] and proceed into their elevation to their *exultationes*, whose time is calcination, sublimation, reverberation, solution,² etc. And from there it proceeds on to reiteration, which is to say transplantation. All these effects are brought about by the course [of processes] that is provided by time. For there is one [process of] time in the external world [and another] time in the human being. The working in the celestial process is marvelous. Though it may be that the [alchemical] artist regards himself and his labor as remarkable; nonetheless, the most exalted thing about it is that the heavens just as remarkably cook, digest, imbibe, resolve, and reverberate in every direction, as does the alchemist. Moreover, the course of the heavens teaches the course and regime of the fire in the *athanar*.³ For the virtue that resides in the sapphire is produced by the heavens by solution and coagulation and fixation. By means of these three [processes], the heavens have been constituted in their action in such a way that they bring all this about. Therefore, the destruction of the sapphire must stand in the same relation to those three points. This disintegration amounts to the departure of the [elemental] *corpora*, leaving the *arcanum* behind. For before there was the sapphire, there was no *arcanum* present. In succession then, as with life into the human being, the heavens translated the *arcanum* into this particular *materia*. But now the *corpus* must depart, for it obstructs the *arcanum*. In the same way as nothing grows or becomes of a seed unless it is broken—[incurring] a disintegration consisting of nothing less than that its *corpus* rots while its *arcanum* doesn't | 68 |—it is the same here with the *corpus saphyri* simply because it has received the

¹ Jn 12:24 (cf. H 2:5).

² **Calcination**: the conversion of metal or mineral to dust or powder by the heat of fire; **sublimation**: alchemical distillation that extracts the volatile spirit; **reverberation**: extended cooking with moderate heat; **solution**: alchemical dissolution (DAI).

³ *Athanor*, an alchemical furnace of a certain shape and function (see OED), an egg-shaped vessel placed in a sand bath over a fire (DAI); Zedler defines it as any alchemical furnace, but specifies that its purpose is to maintain a steady or moderate degree of heat.

durch die ding/ durch die es zusammen gemacht ist worden. Das Korn auff dem Feldt hatt nicht kleine kunst in der Natur/ biß es in sein Eher gehet: Dann da ist das *Elixir*^a vnd das hochst Ferment/ das vor allen dingen in der Natur vorbehalten wirdt: Nachvolget *Digestio*^b vnnnd auß demselbigen sein wachsen. Welcher also wil der Natur ein bereiter sein/ der muß da herdurch/ vnnnd sonst ist er nur ein Sudelkoch vnnnd Suppenwust/ vnnnd ein Auffspüler. Dann die Natur wil/ das inn allweg die bereitung bey dem Menschen sey/ wie in Ihr: Das ist/ das jhr nachgehandelt werde/ vnnnd nicht den tolln köpffen nach.^c Nuhn/ was Fermentieren/ vnnnd Putreficieren vnnnd Digerieren vnnnd Exaltieren die Apotecker vnnnd jhre *Doctores*? Nichts/ allein durch einander ein Suppenwust gemacht/ vnd zufressen geben/ vnnnd die leut redlich damit beschissen. Wer kan ein Artzt loben/ der nicht der Natur arth weiß vnnnd kan? oder wer soll jhm vertragen? Dieweil doch ein Artzt nichts anders sein soll/ dann ein erfarnner der Natur/ vnnnd einer/ der da weiß^d der Natur Eigenschafft/ Wesen vnnnd Arth. So er diese ding/ der Natur zusammen setzung nicht kan/ was ist er dann im Wieder-aufflösen derselbigen? Da merckendt/ das jhr müssendt aufflösen/ hindersich wieder gehn: Alle die werck/ die die Natur für sich getrieben hatt/ von einer staffeln zu der andern/ die müssendt jhr wieder aufflösen. Vnnnd dieweil jhr oder ich inn dieser aufflösung nichts wissen vnnnd können/ so seindt wir nur Mörder vnnnd Erwürger/ Cornuten vnnnd Bachanten.

Nuhn was gutts wollet jhr auß dem Alaun^e machen/ inn dem treffliche grosse heimlichkeit ligen/ in Leib vnd in Wundtkranckheiten? Durch ewern Proceß/ wer ist der/ der da mag jhn durch den Apo-

^a *Archidoxis* includes a book “De elixiriis”: “ein elixir ist ein inwendige behalterin des leibs in seinem wesen, wie es den begreift, als ein balsam ein auswendiger behalter ist aller körper, vor aller feulung und zerbrechung”—an elixir preserves the body from corruption from within as a balsam does from without (S 3:184) P.’s Latin *De Vita Longa* also discusses elixirs (S 3:272-75, 277ff.). “Ex universis elixiris summum ac potissimum est aurum” (273).

^b *Digestio*, like the words for all attendant or related processes, derives its frequency and importance from the key notion of the alchemical “archeus” in the human microcosm and natural macrocosm (see Müller).

^c Sudhoff (188) introduces a paragraph break here.

^d Sudhoff (189): “weiß.”

^e Integral to his alchemical medicine, the common alumen (**alaun**) and salts figure in P.’s discussion of the multiplicity, transformability, and utility of substances in his writing on the treatment of wounds and ulcers (*Bertheonei*, 1528) (S 6:120, 124) and the correspondence of wound to substance (129, 131, 132). Sudhoff (189): “alun.”

arcanum. Its disintegration occurs by way of those elements that have been joined together. No small art in nature is involved in the ripening of grain in the field to the point that it transforms itself into fruit. For in it is the *elixir*¹ and the highest [degree of] fermentation, surpassing all other things in nature. *Digestio* comes next and its growth is from the same source. Whoever would be a preparer of nature must proceed in this way; for otherwise one is no more than an ignorant cook and brewer and rinsers. For it is nature's own intention that the preparation should always be for the human being as it is in nature itself. That is to say, that nature should be followed, not the crackbrains. But what is it that is fermented and putrified and digested and exalted by the apothecaries and their doctors. Nothing! All that happens is that a foul soup is brewed and served up in order to cheat people properly. Who can be praised as a doctor who does not know the ways of nature or how to follow them? Who should trust someone like that? All the more, since a physician should be precisely the one who is experienced in nature, who knows its properties, being, and manner. If he is not skilled in nature's composition of things, how can he be capable of dissolving them in turn? Consider how it is necessary dissolve, proceeding regressively, all the works that nature has brought forth; from one stage to the next, you must proceed backwards. If it is the case that you or I know and achieve nothing in this [process of] dissolution, then we are murderers and stranglers, greenhorns and student bums.

How would you propose to make good things out of alum,² in which great and excellent secrets reside for the treatment of physical and wound ailments? If it is a matter of your procedure of utilizing the

¹ See LMA, *Elixir*, from arab. *al-iksir* (Greek τό ξήριον, "the dry"), in the late Middle Ages a means both for human healing and metallurgical perfection.

² See H 2:26, note on **Alaun** (*alumen*).

teckerbrauch zu nutz bringen/ nach dem vnd in jhme ist? Also nicht allein mit dem Alaun/ sondern auch in *Mumia*^a wo suchen jhrs? jenetz Meers von Heyden? O jhr einfeltigen / vnd ligt vor ewern Heussern/ vnnd in den Rinckmauren. Darumb aber/ das jhr *Alchimiam* nicht wisset/ so wisset jhr auch nicht die *Mysteria*^b der Natur. | 69 | Meinen jhr/ darumb das jhr den *Auicennam* habt vnd *Sauanarolam*^c vnd *Valescum*,^d vnd *Vigonem*, jhr seind also gefertiget? Es ist alles nur schützerrey. Ausserthalben dieser heimlichkeit mag niemandts wissen/ was in der Natur ist. Nemment ewere *Doctores* vnd alle ewere Scri-

^a P. makes frequent references to **mumia** (as a subject in itself see: S 6:62ff.; 13:343-49; 14:305-08). Many recipes call for what appears to be a banal ingredient “liquor mumiae,” defined: “id est oleum transmutatum a mumia” (S 5:174-75). Given its apparent accessibility, this may be the banal apothecaries’ “mumia” (S 13:349). Some recipes cite a more exotic “mumia thuris [of frankincense]” or “transmarina” (S 5:337). “Mumia” is described at times as a “balsam” which preserves the living body from putrefaction (S 6:250). The book on surgery *Bertheonei* (1528) begins by extolling mumia as an innate healing power of the body (S 6:62). In contrast, “Von dem fleisch und mumia” speaks of mumia as corpses: these correspond to the four elements. Those of earth are interred bodies. They are devoid of arcane powers. The bodies of those killed in full health possess such powers: these are “mumiae” of air (the hanged), of water (the drowned), or fire (those burned to death). The lore of executioners and murderers concerning such matters (S 13:344-45) is a “necromantia” or diabolical abuse (346). The magnetic power of “mumia” is recognized both here and in “De mumiae arcanis,” where the phenomenon of “mumia” pertains to the signs and prodigies of the false prophets denounced by Christ, to the properly or improperly administered Eucharistic flesh and blood of Jesus and to the powers of saints or their relics (S 14:306-08). Mumia as a balsam that preserves corpses from corruption was apparently the model for P.’s discussion of “terpentin” as an embalmant (S 2:183). If in Arab lands bitumen was thought to be “mumia” (cf. vis-à-vis), P. identified the former with its viscosity as a stage of tartarus formation (see S 5:127, “quid est bitumen?”).

^b The term *mysterium* is used sometimes for general attribution of a miraculous supernatural presence in nature, sometimes as a singular omnipresent substance (S 1:182ff. “Mysterium Magnum”), and sometimes as if to designate one of the many kinds of arcane healing powers in nature: “simplicia, magnalia, archana, mysteria, virtutes, vires und alles was not ist betreffen die heilung” (S 10:276).

^c P. counts *Savonarola* (cf. vis-à-vis) among those antiquated by the new understanding of “elementorum proprietates und die ganz philosophiei der innern und außern welt” (S 6:366).

^d *Valescus* and *Vigo* (cf. vis-à-vis) are “verworren,” typically so for outmoded medicine (see S 7:189).

apothecaries, who could possibly make something useful of it by relying on its innate properties? This is true not only of alum but also of *mumia*:¹ where do you go looking for it? Beyond the sea of the heathens? Oh, you simpletons, it lies before your very houses and within the circular walls of your cities. Because you know nothing of alchemy, you also know nothing of the *mysteria* of nature. | 69 | Do you suppose, because you have *Avicenna* and *Savonarola*² and *Valescus*³ and *Vigo*,⁴ that you therefore know all there is to know? All of this is only amateurish. Outside of the secret powers of which I have spoken, no one can know what resides in nature. Consult all your

¹ See HDA, **Mumie**. The medicinal uses of asphalt or bitumen, familiar from antiquity and the Bible, were associated with a process of embalming in which they were supposed to have been used and thus also with mummified bodies, which were thought to possess healing or preserving powers. Hence *mumia* invokes both the medicinal use of mummified human flesh and the medicinal use of a bituminous or other natural product. In claiming that *mumia* need not be sought among heathens but can be found readily in common places, P. presumably has a natural product in mind, whether bitumen, balsam, or turpentine (the resin of the terebinth tree used in manufacturing camphor). Petroleum products such as bitumen were exploited in Tirol and Alsace in the 16th century (cf. Agricola⁴, 93-99 on the Arabic designation of bitumen as “mumie” by the “Moors,” 93; and on German bitumen, 98). Elsewhere P. reverts to the arcane powers of the living or dead human body (cf. vis-à-vis and H 1:116, 290, 292, 293). The earlier Med³ (cxvi *recto*) had reported in a less mystical vein of a balsam enriched by the powers of embalmed corpses. Dorn, Ruland: “*Mumia, non solum dicitur caro humana balsamo condita, sed & alia quae; non mortua, sed occisa, vim sanandi habent*”; they also cite “*mumia medullae*,” “Marck,” or bone marrow. See also Richard Sugg, “Good Physic but Bad Food,” *Social History of Medicine* 19 (August 2006): 225-40; Karl Dannenfeldt, “Egyptian *Mumia*: the 16th-Century Experience and Debate” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 16:2 (1985): 160-180.

² See LMA, **Savonarola**, Giovanni Michele (died 1468, a physician and scholar who taught in Padua and subsequently in Ferrara, author of an influential six-part, *Practica major*, a “head-to-foot” compendium which went beyond its traditional sources by evaluating them on the basis of new or personal findings. A pioneer of balneology and alchemical medicine (though this is not recognized as such by P.), he was also the grandfather of the famous reformer Girolamo S. executed in 1498 in Florence. Cf. Thorndike 4:183ff.

³ See LMA, **Valescus**, Balescon, Balescus, an early 15th-century Portuguese physician and medical scholar who taught in Montpellier, publishing an influential plague tract there in 1401; he was active also in Turin and Basel; in 1490 his influential “head-to-foot” *Practica* incorporating all fields from pharmacy to surgery was printed in Lyon and Venice.

⁴ See Zedler, **Vigo**, Vico or de Figo, Johann de, famous surgeon who flourished in the early 16th century, serving Pope Julius II and publishing various works not only on surgery but also on ulcers and syphilis, as well as treatise *De natura simplicium*.

benten/ vnd sagt mir was die Corallen^a vermögen? vnd so jhrs nuhn wissen/ vnd sagen von jhren krefften/ viel vnnd lang geschwetz: vnnd so es an ein probieren gehet/ so wissent jhr nit das wenigest in den tugenden der Corallen zu probieren. Dann auß vrsachen/ der Proceß *Arcani* steht nicht geschriben/ allein so der Proceß auß ist/ so sind seine tugent da: vnd jhr alle seid so einfeltig/ vermeinent gleich/ es sey nur vmb stossen zuthun/ vnd *cribrentur & misceantur, fiat puluis cum zuccaro*. Das *Plinius, Dioscorides, etc.* geschriben haben von Kreüttern/ sie habens nit probiert/ habens von Edelleuten gelernet/ die wissen solcher tugent viel/ vnd also mit jrem süssen geschwetz auch Libellen gemacht. Thund das/ daß sie schreiben/ vnkeck? probierets/ vnnd es ist war: Aber jhr wissent nit/ wie es war ist/ jr mögent des nit zu End kommen/ vnd probieren Ewerer Auctorn Schreiben^b der Doctorn jhr euch berühen zusein/ das ist/ Jünger. Was setzt *Hermes* vnd *Archelaus*^c von *Vitriolo*?^d groß tugendt: vnd es ist war/ sie sind in jhm: Ihr wisset aber nicht wie sie in jhm sind/ blaw oder grün: vnnd sollet jhr Meister der natürlichen ding sein/ vnd wisset das nit? vnd habts gelesen/ das jhr wissen/ das da^e ist/ aber leider/ jhr richtent nichts mit auß. Was setzen ander Alchimisten mehr/ vnd *Philosophi*, von den krefften *Mercurij*? viel/vnnd ist wahr: Ihr wisset aber nicht wie mans soll wahr machen. Darumb so hören auff blerren: dann jr vnd ewere hohe Schulen sind *Beani*, Schützen/ darinn: Ihr thut nichts dann lesen/ das ist in dem/ vnd das ist in dem/ vnd das ist schwartz/

^a See H 2:57, note on **coral**.

^b Against academic “**Auctorn Schreiben**,” P. characteristically demands works and practical knowledge. In the books of false medical authority, the “letter” is dead (S 11:177). Jesus’ words “perscrutimini scripturas” should be extended to nature: “perscrutimini naturas rerum” (S 11:130).

^c **Hermes** and **Archelaus** are mentioned several times conjointly and sometimes separately. Some of the references are either too vague, too specific, or too dismissive to allow a definition of P.’s attitude toward either. *De Tinctura Physicorum*, a work persuasively classified by Sudhoff as spurious, cites the full name of “Hermes Trismegistus” (S 14:391). *De Natura Rerum* (S 11:309ff.), also dubious to Sudhoff, though on less persuasive grounds, attributes important theses of P. to “Hermes”: 1. the thesis that all metals are born from the standard three “principia,” also designated here as spirit, soul, and body (318); and 2. that “soul” (sulphur) unites body with spirit (i.e., salt with mercury) (319). In the Basel student lecture notes on the *Tartarus*, the names of Hermes and Archelaus are conjoined intriguingly: “Yleiadus Hermeti, Archelao, receptum vocabulum est” (S 5:166).

^d P. has much to say about the virtues of **vitriol** (S 2:146-54, 156-65); but the sense in which he has been preceded by Hermes and Archelaus in praising its virtues is not clear and therefore worthy of investigation.

^e Sudhoff (190): “das.”

doctores and all your scribblers and then tell me what corals are capable of. And if you think you know and if you recite much and at length about their powers, when it comes to testing them, you won't have the slightest notion of the virtues to be demonstrated in corals. There are reasons for this. The process of the *arcanum* is not written down somewhere; it is only when the process has run its course that its virtues are there [revealed]. And [yet] you are all such fools that you think it is merely a matter of crushing and of *cribrentur & misceantur, fiat pulvis cum zuccaro* [filtering and mixing, let there be powder with sugar]. What Pliny [and] Dioscorides wrote about herbs they did not test out (**probiert**)¹ themselves. They learned it from some gentry who [thought they] knew many such virtues. From their sweet chatter they crafted their little books. Need one be timid in trying out what they wrote? Try it out and it will be true. But you would not know in what way it is true. You are not capable of getting to the bottom of that and of testing the writings of your authorities,² whose doctors or disciples you claim to be. What do Hermes³ and Archelaus⁴ say about *vitriolum*?⁵ Great virtues! And that is true: it has them. But you do not know how they are in it, whether blue or green? And are you supposed to be masters of natural things, and you do not know that? And you have read about it, so you know that it exists, but unfortunately you do not try it out. What else do the other alchemists say, or the *philosophi*, about the powers of *mercurius*? They say a lot and indeed it is true. But you don't know how you can make it be true. Therefore, you should stop your whining. You and your universities are nothing but *beani*, rank beginners, in these matters. All you ever do is read: Here it says this. There it says that. And this is black. And

¹ See Grimm, **probieren**: from Lat. *probare*, the German word can imply to test, try out (experimentally), approve, or certify.

² This passage suggests that what lies behind the contradiction between P.'s lambasting of such **authorities** as Pliny and Dioscorides and his reliance on the medical materials they made canonical is less a discovery of new materials than a crisis of authority and interpretation. In the same way that contemporary religious reformers and radicals adhered to the Bible even as they rejected traditional religious authority; just as they exalted the living spirit over the dead letter and called for a new application of scriptural truths to common life, P. demands practical experience in the healing arts, if only to reconfirm the traditional sources.

³ On the profile and reputation of **Hermes** Trismegistus in the 16th century, see DGWE.

⁴ **Archelaos** of Athens, ca. 480-410 B.C.: a pre-Socratic, his philosophy had medical implications (IGM).

⁵ On the source, uses, and colors of **vitriol**, see H 2:31.

vnd das ist grün/ vnd weiter kan ich bey Gott nichts mehr/ also find ichs geschriben. Wer es nit geschriben/ so wütestu^a gar nichts. Meinet jhr/ das ich vnbillich hie meinen grund setz in die kunst *Alchimiam*? Die mir^b solchs anzeigt/ daß das war ist/ vnd das jhr nit wisset zu probieren? Soll ein solche kunst nicht gut sein zu probieren vnd an tag zubringen? vnd soll sie nicht billich der Artzney grund sein/ die das wissen | 70 | eins Artzts probirt/ zeigt vnd bewert? Was gedüncket euch hie für ein vrtheil nutz zu sein einem Artzt/ der da spricht: Es schreibt *Serapion*,^c *Mesue*, *Rhasis*, *Plinius*, *Dioscorides*, *Macer*, von der *Verbena*,^d die sey darzu vnd darzu gut: vnnd das du redest/ kanstu nit probieren dz wahr sey/ was gedüncket dich hierinn für ein vrtheil? Ich weiß wol: Biß ein Vrtheiler/ ob das nicht mehr sey/ der das weist zu probieren/ das war ist/ das darinn ist: du kanst aber nicht ohne die *Alchimia*. Vnd wann du schon noch so viel lesest vnnd wissest/ so ist dein wissen kein wissen. Wer will mirs verargen/ der mein werck liset/ das ich dir das fürhalt/ vnd dirs wol verteutsche? dann du kompst je deiner krafft vnd deiner tugent nit nach/ die du redest vnd dich berührest. Sag mir doch/ wann der Magnet nit zihen will/ was ist doch sein vrsach? Wann dir der *Helleborus*^e nit kotzen macht/ was ist sein vrsachen? Die weistu/ was zu scheissen dienet/ vnd kotzen/ was aber die heilung antrifft/ vnd trifft die Arcanen/ die da gemelt worden sind von allen/ bistu Bruder Löffel. Sag mir/ wem ist zuglauben in den künsten vnd krafft der natürlichen ding? denen die es geschriben haben/ vnd habens nicht wissen zu probieren/ oder denen/ die es haben wissen zu probieren/ vnnd habens nicht geschriben? Ist es nit also/ dz *Plinius* kein prob nie bewiesen hat? Was hat er dann geschriben? was er gehört hat von den Alchimisten. So du es nit weist vnd kennest wer sie sind/ so bist ein Hümpelartzt.

^a Sudhoff (190): “wißtestu.”

^b Sudhoff (190): “alchimia, die mir.”

^c In a preserved fragment prefacing his work on herbs, P. includes **Serapion** along with Dioscorides, Pliny, and Macer—as herbalist authorities with whom he takes principled issue—for not having given appropriate attention to the “proprieteten” of things, the same as those who know what gold is may neglect its arcane or chemical-medicinal virtues (S 2:207, 208).

^d According to the Basel materials: “*Verbena* summa medicina in febris acutis” (S 4:123).

^e The varieties of **Helleborus** (*helleborus*, *helleborus niger*, *elleborus*, *helleborus uterque*) are discussed in *De Gradibus* and other writings from Basel (S 4:27-29). Of this poisonous ingredient, P. writes: “Spasmus post sumptum helleborum mortale signum est” (S 4:118). A Basel student lecture transcript lists *helleborus* among the materials that “purgant faeces tartara et febres” (S 5:173).

that is green. For the love of God, I can do no more than say, I've read where it said this or that. If no one had written it, you wouldn't know a thing. Do you think it is wrong of me to establish my foundation of alchemy in this way? Since it reveals to me what is true and that you do not understand how it is to be tested? Is not an art of this kind good to try out and bring to light? And should it not be made the foundation of medicine, since it tests, reveals, and establishes the knowledge | 70 | of a physician? Of what use is the judgment of a physician who can only say, this is what was written by Serapion,¹ Mesuë, Rhazis, Pliny, Dioscorides, [or] Macer regarding *verbena*:² that it is good for this or that. And if you cannot test whether what you say is true, what sort of judgment is that supposed to be? I can tell you what sort. You should be³ a judge whether it would [amount to] more to know how to verify what is truly in such a thing. You yourself cannot do so without alchemy. And no matter how much you do read and know, your knowledge is no knowledge at all. And who is going to hold it against me in reading my work that I make that clear to you and tell it in plain terms? For you will not lag behind the power and virtue of which you speak and boast of having. Tell me, when is it that the magnet will not attract and what is the cause of this? When will *helleborus*⁴ not cause vomiting, and why not? You know about the things that serve for shitting and vomiting, but when it comes to healing, when it comes to the arcane powers that have been intimated by all, you are as good as Brother Spoon. Tell me, who is to be believed in regard to the arts and powers of the natural things? Those who have written something and do not have the knowledge to prove it, or those who do have the knowledge to prove it but did not write it? Is it not a fact that Pliny never demonstrated his proof? What has he written? What he heard from the alchemists. If you do not know that and do not know who they are, you are Doctor Lamebrain.

¹ Presumably **Serapion** of Alexandria (end of 3rd, beginning of 2nd century B.C.), a physician who favored extravagant natural medications such as turtle's blood or crocodile excrement (IGM I,368).

² See above (H 2:35);

³ See Grimm, **bis**: an imperative corresponding to "bist."

⁴ *Helleborus*, see H 2:27.

So nuhn so viel ligt in der Alchimey/ dieselbige hie in der Artzney so wol zuerkennen/ ist die vrsach der grossen verborgnen tugendt/ so in den dingen ligt der Natur/ die niemandt offenbar sind/ allein es mache sie dann die Alchimey offenbar vnd brings herfür: Sonst ist es gleich als einem/ der im Winter einen Baum sicht/ vnd kennet jhn aber nit/ vnd weißt nit was in jhme ist/ so lang biß der Sommer kompt/ vnd eröffnet einander nach/ jetzt die sprößlin/ jetzt das geblüh/ jetzt die frucht/ vnd was dann in jhme ist. Also ligt nun die tugent in den dingen/ verborgen dem Menschen. Vnd allein es sey dann/ [das] der Mensch durch den Alchimisten dieselbigen innen werde/ wie durch den Sommer/ sonst ist es jhm vnmöglich.

Dieweil nun der Alchimist also an dem ort herfür treibt wz | 71 | in der Natur ist/ so wisset andere kreffit in den *Locustis*,^a andere in den *foliis*, andere in *floribus*, andere in *fructibus non maturis*, andere in *fructibus maturis*: vnd also wunderbarlich/ das die letzt frucht des Baums gantz vngleich ist der Ersten/ wie in der Form/ also auch in tugenden: Auff [das] sonderlich die erkanntnuß sein soll vom ersten herfür trucken biß zum letzten/ dann also ist die Natur. Dieweil nun die Natur also ist in jhrer offenbarung: Nit minder ist der Alchimist in den dingen/ da die Natur auffhört/ also fürzufaren/ nemlich/ das *Genestum*^b behalt den Proceß seiner Natur in der hand des

^a Of relevance to the divine powers of honey, manna, and tereniabin is the question of what the “*locustae*” were that John the Baptist ate with wild honey (“*locustas und mel silvestre*”) in the desert: whether locusts, edible twigs, or fruits. According to P.: “nun sind *locustae* junge fruchte, die noch in prößlen stehen....” They were broken off and dipped in wild honey by John (“abbrochen und das selbige in das wilde honig, wie dan die wilden immen in den welden wohnen, gestrichen und getunket”), who nourished himself by digesting them in his mouth but not in his stomach (“hat er den magen nit gespeiset, sonder den mund”), a healthy diet kept by other hermits of former and recent times (S 4:458-59). Not swayed by philological progress, P. derides Erasmus and the “new prophets” as fools for opting in favor of *locustae* as “locusts”: “wiewol <es von> etlichen, die hoch verständig geacht werden ausgelegt wird, das heuschrecken sein speise sol gewesen sein, ...durch ir wolgezirt latein bringent sie ir eigen torheit und fantaserei herfür, als Jeronymus, Erasmus und vil der neuen propheten, die im latein vermert seind; sie seind under den blinden eineugig und nit zweieugig, können etwas und doch nicht vil” (S 2:198-99). As P. must have known, it was Erasmus’ knowledge of Greek that made his judgment superior. The proud Latin of the arts students and medical faculty in Basel was a lasting thorn in P.’s side.

^b P.’s *De Gradibus* lists “**Genesten**” with “*pulegium*,” “*gentiana*,” “*flammula*,” and “*paconia*,” among the herbal materials “*calidae naturae*.” “*Quae ex terra proveniunt, primum gradum caloris occupant*” (S 4:19).

The fact that alchemy does have this great importance which must be recognized in medicine is a consequence of those great hidden virtues that reside in the things of nature, which are apparent to no one unless alchemy reveals and brings them forth. Otherwise it is as with someone who sees a tree in winter and does not recognize it or know what is in it until the summer comes and successively reveals first the sprouts, then the blossoms, then the fruit, and then what is in it. In the same way, the virtues reside in the things, concealed from the human being. Only if the human being arrives at it through the agency of the alchemist, as if by summer—otherwise, it is not possible [to know these things].

Since it is the alchemist who in this way extracts from such objects what resides | 71 | within nature, it should be understood too that there are particular powers in twigs (*Locustis*),¹ particular powers in the *foliis*, particular ones *in floribus*, others *in fructibus non maturis*, and others still *in fructibus maturis*: and how marvelous it is that the last fruit of the tree is so unlike the first, not only in form but also in virtues. All this requires knowledge of the way things are made to be pressed forth from first to last; for this is how nature works. Inasmuch as nature operates in this way in revealing itself, the alchemist should perform where nature leaves off in no lesser way when working with the things. Proceeding on, for example *genestum*² comprises the

¹ Due to a misreading of Mt 3:4 and Mk 1:6, where John the Baptist is said to subsist on “wild honey and locusts,” *locusta*, the Latin word for the insect, acquired the spurious sense of an edible twig (or perhaps honeysuckle or the fruit of the carob tree). See DML, “*locusta*” (3a, b); cf. RLAC, “Heuschrecke”: Early exegetes of the Greek New Testament resisted the evidence that John ate unsavory insects, preferring a dubious alternate interpretation which then became canonical, remaining so for P. (cf. vis-à-vis).

² *Genestum*, presumably *Genesta* (*genista*), refers to a variety of shrubs, most probably Spanish broom (DML); “Ginster” was used for medicinal purposes (LMA). Marzell notes that “*Genista tinctoria*” was used as well to make a yellow dye. According to Pliny (24:66), “Pounded genista with axle-grease cures painful knees”; cf. “*genista*,” CPNH. In this passage P. seems to take his examples from Pliny to contrast a medicine that blindly follows ancient authorities with the tested and proven knowledge of the alchemist.

Alchimisten/ auch der *Thymus*, auch der *Epithymus*,^a vnd andere all. Nun sehet jr/ dz ein ding nit allein Ein tugent hat/ sondern vil tugent: Als jr sehet in den Blumen/ die nit allein ein farbe haben/ vnd sind doch in eim ding/ vnd ist ein ding: vnd ein jegliche farb ist für sich selbst bey dem höchsten gradiert: Also ist auch von mancherley tugenden zuerstehen/ so in den dingen ligent. Nuhn ist der Farben Alchimey von einander zu bringen die kunst vnd arth/ also wie die Farben/ dermassen auch mit den tugenden solche scheidung beschehen sollen: vnd also offt enderung der farben/ als offt enderung der tugent. Dann im *Sulphure* ist die gelbe/ weisse/ vnd röte/ auch breüne vnd schwertze: Nun ist in jeglicher farben ein sondere tugent vnd krafft/ vnd andere ding die solche farben auch haben/ haben nicht dise/ sondern in solchen farben andere tugent. Hierinn ligt nun der farben erkantnuß/ wie von den farben zusteht: Aber andere erkantnuß der tugenden/ als von den tugenden zustehet. Nun ist der tugenden offenbarung allein in der form vnd farben/ also dz am ersten die Locusten/ darnach die Medullen/ darnach die *Frondes*, darnach die *Flores*, darnach die *Folia*, darnach anfang der Frücht/ vnd mittel/ vnd dz end. Durch solchen Proceß so die tugent dermassen herfür gezeitigt werden/ vnd zum andern mal in dz wachsen gericht vnd angefür/ so endern sich in den staffeln vnd in der vile der zahl alle tag vnd alle minuten die kreffte/ so darinn ligen. Dann wie die zeit den Holder prößlen^b die Laxation gibt/ vnd nit die *Materia*: Also gibt die zeit auch den tugenden anderst vnd anderst jre kräfft. Vnd wie die zeit den *Acaciis*^c gibt jre stipticitet/ vnd die sol nit sein/ vnd ander Agresten mehr: Also gibt auch die zeit hie an dem ort mitteltugent/ vor der

^a The kinds of jaundice (“icteritiae species”) are classed by P. in accordance with color; for “Nigrae cura,” the formula of prescription includes along with “alcohol vini,” “liquor myrrhae,” etc. “**thym(us)** et “**epithym(us)**” (S 5:192).

^b The applications of **Holder** are discussed by P. in relation to its blossoms (“holderblüten”—S 10:564), its twigs (“holder locusten”—S 10:563) or its bark (“holderrinden,” cited negatively—S 10:234). Sudhoff (192): “pröslin.”

^c In the *Volumen Paramirum (Entienschrift)* **acacia** is listed in a treatment of gout (“acetum, amphora, berberis, acacia und der gleichen”), and along with a listing of medical-alchemical substances (S 1:133).

process of its nature in the hand of the alchemist; as does *thymus*¹ and *epithymus*,² and all else [of the sort]. Consider that a particular thing has not only one virtue, but rather many. You can see this in flowers that have more than one color, and yet [the varieties] are all in one, and [it] is all one single thing. And every single color is varied by degree to the greatest extent possible. In the same way numerous virtues are to be seen residing in things. The alchemy of colors is the art and manner of separating them from one another; and just as with the colors the same separation occurs with the virtues. As often as there is a change of color, just as often is there a change of virtues.³ For in *sulphur* there is the yellow, the white, and the red, in addition to the brown and the black. In each color there is a particular virtue and power; and [yet] other things that have these colors do not have these [virtues]; rather, in the same colors there are other virtues. In this resides the knowledge of colors as it is appropriate to them. But there is another knowledge of virtues, appropriate for them. The revelation of the virtues resides entirely in their form and colors, in the same way [that there is a revelation] first of the twigs, then of the pith of the tree, then of *frondes*, then of the *flores*, after that of the *folia*, and after that the beginning, of the fruits, the middle, the end. Through this process in which the virtues are thus brought to light, and again directed and guided toward their growth, the inherent virtues are varied in degrees with the multiplicity of the number of days and minutes. For just as time, and not the *materia* itself, injects the [power of] laxation into the elder sprouts, in the same way time injects the powers into the virtues, varying them constantly. And so also time gives to the *acacias*⁴ their astringency, which is not desirable, and to other uncultivated plants as well; in the same way, time yields in these instances those

¹ Given that P. sometimes alternates the Latin gender of words, this could be either *thymus*, a wart or similar (OLD; cf. Pliny 23:125) or *thymum*, a plant noted for its nectar, *Coridothymus capitatus* or *Satureia* in Greece, but extended to include thyme in the west (OLD; cf. Pliny 13:138), cf. **Thymian** (LMA), *thymus vulgaris* was known to both Dioscorides and Pliny.

² *Epithymum*, a plant parasitic on *thymum*, probably one of the dodders (OLD; cf. Pliny 26:55, on its use as a purgative; 26:106, on the medicinal use of its juice against chilblains).

³ Here P. is probably also thinking of colors as markers for alchemical processes and qualities.

⁴ *Acacia* or gum Arabic tree; its gum or that of related trees (OLD) known to Pliny (20:48); it is a source of oils and perfumes and reputedly of the biblical shittim wood (NCE).

letzten zeit. | 72 | Dann diese zeichen sind in der Alchimey hoch zubetrachten/ von wegen des wissens warhafftigs endts der wirkung vnnd seins Herbsts/ damit die zeit zeitiger tugent vnd vnzeitiger tugent zu end kompt/ vnd zum rechten verstand in der Artzney. Also theilen sich nun dise zeitung auß/ eine in die Sprößlen/ eine in die *Frondes*, eine in die *Flores*, eine in die Medullen/ eine in die *Liquores*, eine in die *Folia*, eine in die *Fructus*, vnnd in allen/ in jeglichen sonderlich anfang/ mittel vnd end/ geschieden in drey weg: in *Laxatiua*, *Styptica* vnd *Arcanen*. Dann die ding die laxiren/ die da constringiren/ sind nicht *Arcana*: dann deren keins ist zum end gebracht/ bleiben im mittel vnd ersten krefften. Wie groß ist dises Exempel allein von *Vitriolo*? der jetzund in der meristen erkandtnuß ist/ vnd in offenbarung seiner tugent: den ich auch dermassen hie für mich nimb/ nicht zu hindern sein tugent/ sonder zu fürdern. So gibt diser Vitriol am ersten sein selbst *Laxatiuum*, vber alle Laxativen/ vnnd die höchste deoppilierung/ vnd lest nit ein glid im Menschen innen vnd aussen/ das nit ersucht wirt von jhme: Nun aber/ das ist sein erste zeit. Die ander gibt sein *constrictiuum*: So fast er im anfang seiner ersten zeit hat laxiert/ hinwider so fast constringirt er. Nun aber noch ist sein *Arcanum* nit da/ noch sind seine prösseln^a *frondes*, *flores* noch nit angefangen. So er in die *frondes* geht/ was ist im *Caduco* am höchsten? So er in die blüst gehet/ was ist mehr durchtringig? wie ein geschmack der sich nit verbergen lest. So er in seine frucht gehet/ was ist höher in erquickung der werme? Noch also vil mehr in jhme/ die in seinen enden recensiert werden. Das ist allein fürgehalten/ wie sich die *Arcana* scheiden in eim ding in viel theil/ vnd ein jeglich theil in sein zeit/ vnd das End der zeit sind jr *Arcanen*.

Also in *Tartaro*^b die erst enderung/ was vbertrifft dz *Arcanum in pruritu*, *scabie*^c vnd allen dergleichen vnflat? was im andern in aller

^a Sudhoff (193): “sprösseln.”

^b The largely digestive phenomena associated with P.’s concept of *tartarus* are a concern from the Basel lectures until nearly the end of his work. Here the term encompasses alchemical process and skin ailment.

^c Among its medical applications, “oil of red vitriol” is useful in treating skin ailments: “also sollent ir wissen das alle serpigines dermaßen geheilt werden und alle **scabies**, **pruritus** und was dergleichen an der haut sich samlet” (S 2:159-60). The Basel notes record an extended discussion of “pruritus et scabies” (S 4:287ff.) that gives a taste of the vernacular earthiness of P.’s German: “scabies das ist ein raud, quae venit et a se ipsa abit, was faul und lenzig ist” (287-88); “pruritus ist krezig und doch nicht blezig, rüfig” (288).

intermediate virtues prior to the final time. | 72 | These signs merit serious consideration in alchemy because of the knowledge [they provide] of the true goal of [their] action and of their harvest, in order that the time of timely and untimely virtue should arrive at its end and find the proper understanding in medicine. In this manner, the temporal maturations are distributed, the one into the sprouts, another into the *frondes*, another into the *flores*, another into the *medullae*, another into the *liquores*, another into the *folia*, another still into the *fructus*, and thus into all things, into each its particular beginning, middle, and end, separated in three ways: into *laxativa*, *styptica*, and *arcana*.¹ For those things that laxate [or] that constrict are not *arcana*. For none of them is taken to the end; [instead] they remain intermediate or [are] initial powers. How greatly is this exemplified by *vitriol* alone, which has become widely known, even with respect to its virtues. For this reason, I take *vitriol* as an example, not in order to reject its virtues but in order to promote them. Thus it is the case that this same *vitriol* is above all else in itself [a] *laxativum*, surpassing all [other] laxatives; and [indeed] it is the highest [agent] of de-obstruction and does not leave a single internal organ or external member unaffected. But this is [only] its first phase. The second injects its constrictive power. As firmly as it laxates in its first phase, it now constricts. Yet at this point, its *arcanum* is still not present: its sprouts, *frondes*, *flores* [etc.] have not yet begun. Once it proceeds into the *frondes*, what will be the highest manifestation in [acting upon] *caducus*.² Once it proceeds into the blossoms, what could be more penetrating? It is like a taste that cannot be concealed. Once it proceeds into its fruits, what is higher in [the] quickening of warmth? [Moreover, there are] still more [virtues] in [*vitriol*], to be summed up in the final stages. The only thing to be demonstrated [now] is how the *arcana* distinguish a thing into many component [parts or qualities], and [assign] each component to its time, and their *arcana* are the end[s] of these temporal maturations.

Thus, with respect to the first transformation of *tartarus*: what could possibly surpass its *arcanum in pruritu, scabie* [with regard to

¹ *Laxativa* (loosening) and *styptica* (binding, tightening) appear as opposites, suggesting that the *arcana* or arcane virtues somehow resolve, conclude, reconcile or transcend these opposites.

² Temkin (176-77) discusses P.'s treatment of *caducus* with *vitriol* that has been rendered volatile "since it is volatility which commands the stars" [S 8:306-07]; as "spirit of *vitriol*," it may have contained ether.

öffnung der verstopffung? (nit laxation:) was nachfolgend in der heilung offner Wunden? Solchs öffnet vnnd lernet die Alchimey: warumb soll dann nit der grund der Artzney auff jr billich stehen? Vnd da lernen kochen: vnd die Suppenwüst vnd Sudelköch der Apotecken/ die von solchem Proceß nichts wissen noch verstehen/ vnd also dölpete Esel mit sampt | 73 | jhren *Doctoribus*, vnd also vnverstendig/ daß sie solche ding vnmöglich schetzen vnd achten [hindan setzen.]^a Also vngelet vnd vnerfahren sind sie/ daß sie noch nit wissen den anfang des kochens: vnd aller krancken gesundtheit soll bey solchen Suppenwust gesucht werden. Nun was wirt bey jhnen gefunden/ als allein dem pfennig gericht vnd dem gut/ es nütze oder nit/ es besser oder böser: Soll nicht billich sein/ ein solchen vnverstand zueröffnen? Nicht daß sie mir folgen werden/ dann sie werden jhnen selbst die schand nit aufflegen: sondern der kieb^b vnd der neid wirt sie dermassen vbergehen/ das sie darauff verharren werden. Noch wer der warheit nach will/ der muß in mein Monarchey/ vnd in kein andere. Besehent all jhr Leser vnd *Auditores*, was ellenden barmhertigen Proceß alle Scribenten vnd sie alle/ so jetzt zu meinen zeiten Artzet sind/ haben/ *in caduco*, daß sie einen nit wissen zuerledigen: Soll es dann vnbillich sein an mich/ das ich solche Scribenten vnnd *Praeceptores* veracht? die da wöllen/ man solle die Artzney brauchen die sie haben/ vnd sie soll nichts: vnnd einer der da ein andern weg sucht/ dardurch dem krancken geholffen wirt/ ausserthalb jhrer bescheiserey/ der soll ein Vagant/ ein Polyphem/ ein Narr sein? Das ist die warheit/ das all jhr Recepten *in caduco* vnd in andern kranckheiten mehr/ *Causae* vnnd *Rationes*, erlogen sind: das beweißt jhr werck an/ vnd bezeugens jhre eigne krancken/ dergleichen die Natur an jhr selbst/ vnnd aller grund darauff die Artzney stehet. Vnd nit allein in den dingen/ sondern ein einige kranckheit wissen sie nicht zu heilen mit gewisser vnd verträster Artzney: dieweil doch Gott nit will ein solchen vngewissen Artzt haben/ sondern ein gewissen. Gibt er gewiß den Ackerbaw/ den Steinmetzen/ etc. noch viel mehr den Artzt/ an

^a Sudhoff (94) reads the last six words of this sentence as follows, thereby treating the bracketed words as apposite to the preceding infinitive construction: “unmöglich schezen und achten, hindan sezen.”

^b Sudhoff (194): “keib.”

or against itching or skin irritation] and other such wretchedness? What [could surpass it] in the second [transformation] in the easing of all constipation? ([But] not [in] laxation:) What in the following [transformation] in the healing of open wounds? These things are disclosed and taught by alchemy. Why then should it not be a better foundation for medicine? Thus the [proper] cooking of things is to be learned. And yet the brew-masters and concocters in the apothecaries neither know nor discern anything of this sort of process; and so these stupid asses with all | 73 | their doctors, uncomprehending as they are, [cannot] possibly appreciate or respect such things.¹ They are so unlearned and inexperienced that they do not even know how [the process of] cooking begins. And [we are supposed to believe] that the health of all the sick should be sought in such a foul stew. For what can you find among them other than what turns a penny and is good for that purpose, regardless whether it is useful or not, for better or worse. Is it not proper to expose such incomprehension? Not that they will follow my example, for they would not want to admit their own disgrace: instead, rancor and envy will overcome them so that they will cling to their [false teaching]. But whoever wants to follow the truth must enter into my monarchy and none other. All of you readers and *auditores*, consider what sort of wretched pitiful trials all those who in my day think they are physicians shall receive on account of *caducus*, for which they cannot accomplish a single thing. Am I not right to despise such writers and *praeceptores*? All those who want us to confine ourselves to their medicine, which is good for nothing! And whoever sets out on another path in order to help the sick, avoiding their swindle, is denounced as a student bum and a *polyphemus* and fool. It is the truth that all their prescriptions for treating *caducus* and other diseases too, all their *causae* and *rationes*, are lies. This is demonstrated by their works and witnessed by their own patients, and indeed by nature itself, and by the entire foundation upon which medicine stands. Nor is it evident solely in these things: not one single disease do they know how to heal with a certain and trustworthy medicine, though God himself does not want for there to be such uncertain physicians—quite the contrary. He has rendered reliable the labor of farming, of the stonemason, etc.—all the more that of the

¹ A bracketed insertion in Huser at this point: [**hindan setzen.**] appears to be an editorial insertion with no effect on the meaning of the text other than possible emphasis of the aforesaid contempt.

dem mehr ligt dann an disen allen: vnnd sie machen darauß einen verzweiffelten grund/ vnnd er stand in der Hand Gottes: vnd also muß die Hand Gottes solcher bescheisserey jhr vnwissenheit verthedigen/ vnd sie haben recht/ vnnd Gott hat vnrecht/ jhr kunst wer gerecht/ Gott hatts brochen: sind das nit bescheisser/ so wirt keiner mehr.

Weitter so merckent mich/ wie ich die Alchimey so treffenlich für ein grund der Artzney nimb/ nemlich in dem/ daß die | 74 | grösten Hauptkranckheiten/ *Apoplexia*, *Paralysis*, *Lethargus*, *Caducus*, *Mania*, *Phrenesis*, *Melancholia*, *id est*, *Tristitia*,^a vnd dergleichen/ mögen nicht durch die decoquierung der Apotecker geheilt werden. Dann zu gleicher weiß als wenig beim Schnee ein fleisch mag gekocht werden: als wenig auch mag durch solche kunst der Apotecker solche Artzney in jren *Effectum* kommen. Dann wie ein jedlich ding seine besondere Meisterschafft hat zu dem/ dahin es gehört: also sollet jhr auch hie verstehen in den kranckheiten/ daß sie sondere *Arcana* haben/ darumb so müssen sie sondere *praeparationes* haben. Von diesen *praeparationibus* rede ich/ also zuverstehen/ das sonder *Arcana*, sondere Administrirung haben/ vnd andere administrirung/ andere præparirung. Nun ist in Apotecken kein præparatz nit/ allein ein durcheinander kochung/ wie ein Suppenwust: vnd im selbigen kochen ertrincken die *Arcana* vnnd kommen zu keiner wirkung nicht: dann die Natur muß in jhrer weiß vnnd arth behalten werden. Wie jhr sehet/ das ein sondere bereitung ist mit dem Weinziglen/^b ein besondere mit dem Brodt zihen/ ein besondere mit Fleisch/ mit Saltz/ etc. Kreuttern vnnd ander ding: Also dermassen sollent jhr auch

^a In this list of ailments in need of improved treatment, *apoplexia*, *paralysis*, and symptoms of *lethargus* are discussed in the Basel *Libri Paragraphorum* (S 5:244) and post-Basel *Elf Traktat* under the heading of “Gutta” or stroke (“Der schlag hat in im etlich krankheiten, welche mit vil namen begriffen werden, als apoplexia, paralysis, lethargus, etc., welche namen nit not sind zu halten”—S 1:83). Gutta, along with *caducus*, is one of the chief diseases taken up in P.’s macrocosmic-microcosmic theories. On *mania*, see “Von mania” (S 2:400-06). *Melancholia* is defined by P. as a disease of compulsive sadness, weeping, and of “speculations” (“Melancholia ist ein krankheit, die in ein menschen falt, das er mit gewalt traurig wird, schwermütig, langweilig, verdrossen, unmutig und falt in seltsam gedanken und speculationes, in traurikeit, in weinen etc....”); it can be treated with red coral; brown coral may make it worse (“die roten vertreibens, die braunen behaltens”—S 2:42); cf. H 2:57, note on coral.

^b Among the drafts for a previous work on syphilis is a procedure calling for “sieden im wein” or boiling in wine (S 7:453), which may be relevant to the derivation of **Weinziglen** (cf. vis-à-vis).

physician, upon whom more depends than upon all the others. These [physicians] make of it a hopeless foundation, and leave it to God's own hand. Accordingly, God is supposed to defend their swindling and uncertainty, and as if they were supposed to be in the right and God in the wrong. If these are not swindlers, there never will be such.

Take further note of how I regard alchemy as an excellent foundation of medicine: the | 74 | great chief illnesses, *apoplexia*, *paralysis*, *lethargus*, *caducus*, *mania*, *phrenesis*,¹ *melancholia*, *id est*, *tristitia*, and their kind cannot be healed by the decoctions of the apothecaries. For no more than meat can be cooked in snow, no more than that can such medicine become effective through the art of the apothecaries. For just as each sphere has its own mastery pertinent to it, in this same sense you should seek to understand the diseases in the manner that they have their particular *arcana* for which reason they should be given their particular *praeparationes*. I am speaking of these *praeparationes* in the sense that particular *arcana* require their particular administration and other [*arcana*] another preparation. As it stands now there is no sort of preparation in the apothecaries, except for cooking things all together like a stew; and in this cooking, the *arcana* are stifled and unable to have any effect: for nature must be preserved in its own forms and modes. You can see that there is one particular procedure for warming wine (**Weinziglen**)² and another very particular one for making bread rise, one for meat, another for salt, etc., for herbs and [all] other things. In the same way, you should

¹ *Phrenesis*: madness, frenzy, delirium (OLD; Pliny 24:63: "A decoction of the seed [of the *agnus castus*] in oil is poured in drops on the head of sufferers from *lethargus* or phrenitis").

² **Weinziglen** is obscure; but the reference to cooking as alchemy suggests the possibility that the root of "Zigl" might be a variant of "Tiegel," a vessel for heating wine. **Brodt zihen** may be both an example of a different sort of culinary transformation or exaltation and an alliterative counterpart to the former term.

verstehen/ wie die Natur nicht durch einander plampert/ essen vnd trincken/ fleisch vnd brodt in ein forme/ sondern besonder: Geschicht nit ohne grosse vrsassen/ sonder auß viel vrsachen/ hie nicht noht zuerzehlen. So die Natur nuhn vns das fürbildet/ vnd gibt vns da zuuerstehen/ ein ordnung zuhalten in allen dingen: dermassen werden wir auch gezwungen/ anderst vnd aber anderst bereitten die Artzney gegen jhren krankheiten. Die Lebern will trincken/ vnd fordert den Wein/ das Wasser: Nuhn sihe/ wie am selbigen orth der Wein herkommen sey/ vnd wie er geboren sey/ biß er der Lebern den durst legt. Also auch auff diese gattung/ der Mag will essen: Nun sihe/ wie jhm das brodt vnd essende speiß so mannigfaltig bereit wirt. Also nit anderst versich dich in den krankheiten/ so du wilt zu rechter heilung gehen/ das du must dermassen auch halten solche vnterscheidt/ vnnd dir nicht anderst lassen sein/ als sey *Apoplexia* der durst/ vnnd müst also ein besondere Artzney haben/ also auch besondere bereitung: vnd gleich als sey *Caducus* der Magen/ vnd müß^a | 75 | aber ein ander bereitung haben zu seiner notturfft/ wie der Magen. Vnd sey *Mania* gleich den *Vasis spermaticis*,^b die da wöllen jr notturfft in andere weg auch haben: Also in andere weg auch sollen jhr euch des versehen mit ander Artzney vnd bereitung in der *Mania*. Darumb ich billich euch das fürhalt/ dieweil so jhr gut Artzney habt/ vnd die *Arcana* in der hand/ vnd durch den Suppenwust last jhrs verderben vnd ertrincken/ soll solchs nit gsagt werden vnd geöffnet? damit da fürkommen [werd] derselbigen jrrung/ vnnd damit daß die krancken zu den Arcanen kommen/ die jhnen Gott beschaffen hat zu jhrer notturfft. Auff solches so wissent/ das es muß sein also/ wie ich setze/ vnd [nicht] wie jhrs setzet: hie hernach müsset jhr mir/ vnd ich nicht euch. Vnd so jr noch so vil wider mich auffwerffent vnd plerren/ noch so bleibt mein Monarchey/ vnd die ewer nit. Darumb so mag ich billich

^a Sudhoff (196): “muß.”

^b *Vasa spermatica* is the plural form used by P. (S 1:259; 5:40). Their questionable role is contrasted with that of the “same” in *Das Buch der Gebärung der empfindlichen Dinge in der Vernunft*: “also verstanden uns, das ir möchten gedenken in euch, das diser geborne same keme in die vasa spermatica, von welchen die narrechten arzet reden, und als dan aus den vasis spermaticis selbs durch eigen anreizung heraus kem und also der same, den sie sperma nenen, heraus kom und also verschüt. das ist der größisten lügen eine so die arzet gepflogen...” (S 1:259-60). They also play a role in venereal ulcerations (“ulcera die da komen ex vase spermatico”—S 5:500). They exercise a “virtus spermatica” (7:194); they have a microcosmic role in disease (“ursach der sperma ligt in toto corpore, aber sein conjuncts liegt in vase spermatico”—S 7:445).

also understand that nature does not partake indiscriminately [in] eating and drinking, [in having] meat and bread in the same form, but instead each thing in its own particular form. This does not happen without great cause; indeed, there are many causes that cannot be recounted here. In the same way that nature demonstrates this to us and reveals to us that order is to be kept in all things, we are similarly forced to prepare medicines for diseases now one way, now another. The liver would drink; it demands wine [and] water.¹ Consider in this regard how to this end wine comes into being, in order to slake the thirst of the liver. In the same manner, the stomach would eat. Consider in this regard how bread and edible nourishment have been prepared for it in so many ways. Consider the [other] diseases in this same way if you want to proceed to proper cures. You must observe such distinctions, and act as if *apoplexia* were the [aforementioned example of] thirst and has to have its special preparation; as if *caducus* were the stomach and is | 75 | in need of a different preparation, as is the stomach. And as if *mania* [were] like the *vasa spermatica*,² which would have need of a different sort in turn. So too, [this is how] you would provide the medication and preparation for *mania*. Therefore I put the question to you—since good medication is at your disposal, [and] the *arcana* [as good as] in your hands; and you nonetheless let yourselves be ruined and drowned by [the apothecaries’] filthy brew—should this [state of affairs] not be stated and disclosed? In order that their errors <will be> exposed, and so that the sick will come to the *arcana* which God has created for their needs? Therefore, let it be known that these things must be as I say and <not> as you say. You must follow me and not I you. No matter how much you cast at me and whine, my monarchy will remain and not yours. This is why

¹ See **Leber** (LMA): in the Middle Ages, the liver was not only a seat of the soul or vital force, but also a producer of liquids, blood, yellow and black bile, collecting bodily fluids to conduct them to other organs.

² *Vasa spermatica*: spermatic vessels (cf. Pörksen).

in der Alchimey hie so viel schreiben/ auff das jhr sie wol erkennet/
vnd erfahrent/ was in jhr sey/ vnnnd wie sie verstanden soll werden:
Nicht ein ergernuß nemmen in dem/ das weder Gold noch Silber dir
darauß werden will/ sondern daher betrachten/ das da die Arcanen
eröffnet werden/ vnnnd die verführung der Apotecken erfunden werd/
wie bey jnen der gemein Mann beschissen vnd betrogen wirt/ vnd
geben jhm vmb ein gülden/ nemens vmb ein pfenning nit hinwider/
also gut ding haben sie.

Welcher ist der/ der da widerrede/ das nit in allen guten dingen
auch giffit lig vnd sey?^a diß muß ein jedlicher bekennen. So nun das
also ist/ so ist mein frag/ Muß man nit das giffit vom gutten scheiden?
vnd das gute nemmen/ vnd das böse nit? Ja man muß: So man nun
muß das thun/ so zeigent mir an/ wie kompts daruon in ewern Apo-
tecken? Ihr lassents alles bey ein ander. Nuhn aber damit jhr ewer
einfalt verantworten/ vber das/ daß jhr müßent bekennen/ dz giffit da
ist vnd ligt/ vnd damit jhr dasselbig verantwortet/ wo es hinkompt/ so
sagent jhr von *Correctionibus*, dasselbige nemme jm das giffit hinweg:
Als Kütten^b der *Scammonaea*,^c vnd ist weiter *Diagridium*,^d wz
corrigieren ist das? bleibt nicht der Giffit einerley darnach wie
daruor? vnd du sagst/ du habst corrigirt/ jhme schad kein Giffit mehr:
wo kompts hin? es bleibt im *Diagridio*: versuch/ | 76 | vbertritt jhn/
schaw wo das giffit lig/ ob du es nicht innen werdest. Also corrigirst
den *Turbith*,^e vnd heissest jhn *Diaturbith*: das können *correctiones*

^a The *Volumen Paramirum (Entien-Schrift)* contends similarly that each thing is naturally endowed with a virtue that separates the poison from that which sustains it. P. asserts, “das dise tugent also beschaffen ist das sie voneinander **scheidet das gift vom guten** dem leib on schaden und der narung” (S 1:192). The full context involves a theory of God’s creation of all things as complete in themselves (191), the office of the alchemist in performing separation (192), and the bestiary example of the peacock that eats snakes (192).

^b **Kütten** and its seeds are used by P. for adjunct purposes in recipes (S 2:434; 10:564).

^c **Scammonaea** and **turbith** are among the “laxativa” of *De Gradibus* serving as purgatives for the four humors, thus: “colquintida, scamonea, choleram purgant; turbith, helleborus phlegma; manna, capillus veneris, sanguinem; lapis lazuli, helleborus niger, melancholiam” (S 4:27; cf. 29); but scammonaea is also misused for dysentery (“dysentery mag nicht cum scammonaea curirt werden”—S 5:212).

^d **Diagridium** is used among other things for constipation (S 4:352), “ad aures” (354), and dropsy (S 5:96).

^e **Turbith** is used *inter alia* for worms (S 5:289); on its classification according to degree, see S 4:27, 29.

I properly write so much about alchemy: so that you will get a proper understanding of it and experience what lies within it and how it is to be comprehended. I do so in order that annoyance shall not result from the fact that neither gold nor silver will come to you from it; but that it is instead for contemplating how the *arcana* are revealed; and so that the deception of the apothecaries will be found out: how they cheat and trick the common man by giving him for a guilder what they would not buy back for a penny. Such is the good deal they have.

Who is there who would deny that in all good things poison also resides? Everyone must acknowledge this. This being the case, the question I ask is: must one then not separate the poison from what is good, taking the good and leaving what is bad? Of course one must. This being the case, let us consider what happens with [you] and your apothecaries. You leave everything together. And in order to excuse your foolishness—since you have been forced to admit that there is and remains poison [in what you sell]—you explain it away: you claim that your corrections extract the poison. For example, quince¹ takes it out of scammony;² and you have your *diagrydion*.³ What sort of correction is that? Doesn't the poison remain quite the same afterward? And if you say that you have corrected [for it], so that no one will be harmed by the poison—where has it gone to? It remains in the *diagrydion*. Try | 76 | to increase it; [and] see where the poison is then. Do you not find it? In this way you correct *turbith*⁴ and call it *diaturbith*:⁵ that sort of *correctiones* would be fit for the peasants to

¹ **Kütten** is quince: “Quitten, Malum cydonium”; medicinal uses are cited (Zedler).

² **Scammonia**, the plant *convulus scamonia* or the purgative obtained from its root, scammony (OLD; cf. Pliny 14:110); cf. H 1:137.

³ To Zedler, **Diagrydium** is scammony corrected by the juice of lemon or quince; cf. TGL *Δακρύδιον*; TLL *diagrydion* v. *dacrydium*.

⁴ **Turbith** is glossed by Grimm as the medicinal plant *ipomaea turbetum* with a wealth of botanical citations and variants; however, Ruland offers two alchemical definitions: *Turbith minerale* is a sweet praecipitate of *Mercurius* corrected for its corrosive force; and: “*Turpethum est coagulum specificum fixum, quocirca etiam abstractis impuritatibus, & indemita volatilitate, segregatis in imo vasorum consistit, & paratur maxime ex mineralibus, quorum essentia & vis specifica potissimum est in parte constante, aut saltem vt vsibus artificiosis fit accomodata, in hanc formam redigitur.*” Suggesting the need for a harmony among these strong medications, the therapeutic musical instrument played by Lady Quintessence in Book Five, ch. 20, of *Pantagruel* has pedals of turbith, keys of scammony (GP 647; cf. COFR, Intro 32-33; H 1:84, 1:137).

⁵ P. is implying that those whom he criticizes are merely playing with names by adding the prefix **dia-**, thus indicating a medical ointment from the same substance.

sein/ die den Bawren wol zustünden/ vnnd den Hengsten einzugeben: Versuch/ vbertritt das Dosis/ schaw ob [du] nit das giffit werdest da finden. Corrigieren ist nehmen/ das ist corrigirt. Wann einer böß ist/ vnd hatt gesündiget/ vnd man strafft jhn/ das hilfft nicht lenger/ dann als lang der will/ der geschlagen ist worden: Also sind auch diese *correctiones*,^a es stehet bey jhnen/ nicht bey dir. Nuhn ist da nichts anderst einem Artzt zubetrachten/ dann daß das Giffit hinweg genommen werde: das muß durch scheiden geschehen. Zugleicher weiß als ein Schlang die ist giftig/ vnnd ist gut zu essen/ nimbst jhr das giffit hinweg/ so magstus ohne schaden essen. Also auch mit andern dingen allen zuuerstehen ist/ das ein solche scheidung da sein muß: vnd dieweil dieselbig nit da ist/ dieweil magstu deiner wirkung kein vertröstung haben/ es sey dann sach/ das dir die Natur das ampt vertrett auß glücklichem Himmel: deiner kunst halben wer es alles vmb sonst. Nuhn muß das ein mal ein rechter grundt sein/ die das giffit hinweg nimpt/ als dann durch die Alchimey beschicht: dann das ist von nöten/ daß es also beschehe/ wo *Mars* ligt in *Sole*, dz *Mars* werd hinweg genommen/ auch wo *Saturnus* ligt in *Venere*, *Saturnus* von der *Venus* gescheiden werde. Dann so vil ascendenten vnd *Impressiones* in den dingen der Natur sind/ so viel sind auch *corpora* in denselbigen. Nun was dir widerwertige *corpora* sind/ dieselbigen müssen hingenommen werden/ auff das/ das alle contrarietet hingang/ vnd von dem guten genommen werd/ das du suchest. Vnnd als wenig ein Goldt nutz vnnd gut ist/ das nicht ist in das fewr gebracht: als wenig ist auch nutz vnnd gut die Artzney/ die nit durch das fewr laufft. Dann alle ding müssen durch das fewr gehen in die ander geberung/ darinn es dienstlich soll sein dem Menschen. Soll dann das nit ein kunst vnd ein grund sein eines jeglichen Artzts? dieweil der Artzet soll/ nit giffit/ sondern *Arcana* brauchen: vnd alle Apoteckerey vnd dieselbigen præparierung alle so viel jhr sind/ geben solcher lehr kein Buchstaben: Sondern allein ist jr corrigiren/ zugleicher weiß/ als so ein Hund in ein Stuben gefistet hatt/ vnnd | 77 | man vertreibt den gestanck mit *Trochiscis* vnd Thimian/ oder Reckholder Holtz/ ist nicht der gestanck gleich so wol darinn als vor? Wiewol er nicht geschmeckt wirdt/ solt darumb einer sagen/ der gestanck ist geschieden/ vnd ist nicht da? Er ist da/ aber corrigiert mit dem rauche: Also gehet

^a Spiritual-penal and inner alchemical-digestive “**corrections**” parallel one another. In his interpretation of the Fifth Commandment, P. rejects capital punishment in favor of the spiritual conversion of the miscreant; for “strafen und das leben nemben ist nit christlich” (G 7:159, 158).

give their horses. Try to surpass the dose: see if <you> do not [still] find the poison in it. To correct is to remove: that is what it means to be corrected. If someone [does] evil and has sinned and is punished: that will help no longer than the one who has been beaten [corporeally punished] wants it to. It is the same with the *correctiones*: it depends on them, not on you. Now the only appropriate procedure for a physician is for the poison to be taken away: that must occur by means of separation. In the same way, it can happen that a snake, though poisonous, is good to eat: take away its poison and you can eat it without harm. All other things can be understood in the same way: there must be a separation. Until it occurs, you can have no relief from its effect, unless it happens that nature performs your duty for you because it is favorably disposed by the heavens. But as far as your art goes, it would have all been for naught. Now there has to be a proper basis for the removal of the poison: this happens because of alchemy. It has to happen that when *Mars* resides in *Sol*, *Mars* is taken away; or when *Saturnus* in *Venus*, *Saturnus* is separated from *Venus*. For as many ascendants and *impressiones* as there are in the things of nature, there are that many *corpora* in them too. The *corpora* that prove to be harmful must be removed so that all contrariety departs and is taken from the good quality you seek. For just as little as can gold be useful and good before it has been put to the fire, just as little can medicine be useful and good that has not passed through fire. For all things must pass through fire into their second birth, in which it will be of service to the human being. Should this not be an art and a foundation for every physician? For the [medical] art should not use poison, but rather *arcana*; and the entire apothecary art with its preparations, numerous as they are, do not add a single letter to such a doctrine. Their correcting is of a sort as if a dog had stunk up¹ a room and someone | 77 | were to drive out the stench with *trochisci*² and thyme³ or juniper wood—yet is the stench not still there as it was before? Even if it is not tasted, should anyone claim that the stench has departed and no longer there? It is still there, only corrected by the fumigation: in this way fumigation and filth go together. This is how

¹ See Grimm, **fisten**: may refer to an especially strong flatulence.

² **Trochiscus**, a circular medicated pill (OLD); on account of its aromatic quality, *trochis*, a wine made from figs (OLD) might also be intended.

³ **Thymian**, thyme, had many uses in medicine and flavoring food or wine (LMA; cf. note on H 2:71).

Rauch vnnnd Dreck mit einander hinein. Also seindt die Apotecker *Correctores*, vberladen mit Zucker den *Aloepaticum*^a vnnnd soll also nichts mehr schaden/ vnd also ist^b der Zucker jhr kunst/ vnnnd das Honig: Vnd der Entian jhr corrigieren in dem Tyriacks: Sind nicht das grobe Eselsstuck/ vnd sollen darzu Fürsten Artzney sein? Wer wolt so Blindt sein/ der das nicht wolt schmecken/ das [es] nichts wer? Was ist jhr fürgeben von der artzney anderst/ dann/ Es ist so ein liebliche Lattwergen/ von eyttel Gewürtz/ Zucker vnd Honig/ vnd von andern gutten dingen zusammen geklaubet/ vnd ist fürwar viel daruon geschrieben: Vnd also lappet die krancken mit der artzney so sie nur lieblich ist. Betrachten selbst/ das nicht der grundt ist also zusammen setzen viel ding vnd stuck/ vnnnd dem Suppenwust befehlen zu kochen: Weit ist das vom grundt der Artzney/ vnd nichts dann ein eyttle außklaubte fantasterey.

Also wie angezeigt ist von dem grundt der Artzney/ nemlich in der Philosophie/ Astronomey vnd Alchimey/ auff welchen dreyen aller grundt eines jeglichen Artzts stehet. Vnd welcher auff die drey gründt nicht gebawet ist/ den flötzt^c ein jedlicher Guß hinweg: Das ist/ sein arbeytt nimpt jhme der Windt hin weg/ nimpt jhm der Newmond hinweg: Ihme zerbricht sein Baw der nechst Newmond/ der nehste Regen weichts jhme wieder auff. Nuhn vrtheil auff solch setzten der artzney/ auff solchen grundt/ ob ich wieder die ordnung der artzney ein *Doctor* sey/ oder ob ich ein Ketzer hierinn sey/ oder ein zerbrecher der warheit/ oder ein Toller Stierskopff? Ob ich billich oder vnbillich mein gegentheil handel oder nit? Mit was fug vnd rechten sie sich wieder mich aufflehnen? Ich kan wol bekennen/ das keiner seinen Kolben gern fallen lest/ ein jedlicher dem sein Kolb in der Handt erwarmbt/ derselbig behalt jhn gern darinn: Das thundt aber allein die Narren/ der Weyse Mann sols nicht thun: Der Weiß Mann soll den Kolben lassen fallen/ | 78 | vnd ein andern suchen. Waß ligt mir an ihnen/ sie folgen mir oder nicht? Ich wirdt sie nit zwingen mögen. Aber eröffnen werd ich sie/ dz sie mit viel bescheisserey sich erhalten/ vnd dz jhr grundt in Boden nichts dann Fantasey ist. Der den krancken trew vnd from ist/ der der Natur wil nachfolgen in jhr kunst/ der wird

^a *Aloepaticu(s)* is used with “myrrha” to “elevate” the medicinal power of “mineral sulphur” (S 2:135-36); in *Archidoxis*, it is an ingredient of a natural or herbal elixir: “aus myrrha, safrach und aloepatico citrino” (S 3:194); it is also an ingredient used “contra vermes ex nutrimentis” (S 5:218)

^b Sudhoff (198): “ist also.”

^c Sudhoff (199): “flößt.”

the apothecaries act as *correctores*, overloading with sugar the *aloepaticum*,¹ after which it supposedly does no harm. Thus sugar and honey are their art; and gentian² is their correction in theriac. Are these not asinine tricks? Are these [apothecaries] not fine princes of medicine? Who should be so blind not to taste there is nothing in it? What is their pretense of medicine other than a lovely confection³ made of pure spices, sugar and honey, and other good things gathered together? Much has been written about it. And this is how you console your patients with medication about which the important thing is that it is nice. Take note: the basis [of medicine] does not have to do with composing many things and ingredients, and ordering a brew made out of it. That is far removed from the true ground of medicine and indeed nothing but contrived fantasy.

Thus has the foundation of medicine been demonstrated: as philosophy, astronomy, and alchemy, upon which three the entire enterprise of every physician should rest. And whoever is not grounded in these three will be washed away by every current. His work will be erased by the wind, his endeavors destroyed by each new moon. The first rain will dissolve it. You can be the judge of this definition of medicine, based on this foundation, whether I am a doctor against the order of medicine, or a heretic with regard to the same, or a violator of truth, or a raging bull? Do I treat my opponents properly or improperly? With what reason and justification do they rise up against me? I can indeed admit that no [fool] likes to throw away his rattle (**Kolben**).⁴ Since everyone gets used to holding it in his hand, one likes to keep it there. But this is only true of fools: the wise man should behave differently. The wise man should drop the rattle | 78 | and look for something else. What do I care whether they follow me or not? I am not going to force them. But I will reveal that they maintain themselves with much swindling and that their foundation is nothing but fantasy. Whoever is pious and faithful to the sick, whoever desires to obey nature with his art, will not flee from me.

¹ Medicine derived from the **aloe** plant or its juice, used as a purgative (OLD; cf. Pliny; CPNH).

² **Gentian** (“Enzian,” cf. H 2:35; 57), of particular relevance here, gentian was used for bitter tonics from ancient times (NCE).

³ See Grimm, **Latwerge**: medication in the form of porridge or electuary (from *electuarium*).

⁴ See Grimm, **Kolb(en)** is a club (“Keule”), a symbol of the fool who was in turn a symbol of an entire foolish age, as in Sebastian Brant’s *Ship of Fools* (1494).

mich nit fliehen. Nun sind sie doch nit alle Christo nach gangen/ so bey seinen zeiten warent/ viel die jhn verachteten: Warumb solte mir dann ein solche freyheit sein/ das mich niemandts solt verachten? Ich bin wol so starck vnd so hefftig vff jhr Leyren gelegen als sie: Da ich aber sahe/ dz nichts anders als tödten/ sterben/ würgen/ erkrümpen/ erlamen/ verderben macht vnd zuricht/ vnd das kein grundt nicht da war/ ward ich bezwungen der warheit in ander weg nachzugehen. Darnach sagten sie/ ich verstünde den *Auicennam* nit/ den *Galenum* nit/ vnd ich wüst nit was sie schrieben/ vnd sie sagten/ sie verstündens: Vnd auß dem folget jhnen/ das sie erwürgten/ ermördten/ verderbten/ erlämbten/ mehr dann ich: Daß ich eben als wol möcht sprechen/ der es verstehet/ vnd der es nit versteht/ ist Ein arbeit/ sollen gar nichts zu beyden seitten. Je leger je mehr aber ich jhr vnd mein verderben ersehen hab/ je lenger je mehr ich bezwungen ward mein haß darauff zu legen/ vnd so weit darinn ghandelt/ das ich befindt/ das ein eyttle/ außklaubte/ außerlesene bescheisserey ist. Wils aber hiemit nit also beschlossen haben/ sondern weitter in meinen Schrifften zuerstehen geben/ wie vnd was weg alle ding in falsch vnd jrrung standen: Befindt auch je lenger je mehr/ das nicht allein die Medicin/ sondern auch *Philosophia* vnd *Astronomia* hierinn/ nichts ist nach rechtem grundt fürgenommen/ wie dann gemelt ist. Das wirdt aber ein groß pöffel wider mich machen/ die zuerwerffen/ die so lange zeit in der Glori vnd Magnificentz erhalten seindt worden. Ich weiß das einmal/ das darzu kommen wirdt/ das dieselbigen Magnificentzen werden vntergestürzt werden: Dann in jhnen ist nichts dann Fantasy: Als ich auch nit allein mit dem wil beschlossen haben/ sondern auch weiter für vnd für daruon schreiben. Ob mir schon die Hohenschulen nit folgen/ ist mein will nit: Dann sie werden noch Nider genug werden. Ich wil euchs dermassen erleuttern | 79 | vnd fürhalten/ das biß in den letzten tag der welt meine geschriften müssen bleiben vnd warhafftig/ vnd die Ewer werden voller Gallen/ giff/ vnd Schlangen gezücht erkennet werden/ vnd von den leutten gehasset wie die Krötten. Es ist nit mein will/ dz jhr auff Ein jhar sollet vmbfallen oder vmbgestossen werden: Sondern jhr müsset nach langer zeit ewer schand selbst eröffnen vnd wol durch die Reuttern fallen. Mehr wil ich richten nach meinem todt wider euch/ dann

Indeed, not all followed Christ in his time; for many in his time despised him. Why should I enjoy such a liberty of being despised by no one? I have played their tune as loudly and boldly as they have. But when I saw that it resulted in nothing but killing, dying, murdering, maiming and laming, and ruining, and that there was no basis to it, I was compelled to pursue truth by another path. So then they said that I did not understand *Avicenna* and *Galenus*, that I did not know what they wrote; and they claimed that they did understand it. For this reason, it has happened that they have murdered, ruined, [and] lamed more than I. So I can talk just as well as they can about who does and does not understand: this is a labor to be performed by both sides. The longer I considered the ruination caused by them and by me, the more I was driven to hate it and to treat it as a senseless, eclectic, concocted swindle.¹ But this is not saying enough: I intend to account in my writings for the ways in which all these things are erroneous and false. I am convinced all the more that not only medicine but philosophy and astronomy as well have not been based on a proper foundation, as I have been saying. It will cause a great mob [to rise up] against me when I condemn those who for so long have stood in glory and magnificence. I know that the time will come when these same magnificences are torn asunder. For they are filled by nothing but fancy. I am not finished with them yet, but intend to write on and on about this. Whether the universities follow me or not is not up to me. For they will be cast down. I intend to elucidate | 79 | and demonstrate to you that my writings will survive and be true until the last days of the world, while yours will be acknowledged to be replete with gall, poison, and the viper's brood and will be hated by people as they hate toads.² It is not up to me that you should be brought down or should fall after one year: you must expose your own disgrace for much longer and fall through the sieve.³ I will condemn you more after my death than before. And if you were to devour my

¹ This passage is unusual and intriguing in suggesting that the new medicine of P. arose from his sense of guilt and contrition for harm done when he himself practiced the old; by extension this implies that his fury against practitioners of the old medicine coincides with revulsion at his own medical sins.

² See Grimm, **Kröte**, Luther's translation, Lev 11:29. The point is that the old physicians are comparable to the unclean things that creep upon the earth.

³ See Grimm, **Reiter**, fem. noun, "sieve," evokes the biblical image of sifting wheat from chaff (Lk 22:31; Isa. 30:28; Amos 9:9).

daruor: Vnd ob jhr schon mein leib fressent/ so habt jhr nur ein Dreck^a gefressen: Der *Theophrastus* wirdt mit euch kriegen ohn den Leib.

Ich wil aber die ermahnet haben/ die do wollen Artzt werden/ das sie geschickter die sach gegen mir angreifen dann jhre *Praeceptores*/ vnd selbst auß ewrem fleiß vnnd vrtheil die sach bedencken zwischen mir vnnd [dem] gegentheil/ vnnd keinem theil zu früe zufallen/ vnnd den andern verwerffen: Sondern bedencken mit höchstem vleiß/ warzu jhr wollen lenden/ nemlich in die gesundtheit der krancken. So das nuhn ewer fürnemen ist vnnd alles Argument/ so last mich auch in der zahl sein deren/ die euch lernen/ dann ich lende in die gesundtheit der krancken: Mit was grundt vnnd dapfferkeit/ ist beschrieben/ vnnd teglich werd ichs öffnen. Darumb aber das ich Allein bin/ dz ich New bin/ dz ich Deutsch bin/ verachten drumb meine schrifften nit/ vnd lasset euch nit abwendig machen. Dann hie herdurch muß die kunst der artzney gehen vnd gelernt werden/ vnd sonst durch kein andern weg nit. Ich wil euch auch in sonderheit befehlen/ dz jr mit vleiß wollet lesen die arbeiten so ich vollenden will (auß der hülff Gottes): Nemlich ein *Volumen* von der Philosophie der Artzney/ darinn aller kranckheiten vrsprung sollen erkündigt werden: Vnd Eins in der Astronomie/ von wegen der heylung/ mit genugsamlichen verstand fürhalten: Vnd am letzten eins von der Alchimey/ dz ist/ *Modum Praeparandi Rerum Medicinalium*. Vnd so jhr dieselbigen drey werden durchlesen vnnd verstehen/ so werdet jhr (auch die abgefallen seindt) mir nachfolgen. Wil auch hiemit nit beschlossen haben/ sondern für vnnd für/ dieweil Gott gnad gib/ die Monarchey erfüllen/ nemlich inn sonderheit ettlich Libell treffenlich berürendt. Vnd so mir der groß vngunst nit so hefftig auff dem hals lege/ | 80 | etlicher widersacher auß der Artzney/ vnd anderer/ es müst auff dißmal der mehrertheil geendet sein. Ich kan auch wol das vorbetrachten/ dz die *Astronomi* sich wider mich auch werden einlegen/ auch die *Philosophi*: Aber sie werden mich nit verstehen/ vnd werden zu früe schreyen wieder mich/ vnd am letzten werden sie wider heim zihen. Lassent euch aber dz nit wendig machen/ sondern lesen dz jhre dieweil/ biß dz mein auff den Füßen nachfolgen wirdt: So werden jhr finden/ was jhr gern haben werden. Dann hierin ist allein mein

^a Sudhoff (201): “nur dreck.”

body, you would have consumed only dirt. *Theophrastus* will carry on the struggle against you without a body.

But I do intend to warn those who would be physicians that they should take up the cause against me more skillfully than their *praeceptores* have done; and form a conscientious judgment about who is right [in the dispute] between me and <my> opponents, and not be too hasty in falling in with one side and rejecting the other. Instead they should consider as conscientiously as possible what purpose you are to apply yourselves toward:¹ the health of patients. Assuming that this is your purpose and that all your arguing [is directed to this end], then let me be among the number of those who teach you; for I apply myself to the health of those who are ill. The basis for this and the [required] intrepidity have been described; every day I will display it to you. But do not despise my writings and be turned from them because I am solitary, because I am new, [or] because I am German. For it is in this way that the art of medicine must proceed and be learned and no other. In particular, I commend to you to read carefully those writings that I will complete, so help me God: that is, one volume on the philosophy of medicine, in which the origin of all diseases is to be investigated. One on astronomy, with reference to healing, to be demonstrated with adequate understanding. And finally, one on alchemy, that is to say, *Modum Praeparandi Rerum Medicinalium*. And if you peruse and comprehend these works, you will follow me (this includes those who have fallen away).² With this I do not intend to conclude, rather, [I will] by the grace of God gradually fulfill the monarchy, in particular by means of several brief books treating [of things] most excellently. And if the great disfavor of various opponents in medicine and other fields does not weigh on my too heavily, | 80 | much of this will also reach completion. I can also expect that the *astronomi*, as well as the *philosophi*, will weigh in against me. But they will not understand me and will too readily cry out against me, and in the end they will slink back where they came from. Do not let that discourage you; instead, read what [they have written] until my [writings] follow theirs in becoming available. In this way, you will find what you prefer. For my only purpose is to

¹ See Grimm, *länden* (4c): the physician should *guide or direct* (things) toward the patients' good.

² His appeal to those, "*die abgefallen seindt*," suggests that P. is thinking of former students such as Johannes Oporinus who followed him for a time even after the Basel fiasco (see SP 46).

fürnemen zuschreiben/ auff was grundt ich die artzney setz vnd halt/ auff das jr von mir wissent/ wz jhr sollent auff mich vnd auff mein grundt bawen. Vnd leg euch das dermassen für/ dz jhr mich nit sollet verwerffen auß der anweisung ewerer *Patrum*, Praeceptorum/ Professorn/ etc. Ihr sollet euch auch nit lassen verführen die gemeine Artzt/ Scherer/ Bader/ Platterer/ etc. die wollen hoch vnd mechtig gesehen werden/ vnd brauchen grosse redt vnd geschwetz/ nichts als eyttel berühmen vnd geuden/ vnd [ist] doch nichts daran. Es ist mit jhnen gleich als mit der Nonnen Psalliren/ dieselbigen Nonnen brauchen des Psalters weiß/ vnd treiben gesang/ vnd wissen weiter weder gykes noch gagkes: Also ists mit den Artzten auch/ sie schreyen vnd treiben die weyß für vnd für. Vnd wie ein Nonn etwan zu zeiten ein wort verstehet/ darnach zehen bletter nichts mehr: Also sind auch diese Artzt/ etwan treffens eins/ darnach aber nichts. Solchs alles ermessents vnd erfahrents bey euch selbst/ so werdet jhr selber Richter darinn sein/ auß was grundt menniglicher fundirt ist vnd schreibet. Wiewol es doch in [der] artzney nit seltsam ist/ vnd sich scheltens nimandts kümmern soll: Dann die artzney ist erger in jhren Conscientzen/ dann alle Hurenwirt/ vnd auffeinander gericht wie die Holhyppen/ das alles zeichen seindt der vnwarhafftigen kunst/ dieselbigen brauchen neidt^a haß/ hinderung vnd dergleichen/ wo einer dem andern mag solches beweisen/ das ist jhr kunst. Also regiert sie der Teuffel/ auß dem sie die ordnung haben vnd führen/ daran sollet jhr nicht zweiffeln: Das beweiset das viel mörden vnnd erwürgen/ geschicht nit auß der Handt Gottes. | 81 |

^a Sudhoff (202): “neid und haß.”

write of the foundation upon which medicine should be placed, so that you will know about me what it is that you should build upon me and my foundation. And take note that you should not reject me at the prompting of your *patres, praeceptores*, professors, and so on. Nor should you allow yourselves to be led astray by the common physicians and other medical practitioners, such as barbers, bathhouse physicians, monk-shearers,¹ and their ilk. They want to be seen as high and mighty and [therefore] give big speeches. It is nothing but idle boasting and showing off,² with nothing behind it. It is similar to the chanting of the nuns. They make use of the psaltery for singing but they don't know a thing about it. That's how it is with the physicians too. They carry on like that incessantly. And just as a nun at times might understand one word and for the next ten pages nothing more—that is exactly how these physicians are. They get one right by chance and after that nothing. Take your own measure and experience of these things, and you can be your own judges of the basis on which the lot stand and [on what basis] they write. Indeed, [this state of affairs] is not rare in medicine and no one bothers to denounce it; for in the medical profession consciences are more poorly disposed than with all the pimps taken together; and everything sticks together like the cheap wafer cakes.³ All those things are the signs of the false arts. They have recourse to envy, hatred, obstruction, and so on, whenever anyone is able to prove something to someone else. That is their art. The devil rules over them. They get their system and guidance from him. Let there be no doubt about it. This proves that all the medical killing and slaughtering is not from the hand of God. | 81 |

¹ Cf. Grimm, **Scherer, Bader, Platterer**: barbers or “bathers” often exercised the function of the surgeon (cf. none on H 2:8); **Platte**, “tonsure,” suggests that those who shaved the heads of monks did likewise.

² See Grimm, **geuden** (2c).

³ **Hohlhippe**: see H 2:16.

Der vierdt Grundt der Artzney/
welcher ist *PROPRIETAS*^a

So nuhn beschlossen ist/ von dem wissen vnnnd künsten der Artzney/ darauff ein jedlicher Artzt stehn soll/ vnnnd sein Profession darein setzen: So ist nuhn von nötten/ dz derselbig Artzt noch ein grundt an jhm habe/ der da diene auff die drey: Das ist/ der die drey in seinem grundt innen halt vnd trage/ nach dem willen Gottes/ der dann die artzney geben vnnnd beschaffen hatt. Dann der Artzt ist der nicht/ der jhm selber artzneyet/ sondern nur andern. Wie ein Schaff nicht jhme Wollen tregt/ sondern dem Weber vnnnd Kürsner/ vnd wirdt gelobt darumb/ dz viel vnd gutte Wollen tregt: Also soll auch der Artzt sein/ gleich dem Schaffe/ vnd nit jhme/ sondern [ändern] den nutz tragen vnd geben/ vnnnd sich des Exempels nicht eussern: Dann also ist auch *Christus* von *Iohanne Baptista* fürgebildet worden einem Lamb. Nun ist das groß von nötten/ das ein Artzt ein Lamb auch sey: Dann da ligen viel grosser ding innen verborgen/ nemlich/ Mörderey/ Erwürgen/ Krümmerey/ Lämerey/ Verderberey/ Schinderey/ Diebstal/ Raub: Diese ding all sindt in einem Wolffartzt. Dann wie ein Lamb vnnnd Schaff soll der Artzt sein/ der da von Gott ist: wie [ein] Wolff ist der/ der wider Gott sein artzney braucht. Nun erlesent auß dem/ wie so ein verflucht thier der Wolff ist/ wie Gott den Wolff vergleicht den schönödesten vnd verdampstesten: also billich auch sollen sie dem

^a The thematically kindred treatise *De Virtute Humana* (G 2:95ff.) which is reflective of the Sermon on the Mount and the notion of *Imitatio Christi* and as respectful of lowly professions as of that of the physician (98) is of this period according to Goldammer. It advises the reader to embrace “die tugent des seligen lebens”: “laß den gesteinen und dem gold ir ampt, das ist: laß sie dem apoteker, gib sie zu nutz (97-98). The theme of this chapter, Christian love of one’s fellows as the foundation of medicine, was anticipated in the recent *Spital-Buch. Erster Teil* (1529), which begins with this declaration reminiscent of Paul in 1 Cor 13:13: “Das höchst so wir artz un us haben ist die kunst, nachfolgent das dem gleich ist, ist die liebe, und deren zweien ist die hofnung ir beschluß” (S 7:369). Moreover, in characterizing the apostolic office of the physician, “*Proprietas*” looks forward to the *Sieben Defensionen* of 1537-38: “dan got ist der der da geboten hat, du solst dein nechsten lieben als dich selbst und got lieben vor allen dingen” (S 11:130). The word *proprietas* is used here in the sense of moral rectitude, but elsewhere, especially in his writings on *tartarus* in the sense of a property or special virtue acquired or perfected by alchemical preparation: “was sie tun das geschicht aus der appropriation und nicht aus proprietet der natur” (S 2:382). In order to equate “*proprietas*” with “*virtus*,” Sudhoff (203) follows the title with: “[Der viert tractat, von der virtus.]”

The Fourth Foundation of Medicine,
Which is *PROPRIETAS*.¹

Now that I have finished writing about the knowledge and arts of medicine upon which every physician should stand and build his profession, it is necessary [to add] that the same physician should have yet another mainstay that serves the other three. That is to say, [a mainstay] which supports and holds up the other three on its foundation in accordance with the will of God who created and gave [us] medicine. For the physician is not he who heals himself, but rather he [who serves] the others. Similarly, the sheep does not bear wool for itself, but rather for the weaver and furrier and is praised because it bears much and good wool. This is how the physician should be: also like the sheep, bearing utility for <others> and not for himself, and [thus] not different from [the divine] example. For even *Christus* himself was likened by *Johannis Baptista* to a lamb. It is sorely needed that the physician should also be like a lamb.² For [in the institution of medicine] many awful things lie concealed: murder and mayhem, mutilation, corruption, exploitation, theft, [and] plunder. All this is present in the form of a wolf-[in sheep's clothing]-physician. For the physician who is God's should be like a lamb and a sheep. The one who uses his medicine against [the commandment of] God is like <a> wolf. Learn from this what an accursed creature the wolf is: rightly are [wolves] compared to the physician, just as God compares the wolf to what is most despicable and damnable.³ Therefore, it is only right that they should be compared to the

¹ See OLD, *proprietas*: the special property or character of a thing; the proper or specific meaning of a word; appropriateness, fitness, rightness, propriety; ownership.

² For the medieval tradition evoked by this comparison, see "**Christus** als Apotheker" and "*Christus medicus*" (LMA).

³ As in Mt 7:15.

reissenden Artzt zugelegt werden. Welche sind die? Es sind/ die da artzneyen/ vnd wissen bey jhrer Gewissny/ dz sie nichts damit wissen noch können/ noch gebrauchen sie es von wegen des Geldts: Denen ist gleich als dem Wolff/ der nimpt die Schaff/ vnnd weiß wol/ das sie [sein] nicht seindt/ aber von seines nutz wegen thut ers. Ein solcher Artzt ist ein Mörder: Dann er | 82 | wagts/ die krancken sie genesen oder sterben/ damit sein nutz für sich gang. Vnnd gleich als ein Schaff in des Wolffs Rachen/ also seindt auch diese krancken in des Artzts Handt. Dergleichen sie stelen dem krancken sein gutt/ sie nemmen jhm sein Hauß vnd Hoff/ fressen jhme das sein/ entblößen jhn vnd die seinen: Das ist gestolen vnnd geraubet. Dann einer der sich nehret mit vnwarhafftiger [vn]gewisser kunst/ was er damit einzeucht/ ist nichts anders als raub. Sie mörden vnnd erwürgen/ krippen vnnd erlähmen: Dann vrsach/ in den dingen allen/ sie wissen nichts darumb/ so muß es sein fürgang nemmen/ wie der Windt den Segel wehet. Nicht also soll der Artzt sein/ er soll nicht sein nutz betrachten: Ob ers schon kan vnnd weiß/ so kan ers vnnd weiß darumb nicht/ das [er] dardurch Hoffart erlange/ Pracht/ Pomp/ vnnd sein Haußfraw in Gülden Ketten zich/ die ein Bewrin/ ein Köchin/ ein Magdt/ ein Dirn/ etwann ein Huren gewesen^a ist/ zu einer Gräffin vergleichen/ setzen vnd stellen/ gekleydt vnd gewandet: Diß seindt alle reissende Wölff. Die artzney soll inn ein Schaff sein/ vnnd inn ein Lamb/ also das sie mit solchem Gemütt/ Trew vnnd Herten gereicht werd/ mitgetheilt/ vnnd der Trew von krancken hingegen gewarten: Dann Trew auff Trew gebüeret sich/ Warheit auff Warheit/ Gerechts/ auff Gerechts. Nicht Gerecht auff Vngerechts/ als besolden einen Wolffsartzt mit Trew: Als von ein krancken/ der ein Lamb ist/ den Reissenden Wolff ersettigen: Sonder die ding alle sollen sich im Artzt anfahren: So sie im Anfang seindt/ so werden sie im Endt/ das ist vom krancken auch gefunden werden. Wo aber der Artzt die ordnung vmbkert/ vnnd ist ein Wolff/ vnnd wil ein Schaff haben/ ist vngerecht/ will ein gerechten haben/ der jhme geb/ vnnd das er selbst dem krancken nichts geb/ dz jhme der krancke trew sey/ vnnd er jhme vntrew: Wo das ist/ im selbigen orth wissen/ das kein Fieber/ kein Wind/ kein Wetter vber den Merten jrrieger laufft/ vnd verworrener durch einander gehet/ als solche Artzt ein gewechs machen durcheinander/ dz niemand wol beschliessen kan was es ist/ vnd thunt trew vnd vntrew/ falsch vnd betrug/ gutts vnd böses vermischt/ erger dann Gall vnd Zucker.

^a Sudhoff (204): “einst ein huren etwan gewesen.”

voracious physicians. Who are they? They are the ones who medicate and know upon their conscience that they neither know anything nor can accomplish anything. They abuse [medicine] for the sake of money. They are like the wolves that take the sheep and know that it does not <belong to them>; but they do so for their own good. That sort of physician is a murderer; for he | 82 | proceeds regardless of whether the patient [will] recover or perish, so that his own interests will be served. As a sheep in the jaws of a wolf: so it goes for patients in the hands of such a physician. They steal the property of the patient. They take away his house and yard, eat up what he has, and strip him and his family bare. It is theft and plunder. For whoever feeds himself with [a] dishonest, <un>certain art steals whatever he profits in doing this. They murder and slay, cripple and lame. And why? Because whatever happens—they know not why—is wind in their sails. This is not how the physician should be: he should not look to his advantage. Though he is in a position to know, he sees to it that he does not know: <he> achieves pride, luxury, [and] ostentation; and adorns his wife with golden chains—she who may have been a peasant, a cook, a maid, a servant girl, even a whore—giving her all the appearance and status and clothing of a duchess: these are the voracious wolves. Medicine should be [for the patients] like a sheep, like a lamb to those who have submitted [to it] with such courage, faith, and heart; and the patient should be attended to with the same good faith. For faith deserves faith; truth, truth; justice, justice. Justice does not deserve injustice. As for rewarding a wolf-physician with [good] faith, this is like satiating a voracious wolf with a lamb who is the patient. Instead of this, all things should begin with the physician. As they have been inaugurated, so will they find their completion in the patient and his recovery. But where the physician perverts the order, and is a wolf who would have the sheep, he unjustly covets a just person who would give to him without his giving anything to the patient, so that the patient would be faithful to him without his being faithful in turn—when this happens, you will find that no fever, nor wind, nor weather moves more madly in March, confounding things more than the physicians do in creating a mess so that no one can conclude what is going on, mixing faith and faithlessness, falsehood and swindle, good and evil, all worse than gall and sugar.

| 83 | Ob ich nit billich mög die Redligkeit eines Artzts/ auch lassen ein grundt sein vnnd ein Seulen der artzney? Was ist des Artzts Redligkeit? Ja Ja/ Nein Nein/ das ist sein Redligkeit/ darauff soll er gründen. So nuhn ja sol ja sein/ so muß er dermassen die Artzney in rechtem grundt^a wissen/ daß das ja ein ja sey/ vnnd werdt: Also auch Nein/ soll das Nein sein: Darumb soll er wissen/ was Nein der Artzney sey. Also auß dem folgt/ das diese Redligkeit eines Artzts stehet auff der wissenheit der kunst: Welche wissenheit gehet vnnd kompt auß dem bemelten angezeigten grundt/ ausserhalb deren keiner mag sich redlich in [der] Artzney heissen oder melden. Nuhn mercken/ das Gott den Artzt unter allen Künsten vnnd Faculteten der Menschen am liebsten hatt/ befihlet vnnd gebeutt. So nuhn der Artzt vonn Gott dermassen fürgenommen vnnd gesetzt ist/ so muß er endlich kein Laruenmann sein/ kein alts Weib/ kein Hencker/ kein Lügner/ kein Leichtfertiger/ sondern ein Warhafftiger Mann muß es sein. Dann als wenig Gott den falschen Propheten Discipul vnnd Jünger lest/ also wenig lest er diesen Artzten die kunst der Artzney. Dann jhr sehet/ dz die Falschen Propheten/ Apostel/^b etc. Marterer vnnd Beichtiger nicht grünen/ nicht fürkommen/ sondern so sie sich am höchsten schetzen vnnd am besten/ so fallen sie/ vnnd alle jhre Jünger werden wieder sie/ vnnd die Ihrigen vberwinden sie. Dann Gott lest sein wort vnnd heimligkeit durch kein falschen ein fürgang haben. So er durch den falschen würckte als wol als durch den gerechten vnd warhaftigen ohn arglisten/ so hett er nit dörffen außerwehlen seine Apostel/ sondern hetts wol dem Sathan^c befohlen: So es aber wider den Sathan ist/ vnnd die falschen Propheten des Sathans sind/ so stehets in den außerwehlten Gottes: Vnd also die falschen Propheten/ Apostel/ etc. vnd Marterer werden außgeschlossen in diesen dingen vnd all jhr Wunderwerck/ Zeichen/ Thaten/ Predigen/ Lehr/ Weissagung/ werden alle verworffen/ vnd weder jr Ja noch Nein wird angeommen werden

^a Sudhoff (205): “in rechten grund.”

^b The **false apostles** or **prophets** may not be those whose prophecies do not come true but rather those who prophesy from nature, informed by its demonic spirits (see *Liber artis praesagae Theophrasti* S 14:153ff.).

^c Increasing the profile of God in medicine induces P. to raise that of **Satan** as well; the devil can also heal: “so der artzt die zwei [nature or God’s help] nit braucht...so spelt sich der glaub, der ein in got der ander in Satan” (S 12:272). Satan can also use his divinely ordained intelligence to search out the secrets of nature: “also ist es des Satans natur, das er alles erforscht, erfart, nachgeheth, nachschleicht, was nicht seins tuns ist, das er erfare was sei” (435). These citations from the *Astronomia Magna* reflect themes of Book Five of the *Invisible Diseases*.

| 83 | Is it proper that I should make the honesty of the physician a foundation and pillar of medicine? What is the honesty of a physician? [To reply with:] “Yes, yes. No, no”—that is the honesty of the physician.¹ That is his honesty upon which he should base his profession. And if “Yes” is to mean “Yes,” then he must know medicine on such an honest foundation that “Yes” will be and become “Yes,” and “No” will be “No.” Therefore, he should know what “No” means in medicine. From this it follows that the honesty of the physician proceeds and stems from the aforementioned foundation, outside of which no one can call himself honest in medicine. Let it be known that God prefers the physician among all the arts and faculties of the human being, commending and commanding him accordingly. Given that the physician is preferred and placed in this way by God, he must not be a mummer or a fool, not an old wife nor a henchman, [not a] liar [nor a] careless sort. Rather, he must be a man of truth. For no more than God chooses the false prophet [to be a] disciple and apostle, no more than that does he choose the art of medicine for that sort of physician. For you [can] see that the false prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and their ilk do not flourish and advance. Instead, when they pride themselves as the highest and best, they fall; and all their followers turn against them and overcome them. For God does not let his word and mysterious being (**heimlichkeit**)² be advanced by anyone who is false. If it were the case that he acted through those who are false, not only through the righteous and the true who are without guile, then he would hardly have chosen his [own] apostles, but instead left that up to Satan. But whatever is contrary to Satan and Satan’s false prophets stands with the elect of God. And since the false prophets, apostles, and martyrs are excluded in these things and in all miraculous works, signs, deeds, sermons, teachings, [and] prophecies, all will be cast out: neither their “Yes” nor their “No” will be accepted; instead, [their] good and bad will be cast into the abyss of

¹ The advice of Jesus in Mt 5:37 is: “Let your word be ‘Yes, Yes’ or ‘No, No’; anything more than that comes from the evil one.”

² See Grimm, **Heimlichkeit** (5b) and (6): used theologically for the secrets of God, nature, or conscience; *mysterium*.

vor Gott/ sonder gutts vnd böses in abgründt der Hellen gestossen. Also hie auch mit der artzney zuuerstehen ist/ dz Gott nit wil die leichtfertigkeit domit begaben/ sonder wil/ dz sie geschehe durch die warhafftigen. | 84 | Dann dieweil Gott die kunst geschaffen vnnd geben hatt dem Menschen zu nutz/ das niemands mag wiederreden: So muß sie allein in der warheit stehen/ vnnd in gewißner warheit/ nicht in verzweiffleter kunst/ sondern in gewißner kunst. Dann Gott wil/ das der mensch warhafftig sey/ vnnd nicht ein zweyffler vnd ein lügner: Hatt die warheit beschaffen/ nit die lügen/ den Artzt also in der warheit zusein verordnet vnnd beschaffen/ nichts in lügen: Die warheit ist nuhn sein Redligkeit. Also ist des Artzts Redligkeit/ das er so standthafft vnnd so warhafft sey/ als die erwehnten Apostel *Christi*/ dann er ist nicht minder bey Gott. So nuhn Gott die warheit ist/ vnd er setzt den Artzt/ wie kan er jhn dann zu eim alten Weib machen/ oder zu einer Daschen/ sondern er muß jhn machen in der warheit. Hierauff soll gesetzt werden die Vierdte Seul. Aber wo es nicht in der warheit stehet/ als vnbeuweglich als Gott selbst/ sondern sie stehet im Lufft/ so stehet sie auff dem Sathan gebawen: Gleich wie die falschen Prophe-ten/ die sperren den leuten das Maul auch auff: Vnnd als die falschen Apostel/ die thun auch zeichen vor der Welt: Vnnd als die falschen Marterer/ die sich lassen tödten/ als wol als die gerechten: Gleich als die falschen Beichtiger/ Betten vnnd Fasten als wol als die gerechten. Nuhn seindt sie darumb nicht auff die Warheit Gottes gebawen noch auff Christum/ sondern auff den Teuffel vnd Sathan/ indem thun sie es. Also auch diese Artzt jhr Fortun vnnd Kunst suchen vnnd nemen/ vnnd darnach sagen sie gleich den obgemelten falschen: Wir seindt auß Gott/ sehet was können wir/ sehet was thun wir/ da sehet wie Gott durch vns wircket: Vnnd verschweigen die Warheit/ das durch den Teuffel geschicht. So jhr betrachteten/ wie die Zeychen geschehen so seltzam/ so würdent jhr in denselbigen auch finden/ wie da beschehen ewer groß Triumph vnnd geschrey: Nicht durch euch/ sondern durch den der leidet.

Nit weniger soll er auch eines guten Glaubens sein. Dann der/ der eins guten glaubens ist/ der leugt nicht/ vnnd ist ein volbringer der Werck Gottes. Dann wie er ist/ also ist er sein selbst zeugnuß: Das ist/ du must ihn Gott eins ehrlichen/ | 85 | redlichen/ starcken/ warhafftigen Glaubens sein/ mit allem deinem gemüth/ hertzen/ sinn vnnd gedancken/ in aller liebe und vertrawung: Als dann auff solchen glauben vnd liebe/ wirt Gott sein warheit nit von dir ziehen/ vnd wirt

hell. In this way medicine must also be understood: God does not want to endow the frivolous, but rather wants it to be effected by truth. | 84 | For inasmuch as God created the art[s] and gave them for the use of the human being, which is something no one can deny, art must dwell only in truth, and indeed in the certainty of truth, not in the desperation of art but rather in the certainty of the art. For God wants the human being to be truthful; not a doubter and liar. [God] has created truth, not lies, and has therefore ordained and created the physician to dwell in truth, not in lies. The truth is therefore his honesty. The honesty of the physician means being as steadfast and truthful as the chosen apostles of Christ, for the physician is not less with God. [And] inasmuch as God is truth, and [God] institutes the physician, how could he make him an old wife or a fool (**Daschen**).¹ On the contrary, God must make him in truth. This is the basis of the fourth pillar of medicine. But whenever it does not stand in truth as immovably as God himself, but rather stands in the air, then it is built upon Satan, just as are the false prophets who likewise open their mouths to people, and as are the false apostles who also perform signs for the world; and as the false martyrs who get themselves killed, just like the just ones,² or the false confessors [who] pray and fast like the just ones. Yet they are not founded upon the truth of God, nor upon Christ: it is rather the devil and Satan upon whom they stand. So also do these physicians seek and find their fortune and art, and after that they proclaim, just like the aforementioned false ones: “We are from God. Look what we can do. Look what we perform. Look how God works through us.” And they keep the truth silent: that it happens through the devil. If you were to observe how strangely the signs occur, you would also discover in these how it is that your great triumph and acclaim comes about: not through you, but rather through the one who suffers.

Nonetheless, [the physician] should also be of good faith. For he who is of good faith does not deny [Christ], and is a performer of the works of God. For as he is, so does he give testimony about himself: That is, you must be of an honorable, | 85 | honest, strong, truthful faith in God, with all your mind, heart, sense, and thoughts, in complete love and trust. For with such faith and love, God will not

¹ See Grimm, **Tasche**: in the Carynthian dialect of P.’s youth a blundering fool.

² Konrad Grebel (brother-in-law of St. Gall mayor Vadianus) and other Swiss Anabaptists courted a **martyrdom** that befell hundreds after 1527 (see Heinold Fast, “Konrad Grebel,” in *Radikale Reformatoren* [Munich: Beck, 1978], 112-13).

dir seine werck offenbar machen/ glaublich/ sichtlich/ tröstlich. Nun aber/ so du bist gegen Gott nit eins solchen glaubens/ so wirdt dir in deinen wercken abgehn/ vnd würdst^a mangel darinn haben: Nachfolgent als dann/ so hatt das volck kein glauben inn dir auch. Auff das folgt/ daß du offenbar wirst dem volck/ wie du gegen Gott stehst in deinem Glauben. Dann so sie dich vnwarhafftig finden/ lügenhafftig / zweiffilig/ vnwissend/ so mögen sie auß dem vollen grund haben/ das dein Sach nichts sey gegen Gott/ vnd das du ein schwermer bist in der Artzney/ vnd also mag dein kunst niemandts geniessen. Zugleich weiß als einer der da predigt vnd lehrt das volck/ vnd sagt jhn vil/ vnnd neben dem gehet kein Apostolisch werck mit/ das ist der Buchstab der todt ist:^b dann diese predigt lest Gott nit fruchtbar werden in den Schäflein oder zuhörenden/ er nimpts wider von jhnen. Dann der/ der da seet/ der ist nit der recht Seemann zum Acker/ vnnd seet nichts dann Rathen ein: Also ist es mit solchen ohngegründten Artzten. Dieweil die Artzney nichts soll als ein warheit sein/ so muß sie auß Gottes/ vnnd auff Gottes warheit gegründet stehn/ vnd in keiner lügen. Soll ich dann [vnrecht sein/] so ich den grund dahin setz dermassen/ das Gott der Lehrer der Artzney sey/ das ist/ in der weiß der Erschaffung.^c Darumb so soll der Artzt vom volck sein glauben

^a Sudhoff (207): “wirst.”

^b In speaking of nature as the true book of experience and of the fabricated medical books of his opponents as “the letter” that is “dead” (“den erdichten büchern, **dero buchstaben tot** ist”—S 11:177), P. is evoking a scriptural antithesis that would justify seeing the findings in his opponents’ books as not entirely contrary to nature, but rather as not “tried out” (“probirt”), as misunderstood with reference to their true source, and therefore without fruit (cf. H 2:29, vis-à-vis). In the later work, as in the *Sieben Defensiones*, the study of nature is an extension of the injunction of Jesus: “dan so Christus spricht, perscrutamini scripturas, warumb wolt ich nicht auch sagen darvon: perscrutamini naturas rerum?” (S 11:130).

^c Here, as in the *Labyrinthus Medicorum Errantium*, God is the teacher of medicine because he has created it: “wer ist nun der die arzney gemacht hat anders als allein got? wer ist dan der sie wisse als allein got?” (S 11:172). In the same way that God knows medicine because he made it, the physician must know his *materiae medicae* because he has tested them anew and made them work, not merely reading of them in ancient sources. As always, theology confirms science. In the *Liber de Sancta Trinitate* of 1524, we read, “Die paramirischen schriften seindt uns wol zu betrachten in dem, das das liecht der natur und der heilig geist uns anzeigt. dann von ihm gehts alles aus in unsern gedanken” (G 3:241). In the late *Labyrinthus Medicorum Errantium* of 1537-38, we read again about the source of medicine: “das buch ist gott selbst,” and therefore that, “also sollen unsere weisheit aus got auch fließen” (S 11:171, 173). The persistent chord only sounds more diffusely when nature as an array of supernatural and divine powers disguises it.

withdraw his truth from you, and will reveal his works to you, faithfully, visibly, consolingly. If, however, you are not disposed toward God with such faith, your works will fail you and there will be flaws in them. And accordingly, the people will have no faith in you either. From this it follows that you will appear to people in accordance with how you stand in your faith toward God. For if they find you untruthful, deceitful, skeptical, [and] unknowing, then they may react this way for the good reason that your profession is nothing with respect to God; and that you are a sectarian enthusiast¹ in medicine; and no one can benefit from your medicine. In much the same way, if someone preaches and teaches to the people, and tells them all sorts of things; and this is accompanied by no apostolic work, then this is the letter that is dead.² For such a sermon does not allow God to be fruitful in his sheep or listeners: He takes it back from them again. For he who sows in that case is not the true sower of the field: he sows nothing but weeds.³ This is how it is with such groundless physicians. Since medicine should be nothing but truth, it must proceed from and be founded upon God's truth, not on lies. Am I then <mistaken> in depicting the ground in such a way that God is the teacher of medicine, that is, in the manner of its creation? Therefore, the physician should have the faith of the people, just as he has his

¹ **Schwärmer**, sectarian religious “fanatics” such as Anabaptists, Sacramentarians, or Spiritualists, were despised and persecuted in part because of Luther’s denunciation of them as errant religious “enthusiasts.”

² P. here follows 2 Cor 3:6, “**the letter kills**, but the Spirit gives life,” a dictum deeply engrained in the culture of an age focused on restoring texts, interpreting their true meaning, and living in their spirit.

³ See Grimm, **Raden**: the weeds sown identify the metaphor with Mt 13:25, the parable of the wheat and the tares.

haben/ so hatt er jhn auch bey Gott: dann von dir zu Gott/ vom volck in dich will Gott/ das all theil in der warheit standen vnd leben/ vnd alle künst auff Erden sind Göttlich/ sind auß Gott/ vnnd nichts auß anderm grundt. Dann der Heilig Geist ist der anzünder des Liechts der Natur:^a Darumb niemandts lestern mag die Astronomey/ niemandt die Alchimey/ niemandts die Medicin/ niemandts die Philosophey/ niemandts die Theologie/ niemandts die Artisterey/ niemandts die Poeterey/ niemandts die Musick/ niemants^b die Geomancey/ niemands die *Auguria*, vnd ander all. Dann warumb? was erfindt der Mensch von jhm selbst/ oder durch sich selbst? | 86 | nicht ein pletzlin an ein paar hosen zu setzen. Waß erfindt der Teuffel? nichts vff erden/ gar nichts: nit als viel das man ein Lauß auff dem Haupt möchte tödten oder fahen. Was aber inn vnß erfunden wirdt durch das angezündte Liecht der Natur/ als dan so ist der Teuffel der Wegweiser/ der do alle ding so vns Gott gibt/ vnderstehet zu felschen/ zu lügen zu machen vnnd zu betriegerey: darauß dann all Handwerck hinderung nemmen/ die Alchimey verführt ist worden vnnd bracht in die lügenhafftigen Zungen/ vnd falschen Lehrer: dergleichen die Geomancy auff ein falschen grund gesetzt: die Medicin auß jhren rechten trappen gebracht: vnnd also hatt der Teuffel die *Auguria* auch verwandelt/ vnd als er dann ist ein lügner/ vnd die lügen allein/ vnd Gott die Warheit / vnd Gott gibt vnnd lehrt vns die warheit/ vnnd der Teuffel von stundan vndersteht Gott dardurch zu schmehen vnd jhn zu einem lügner zu machen/ vnd verführt die schwachen gleubigen in Gott/ vnd führt sie in Irrthumb/ auff daß sie von Gott abfallen/ vnd in der kunst lügen finden/ vnd Gott also straffen/ vnd also mit lügen jhr zeit verzehren/ vmbgehn vnd suchen^c vnd grüblen/ vnd doch daß sie sterben ohn Erfindung der warheit. Also wissen/ daß hierinn der Artzt ein auffsehen soll haben: dann nicht auff des Satans grund/ sondern auff den grund Gottes ist er gebawen/ vnd soll in der warheit vnuerruckt stett wandern. Vnd ich meldt das/ daß die Faculteten vnnd all Artzt/ in lügnerey wandeln/ vnd mit gewalt darinn ligen/ vnd die lügen für ein grund halten vnd achten/ vnd darauff bleiben/ vnnd sie heissens ein

^a It might seem that the later work tends to acknowledge God more directly as the source of all knowledge, more than is the case in the Basel period when nature was still in the forefront. Yet the earliest theological writings are unambiguous: there are two lights, of nature and of the spirit: both stem from the divine source, though only the light of the spirit illuminates the truth of salvation through Christ (G 3:261ff.).

^b Sudhoff (208): “niemants.”

^c Sudhoff (208): “verzeren und umbgon und suchen.”

from God. For God desires that it should proceed from you to Him, [and] from the people to you, so that all stand and live in the truth; and all arts of the earth are divine, [and] are from God; and nothing from any other foundation. For the Holy Spirit is the igniter of the light of nature: for this reason, no one should condemn astronomy, no one alchemy, no one medicine, no one philosophy, no one theology, no one the [liberal] arts, no one poetry, no one music, no one geomancy, no one *auguria*, and so on for all the rest.¹ What then is the reason? What could the human being ever invent by or through himself? | 86 | Not so much as a patch to put onto a pair of pants. What does the devil invent? Nothing in the world. Nothing at all! Not so much that one could catch or kill a louse on your head with it. But as for that which is invented in us by the ignited light of nature—there the devil would show us the way, since he presumes to falsify all the things that God gives us, and to turn them into lies and swindles. By this all the trades are impeded, [and] alchemy has been led astray and introduced to mendacious tongues and false teachers. Just as geomancy has been placed on a false foundation, medicine has been diverted from its proper course. And just as the devil has falsified [the signs of] augury, and in so doing is a liar and nothing else but lies. And as God is the truth, who teaches and gives us that which is true, the devil always presumes to scorn God by the same token and to make him out as a liar and to seduce the weak believers in God and lead them into error, so that they will fall away from God and find lies in art, and thus punish God, and pass their time away with lies, thus going around and seeking and cogitating, so that they die without discovering the truth. Let it be known that the physician will be distinguished by this: he is not planted on Satan's ground, but on the ground of God; and he is to proceed unflinchingly in truth. And I declaim that the faculties and all [their] physicians proceed in falsehood, and spread powerful lies in their field, and that they regard their lies as truth, and adhere to them,

¹ P. here takes a decisive step in basing his medicine and its ancillary disciplines on the Holy Spirit.

warheit/ die erlogen ist/ vnd also muß der Vatter der lügen/ der Satan ein Seul der Artzney sein/ so es Gott sein soll vnd nicht der Sathan. Ob jhr auff solcher Seulen wol standen/ das mercken/ vnd erfahrent/ wie nahe jhr Gott seind oder wie weit von jhm: Vnnd das jhr die Lügenseulen Gott zulegen/ vnnd euch selbst dem Teuffel also ergeben vnnd sein Reich erhalten.

Vnnd nicht allein in den gemelten seins leibs antreffenden tugenden/ sondern auch in mehrern des leibs anligenden dingen/ sich rein vnd keüsch halten/ nicht sein Artzney zu der hoffart brauchen. Dann auß dem wachßt ein falscher Artzt/ so | 87 | bald der Artzt im sinn hatt/ sein gewin anderst zubrauchen/ dann auß reinem hertzen/ so stehet er auff falschem grundt: drumb diß Gut nicht den Huren gebürt. Daß was den Huren daruon gehört/ wirt nicht auß rechtem grundt gewonnen: dann Gott lest das Gut/ das gewonnen auß jhm/ den Huren vnd Buben/ als Huren vnd Buben nicht erschiessen oder werden. Dann anderst ist es ein gewonnen Gutt eins Artzts/ anderst ein gewonnen Gut eins Kriegsmanns: anderst ist eins Artzts Gut gegen eins Königs Gutt/ andern befelch hatt ein König mit seinem Gutt/ ein andern befelch der Artzt. Nun ist des Artzts befelch nichts anderst/ dann sein Gutt ordnen zur Erbarkeit: So ers dahin ordnet/ so ist er eins gutten grundts: So er aber das bricht/ und ob er schon seine Ehefrawen der Huren bildtnuß gleich wolte machen/ seine Ehekinder den Königen gleich zieren/ vnnd in die hoffart richten/ so ist sein Gutt nicht auß guttem grundt gewonnen/ nicht auß dem grundt von Gott/ sondern vom Teuffel: der jme krancken macht/ vnd gibt/ macht jhms auch gesundt.^a Was meinen jhr Artzt/ so jhr schon von einem lernen ein gerechte kunst/ vnd jhr seidt Buben/ vnnd gebrauchet sie zur Büberey/ Es ist auß dem Teuffel: die kunst ist auß Gott/ ewer brauch vnd wesen auß dem Teuffel. Vnnd ob jr nun damit viel gewinnen/ Ist gleich als einer der gewinnt mit gestolnem gut/ vnd wirt mit gestolnem gut Reich/ was ist der bey Gott? Ein Dieb. Also habt jhr ettliche künst nit innen als Artzt/ sondern als die sie den Artzten gestolen haben. Vnd dieweil ewer hertz sich dermassen mit stelen nehren will/ führen/ vnd begeren/ so lest euch Gott die Narung für sich gehen in der gestalt: Auß Gott werden alle Menschen genehret vnnd geführt/ vnd Gott muß vns nehren/ vnd sonst vermag vns niemandt zu nehren. Vnd aber wie ein Herr mit seinen Knechten/ was sinns ein jeglicher ist/ darnach halt

^a Sudhoff (210) introduces a paragraph break here.

and call them the truth, which are concocted; and accordingly [for them] the father of lies, Satan, is surely a pillar of medicine, though it should be God and not Satan. If you stand upon such a pillar, note and observe how close you are to God or how far from him; and that you ascribe the false pillar to God, and consign yourselves to the devil and maintain his kingdom.

And it is not solely in the aforementioned virtues having to do with the body, but in other things of the body as well [that you must] keep pure and chaste [and] not abuse medicine for the sake of pride. For from that a false physician arises. As | 87 | soon as the physician takes a mind to use his advantages other than with a pure heart, he is on the wrong foundation. For this reason this good [thing] is not appropriate for whores. For whatever the whores might have gleaned from it is not rightfully won. For God does not allow that the good that is gained from Him will bear fruit for whores and knaves. For the acquired good of a physician is one thing and the acquired good of a soldier [i.e., booty] something else. The good of the physician is different from the good of a king. A king has a mandate that differs from that of a physician. The mandate of the physician is none other than to direct his good toward that which is honorable. If he proceeds thus, then he is on solid grounds. If he breaks [the mandate], and if he were to do so in order to make his spouse in the image of a whore, and to adorn his children like those of a king and to direct them to the ways of pride, nonetheless, his good has not been gained from a good ground, not from that of God but from that of the devil: [from the devil] who makes and provides him [the patients], [and] also heals them for him. What are you physicians thinking when you learn from someone a proper art; but since you are scoundrels, you use it for [your] scoundrel purposes: it comes from the devil. The [true] art is from God. Your practice and character are from the devil. Moreover, even if you gain much by it, it is as if someone were to profit by stolen goods and were to use them to become rich. What does he count for with God? For a thief. Therefore, you are not in possession of your several arts as physicians, but rather as those who have stolen them from the physicians. And since your heart desires to nourish itself with theft, [since it] guides you and [makes you] covet, God gives you what you crave in the following form: From God all human beings are nourished and guided; and God must nourish us. For no one else is able to do this. But nevertheless, as a master [gives to] his servants depending on the mind of each: in this same fashion does God

er jhn/ also Gott.^a Will sich einer mit warheit nehren/ so gibt jhm Gott in der warheit genug/ vnd gibt jhme mit der warheit sein nahrung: dann er ist vns schuldig die nahrung zu geben/ die gibt er vns wie wirs wöllen. Wöllen wirs mit lügen haben/ so werden die warheit lügen bey vns/ vnd als lügner leben wir. Nuhn gibt Gott den lügnern sein nahrung als wol als den warhafftigen/ | 88 | dann er muß vns alle nehren/ vnd gut vnd böß/ als ers mit der Sonnen vnd Erden vnd allen geschöpffen beweist. Also soll der Artzt rein vnd keüsch sein/ das ist/ also gantz/ das sein gut zu keiner geyle/ hoffart/ argem/ etc. oder dergleichen stande/ noch fürnemmen sey. Dann dieselbigen so also in solcher lügen stehn/ offenbaren lügenhafftige werck/ verlogne arbeit/ vnd alles das da falsch ist/ ist bey jhnen/ vnd nehren sich also mit lügnerey/ das kein grundt ist der Artzney: sondern die warheit soll ein grundt sein/ dieselbig ist rein vnd keüsch/ vnd alle seine frücht auß diesem / gut bleiben/ rein/ vnd keusch/ vnd kein Mackel an jhnen der Hoffart/ des Neidts/ der Geyle/ der Vnkeüschheit/ des Vbermuts/ des Pompes/ des Prachts/ des Ansehens/ des Spiegels/ etc. Hierauff so ich euch den grund des Artzts fürlege/ so sagen jhr/ ich sey vnsinnig/ niemands weiß [was] ich red/ sey besessen: vnd ich bin des sinnes fürzuhalten/ das mans wol verstande/ vnd jhr sagen/ es dienet nit zur sachen. Fraget die Bawren darumb/ ob es nit zur sachen diene/ oder ob es nit die *Materia* sey/ die euch zuwider ist.

Also damit der Artzt gantz werde vnnnd in vollkommenem grund stande/ so wisset das er mit bequemer ordnung soll in allen dingen handeln. Nun ist von der bequemligkeit zuschreiben/ daß sie [sey] *Congruitas*, dz ist, nach gesetzter ordnung der Natur/ vnnnd nit der Menschen zuhandlen. Dann der Artzt ist nit dem Menschen vnterworfen/ sondern allein Gott/ durch die Natur. Nun folgt hierauff/ das diese bequemligkeit vnnnd verfügung der ordnung soll gehen auß der arth des leibes/ auch des liechts der Natur: dann das der leib hatt ein ander liecht für sich selbst/ ein anders das liecht der Natur/ betreffend die arth. Nun sollen sich diese arth zusammen fügen: dieweil nun soll gleichs zu gleichem kommen/ vnd das ist *Congruitas*,^b also daß es das

^a Sudhoff (210): “also got auch.”

^b Note that “*congruitas*” is thus equated to the principle of “*similia à similibus*.”

maintain a person. If one would be nourished by truth, then God gives one enough of truth, and with it one's nourishment. For [God] is obliged to nourish us, and he gives to us what we wish for. If we prefer to have it with lies, then the truth turns into lies in our case; and we live as liars. For God gives to liars their nourishment as well as to the truthful ones, | 88 | for he must sustain us all, the good as well as the evil ones. It is as he demonstrates with the sun and the earth and all creatures.¹ Therefore the physician should be pure and chaste, which is to say so thoroughly that his goodness should incline him to no sort of concupiscence, pride, cunning, or the like, nor to any such enterprise. For those who dwell in such lies reveal mendacious works, deceitful efforts; and everything that is false resides with them; and they nourish themselves with deceitfulness so that [their] medicine has no foundation. Instead of this truth should be the foundation. For it is pure and chaste; and all fruits of the same remain good, pure, and chaste; and there is no blemish of pride, envy, concupiscence, lack of chastity, arrogance, pomp, luxury, [false] respectability, vanity, or the like. Now, when I explain the foundation of the physician to you in this way, you will surely say that I am out of my senses. No one will know what I am talking about. [People will say] I am possessed. I should be remonstrated to explain it so that people should understand. And you will object that [what I say] is not to the point. Ask the peasants whether it is to the point; or whether it is not rather the *materia* that repels you.

Let it be known that in order for the physician to be whole and stand on a complete foundation he must proceed in an appropriate order² in all things. Of this appropriateness it needs to be said that it <consists of> *congruitas*, which is to say: to proceed in accordance with the set order of nature, and not that of the human being. For the physician is not subject to the human being but to God alone by way of nature. Now from this it follows that this appropriateness and placement within the proper order should proceed from the nature of the body and from the light of nature: for the body has one light in itself, [and yet] distinct from it is the light of nature with respect to the character [of such things]. These two natures should be joined together, since like should join like; and this is *congruitas*, meaning

¹ As in Mt 5:45, God "makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good."

² For the use of **bequem** by Luther and other 16th-century authors in the sense of *aptus, idoneus, conveniens*, see Grimm (1). This is then equated to *congruitas* ("harmony"—MLLM).

ander recht angreiffē/ eins auff das ander laute: So soll am ersten das wissen sein/ von der arth des leibs. So der leib genaturt ist vnd gezogen/ so soll er zu keinem Artzt: Dann der gezogen leib ist anderst^a vnd nimmer ein Kind/ in das die Lehr gehet. Der gezogen leib ist der außgewachsen leib in frembden dingen: der ist außgewachsen/ der sein selbst empfindt: der ist frembd/ der in ein vnbekannts geht. So ist | 89 | die art des liechts der Natur/ dz sie in der Wiegen eingehet/ dz sie mit Rutten ingeschlagen wird/ daß sie mit dem haar herzu gezogen wirt/ vnd gehet hinein dermassen/ daß sie kleiner dann der Senff ist/ vnd wachset vber den Senff. Dieweil nun ein Senffbaum vögel auff jhme hatt dergleichen/ vnd ist der kleinst vnder allen: was ist sein bedeutung anderst/ dann/ das jung in vns kompt/ das im alter groß wirt/ vnd also groß/ das nicht allein der Mensch für sich selbst ist/ sondern auch für all ander. Darumb nuhn auff das/ dieweil der Mensch soll ein Baum werden/ vnd soll erfüllen diese Lehr *Christi* vnd Exempel vom Senffbaum: so mag kein alter außgewachsener Baum nichts fassen/ vnd ist als viel als todt gegen diesem Senffkorn. Dieweil nun das todt ist vnd ist nichts/ vnd allein das Exempel lauttet auff das Senffkorn/ vnd nit auff das holtz vnd äste/ dz außgewachsen ist: wie kan dann auß einer alten Tannen ein Kütten wachsen? oder auß einem alten Lorbeerbaum ein junger *Sambucus*?^b Es ist nit möglich. Noch viel vnmöglicher ist es das ein alter *Corrector* in einer Truckerey/ ein alter *Conuentor* in einer Logiker Burß/ ein alter *Pater* in einer Schul/

^a Here P. seems in need of his later concepts of “astral body” or “astral spirit,” with the associated inherited, yet mortal, capacity or talent.

^b Here only an incidental metaphor, elsewhere P. indicates a medicinal use and species: “**sambucus**, id est, flos cheyri. species iringi” (S 5:176).

that the one should properly grasp the other, [the] one [be] in unison with the other. This is above all how the knowledge of the nature of the body should be constituted. As the body has [been given] its nature and its nurture, it should not be given to any physician. For the refined body is different, and no longer a child that will receive foreign instruction. The nurtured and grown body is in a foreign element: It has matured, becoming sensible of itself. It is estranged when it proceeds into what is unfamiliar to it.¹ Thus is | 89 | the character of the light of nature: It comes in [already] in the cradle; it is beaten in with sticks, and it is forced in by compulsion; and it enters in, in such a way that it is [initially] smaller than a mustard seed, and yet grows beyond itself. Now if there are birds alighted on a mustard tree, and it is the smallest of all, what else can this mean than that what is young enters into us and becomes great with age, so great indeed that the human being is not for himself alone, but for all others as well.² So let it be known that if the human being is to grow into a tree, and is to fulfill these teachings and parables of Christ of the mustard seed, no old and misshapen tree can receive anything and is as good as dead compared with the mustard seed. Now considering that [the former] is dead and nothing, and that the example is told only of the mustard seed, and not of wood and branches grown out of shape: how then can an old fir-tree ever produce a quince? Or how can an old laurel tree yield a young *sambucus*?³ It is not possible. All the more impossible is it that an old *corrector* in a printing house, an old *conventor* in a logicians' club, [or] an old *pater* in a school can

¹ The difficulty of this passage is reflected in the minor editorial changes made by Peuckert (I:574) and in the far greater ones of Strebel's self-described "timely abridgement" (V:136). Their versions were helpful in interpreting this passage, but the root difficulty is that P. proceeds without clear transition from a general discussion of the body and the light of nature to a *personal* recollection of how the basic mental disposition required for medicine had been forcefully but appropriately impressed upon him from early childhood on, presumably by his physician father.

² Here, P. spans the chasm between general nature and personal authority by identifying his medical gifts and mission as of one for all by citing Christ's parable of the mustard tree in Mt 13:31-2: "The kingdom of heaven is like a **mustard seed** that someone took and sowed in his field; it is the smallest of all seeds, but when it has grown, it becomes the greatest of shrubs and becomes a tree, so that the birds of the air come and make nests in its branches"—cf. Mk 4:30-2; Lk 13:18, as well as Lk 17:6). See note on H 2:5; Intro.

³ *Sambucus* is related to honeysuckle; it is an elder that may have edible berries (NCE); as an elder tree, it is mentioned in Pliny (16:103, 122; 25:51) (OLD).

werde ein Artzt. Dann der Artzt soll wachsen: wie können die alten wachsen? Sie sind außgewachsen vnd verwachsen/ vnd im Moder vermösset vnd verwickelt/ das nichts dann Knorren vnd Knebel darauß werden. Darumb so ein Artzt auff ein^a grund stehen sol/ so muß er in der Wiegen geseet werden wie ein Senffkorn/ vnd in derselbigen auffwachsen/ als wol als die Grossen bey Gott/ als wol als die Heiligen bey Gott: vnd müssen also wachsen/ daß sie in den dingen der Artzney zunehmen/ wie ein Senffbaum/ daß sie vber alle wachsen. Solches muß mit der Jugent auffstehn vnd einwachsen: wie wachst es dann in den alten *Patribus* ein? die verwachsen sind/ vnd kommen daher/ vnd die zeit ist hin/ haben nit geblühet/ haben nit gesproßlet/ haben nit außgeschost/ sind nit im Mertzen gewesen/ wissen vom Aprillen nichts/ wissen nicht ob der May blaw oder grün ist/ seind kommen im Hewmonat/ vnnd haben wöllen frucht tragen? Das sind die Zeitlosen/ das ist/ Kunstlosen/ wachsen im Herbst. Darauff wissen/ das *Congruitas* soll da sein: Nit wie sie es verstehen/ sondern wie ichs anzeig/ daß die arth des | 90 | leibs soll mit der arth des natürlichen liechts auffwachsen/ so vergleichen sie sich selbst zusammen: dann der Mensch kan sie nit zusammen setzen vnd ordnen/ dann da ist nichts sein. Also soll der grund stehn/ vnd befestet werden von jugent auff: vnd was nit geseet wirt zu seiner zeit/ da wirt kein guter Beltz auß. Daß sind die Artzt die gepflantz werden von wilden Oepffelbeumen auff Weidenstöcke/ haben weder Kern noch Rogen/ wenn mans seet/ so gerahten sie zu dem/ darzu sie begeren.

So mag es auch nicht ohn sein/ wo der grund eins guten Artzts ist/ das auch die Trew damit laufft vnnd vollkommen sey/ nit ein halbe/ nit ein getheilte/ nit ein stückwerck/ sondern ein gantz vollkommene Trew. Dann als wenig in Gott die Warheit mag getheilt werden oder gemischt/ also wenig auch die Trew: dann das sind ding die sich nicht theilen lassen/ als wenig als die Liebe: dann Trew vnd Liebe ist ein ding. Nuhn worinn aber ligt die Trew eines Artzts? Nit allein/ das

^a Sudhoff (212): "eim."

become a physician.¹ For the physician should grow. How can the old do that? They are grown into deformity and covered in moss and ensnared in rot, from which nothing but knots and clubs can come. Therefore, if a physician is to have a foundation, it must be sowed into his cradle like a mustard seed, and must grow up in the same—just as do those who are great in the eyes of God, just as do those who are holy before God—and they must grow in this way so that they increase in the things of medicine, like the mustard tree [that] surpasses all. It must rise up with youth and become ingrained: how then did it develop in all those old *patres* [of the Church]? [What about those] who are misshapen, and who come along [like that], and their time is past without their having blossomed or budded or sprouted, and they have known no March, nor April, nor whether May is blue or green; and have thus arrived in July, wanting to bear fruit? Those are the timeless ones, the artless ones [who] grow in autumn. Be advised that this is where *congruitas* comes in: not in the way that they understand it, but rather in the way that I have demonstrated: the nature of the | 90 | body should develop with the nature of the natural light, so that they resemble one another: for the human being cannot force and order them joined; for that is not his to do. Thus should the foundation stand and be confirmed from youth on. And what has not been sown in its proper time will not turn into a proper coat later on. Those are the physicians who are planted like apple trees into willow stems. [They] have neither wheat nor rye. Sow it and it turns into whatever it likes.

Therefore, wherever the foundation of a good physician has been laid, it cannot fail to be the case that faithfulness² is there as well, and indeed in full measure, not in half, not divided, not piecemeal, but rather full and complete faithfulness. For no more than the truth can be divided or adulterated in God can faithfulness be divided; for those are things that admit of no division, no more than does love; for faithfulness and love are the same thing.³ But wherein does the

¹ The seemingly arbitrary specificity of these diatribes may be directed at personal opponents in Basel.

² Before specializing as the designation of a virtue, **Treue** according to Grimm found its meaning in the realm of the spiritual in a word field proximate to *Glaube* (faith).

³ In linking faithfulness with love and in exalting the complete above the piecemeal or the partial, P. echoes Paul's words in 1 Cor 13 ("Wan das vollkommende kumpt, so vornicht man daz vnvollkommende vnd das geteilte") in the influential

er den krancken fleissig besuch/ sondern ehe dz er den krancken erkennt/ sicht vnd hört/ soll er der Trew ingangen sein/ das ist mit fleiß vnd trewen gelehrt haben/ was jm anligend sey. Dann hie wirt die gröste Trew versaumt/ das einer allein lehren will auff den pracht/ auff den schein/ auff das maulgeschwetz/ auff den nammen/ vnd also in solchen dingen gesettigt sein: das sind alles Vntrew/ vnd ausserhalb der Liebe. Dann die Liebe ist sein selbst an dem orth/ vnd nichts eins andern: Er lehrt vnd fleist sich jhm selbs nutz zusein/ nit eim andern. Nun ligt die Trew in dem/ das man sie wiß vnnnd könne: der sie nicht kan/ derselb mag sie auch nicht mittheilen. Darumb so ligt sie am lehren/ auff daß das mans könn. Dieweil sie nuhn im lehren ligt/ in dem erfahren/ so muß sie angefangen werden vor dem vnd die Krancken da sind. So sie da sind/ so ist darnach do das erzeugen derselbigen Trew/ das ist/ das werck der Trew. Nuhn aber hie vom lehren vnd anfang der werck wissen/ das keiner mag da ein Artzt werden/ ohn lehr/ ohn erfarnheit: Nit in einer kurtzen zeit/ sondern in einer langen zeit: Dann lang ist die zahl der Kranckheiten/ vnd fast viel vnnnd mannigfaltig. Dann niemandts wirt ein Artzt ohn Lehr vnnnd Erfarenheit/ vnd die gar lang vnd wol: als wenig als vor dem Meyen die | 91 | blüh außschlecht/ vor der Ernd das Korn zeitig wirt/ vor dem Herbst der Wein: als wenig mögen diese zeit gebrochen werden in einer jeglichen erfarnuß. Nun ist die Erfarnheit von Jugent auff/ biß in das Alter/ vnd gar nahet biß in den Tod/ nicht zehen Stund bleibt einer vngelehrt. Wie mögend dann die Alten *Patres*, so im Mittel jhres alters herein kommen/ zu der Ernd vnnnd zum Herbst kommen? Nicht daß sie behelffe/ ich bin sonst wol gelehrt vorhin gewesen in diesem vnnnd jenem: diese ding all sind nicht der Trew zu dem Krancken/ sondern fürderung deins Eigennutz/ vnnnd dein selbst Trew/ vnd des Krancken Vntrew. Nicht dasselbig/ sondern die Artz-

faithfulness of a physician reside? Not solely in his assiduously visiting the patient; rather, even before he knows, sees, and hears [the patient], he should have embarked upon faithfulness, by faithfully and industriously learning what is necessary. For the greatest faithfulness is lost when anyone learns only for the sake of showing off, appearance, vain talk, [or] for the good name, and is satisfied with such things: all that is faithlessness and outside love. Under such circumstances, love belongs to itself and not to another. It teaches and applies itself for its own sake and not for another's. Faithfulness resides in what one knows and is capable of. Whoever is capable of nothing cannot impart anything either. Therefore, it is a matter of learning in order that one should become capable. Since it is a matter of learning and of experience, this must begin before any patient has entered the scene. When they do enter the scene, it is a matter of manifesting faithfulness, which constitutes the very work of faithfulness. When it comes to learning and the works [of medicine], you should know that no one can become a physician without instruction [and] experience. [This takes place] not briefly, but rather over a long period of time. For great is the number of diseases, great indeed and multifarious. For no one can become a physician without teaching and experience, which lasts long indeed, no more than the blossom opens before May | 91 | or that grain comes into its time before harvest, or wine before autumn. Just as little can the interval be broken off in any sort of experience. The [acquisition of] experience lasts from youth to old age, nigh unto death. No ten hours remain uninstructed. How was it that the old *Patres*,¹ who only entered [into their calling or development] in middle years came to fruition and harvest? It was surely not the case that they made excuses, saying they were [already] learned in this or that: all these things would not pertain to faithfulness to the patient, but rather serve their self-aggrandizement and as faithfulness to themselves, but as unfaithfulness to the patient. Nothing of the sort [will do]: instead, let it be

opening of the *Theologia Germanica*, as well as the interpretation of Luther who famously edited it in 1516/18: "*Der Franckforter*," ed. Wolfgang von Hinten (Munich: Artemis, 1982), 71.

¹ P. presumably means in a loose sense of *patres* any figures such as the Apostle Paul, St. Augustine, or St. Boniface who converted or took up their saintly vocations only as mature men. Characteristically, P. calls their example to mind as exceptions to his rule that medicine must be cultivated from an early age on, only to find the wondrous exception every bit as interesting as the rule he has just expounded.

ney solt du wissen/ das sind Trew der Krancken: die andern gehörendt allein dir vnd deiner Frawen zu/ auch neben andern Oepffeln/ wie ein Roßdreck zu schwimmen: derselbig grund den du also herein zeuchst/ ist ein Sandiger grund/ darauff du nichts bawen magst noch kanst. Dieweil nuhn kein frembder grund hie in der Artzney nichts soll/ sondern allein der grundt lautterer Artzney/ von Jugent auff eingebildet: So wissen hierinn/ wie schwer es ist vnd wie hart Einem Krancken/ Eim solchen *Conuentor*, Schulmeister,^a *Prouisor* vnnnd dergleichen Patern hierinn (die da allein verzweiffung machen) denselbigen zuertrawen: dieweil all Handtwercke/ Schumacher/ Kürßner/ etc. von Jugent auff müssen erzogen sein darinn: also noch mit mehrerm fleiß von junger Jugent auff/ Maler/ Bildtschnitzer/ Goldtschmid. So das den Handtwerckern ist/ noch vil mehr in der Artzney/ die mehr lernens darff dann dise all. Vnd als wenig du magst ein geschickten vnd fast wol gelehrten Meister von Leipzig nemmen von der hohen Schul/ oder von Wien/ der nun fast wol gelert ist/ vnd magst derselbigen gelehrte [nach] auß jhm ein nochgeschicktern^b Schumacher machen als du bist: also wenig auch gibt er ein^c nochgeschicktern Artzt/ viel dölpeter/ dann geschickter. Vnd wie ein Esel auff ein Leyren/ also sind sie im Pulß greiffen/ vnd an der Stirn/ ob sie brenn oder nicht. Auff solchs so wissen jhr Artzt/ daß jhr so spat die Trew nicht mögen zum End lehrnen noch bringen/ vnnnd das euch ewer Sophisterey vnd Philosophey nichts hilfft. Dann euch hangt dz Doctorat an | 92 | wie einem Bawren der Adel/ das ist/ Ich bin Edel/ Ich bin Doctor: wie können jhr alten Schreiber trew werden/ jhr möget doch in eweren alten tagen nichts trewlichs lehrnen/ es ist *Saturnus* zu fast in euch.

Also weitter auch soll der Artzt kunstreich sein. Der da nun will kunstreich sein/ der muß in allem sein Erfarnheit haben: dann auß der Kuntreiche geht der grund deiner Künsten/ das ist/ nicht der grund^d

^a These scholastic hacks from a previous work on syphilis have spent their lives as a “**schulmeister**,” “**conventor**,” or “corrector” (“warumb sie sich in die geschriften der alten auctorum ergeben haben und keiner hat sie solchs gelernt, warumb das beschehe”) and therefore know nothing of nature (S 7:97).

^b Sudhoff (214) separates “noch geschicktern” in both instances in this sentence.

^c Sudhoff (214): “also wenig gibt er auch.”

^d Sudhoff (215): “das ist nicht der grunt.”

known that it is a matter of faithfulness toward the patients. All else belongs to you and to your wife: to float alongside these other apples like horse manure.¹ The foundation you would make in this would be built upon sand—upon which nothing [good] can be built.² And since no foreign ground has any place in medicine, but rather only the ground of [a] pure medicine, impressed [upon the physician] from youth on, consider how difficult it would be for a patient to trust such a *conventor*, schoolmaster, *provisor*,³ and any other fathers of that sort (who only sow despair), all the more so since [even] any sort of tradesmen, cobblers, furriers, etc, have to be raised [in their trade] from youth on, as do, with even more application, painters, woodcarvers, [and] goldsmiths.⁴ [And] what applies to the trades applies all the more to medicine, which requires more learning than all the rest. No more than you can take a skilled and highly learned master from the university of Leipzig or Vienna and turn him into an even more skilled cobbler than you yourself are: no more than that will he be capable of becoming a more skilled physician—[instead he would be] more foolish than skilled. Like a donkey playing the lyre: that is how they are at feeling a pulse or touching a forehead to see if it is burning. For this reason you physicians should know that it is too late for you to finish your studies; and that all your sophistry and philosophy will do you no good. For your doctorate adorns you | 92 | as nobility might a peasant, [as if to say]: “I am so noble! I am a doctor!” How can you old scribblers become faithful. In your old days you cannot learn anything faithful. *Saturnus* resides too securely within you.

Moreover, in other ways, too, the physician should be artful. Whoever would be faithful must have experience in all [things]. For it is out of the fullness of art that the foundation of your arts proceeds, I mean, not the foundation of that teaching, but rather the foundation of

¹ This characteristic word-play equates floating “horse manure,” **Roßdreck**, also known as “horse apples” (cf. Grimm, “Pferdeapfel”: Luther played similarly with this odd but still common euphemism), with “other apples” (**andern Oepffeln**), thus excoriating the stupidity of equating a name or calling with the real thing.

² As in Mt 7:26.

³ *Conventor* may refer to a degree candidate and *provisor* to a caterer or supplier (GLL); or the former may derive from *conventio*, “congregation,” and the latter refer to someone who attends to a monastery’s secular concerns (MLLM): the clear implication in either case is that medicine is a vocation and not an avocation.

⁴ Despite P.’s declarations that all arts are from the stars, he is clearly aware of the need for training.

der Leer/ sondern der grund deiner Artzneyischen künsten verstand. Dann wie kanst du vrtheilen etwas/ wann du das nicht auß andern vrtheilen solt? Ein Vrtheiler soll ausserthhalb sein vrtheil nemmen/ das er inwendig gibt: der verstehet die kunst/ der kunstreich ist/ vnd der urtheilet nichts in jhnen/ der nicht kunstreich ist: Auß andern wird/ das geurtheilt soll werden/ verstanden. Nuhn wie mag ein Artzt ohn Kunstreiche sein? dieweil in jhm die grösten Arcanen sollen bekindlich ligen vnnd wohnen? dann die grossen *Arcana* sind von den Klugen auffgestiegen. Was ist nuhn Kunstreiche eines Artzts? daß er wiß/ wz den vnempfindlichen dingen nutz sey/ vnd zuwider sey/ was den *beluis marinis*, wz den Fischen/ was den *Brutis* angenehm vnd vnangenehm sey/ was jn gesundt vnd vngesundt sey: daß sind kunstreiche ding/ betreffend natürliche ding. Was mehr? die Wundtsegen^a vnd jhr kräfte/ von wannen oder auß was sie das thund/ was auch sey: was *Melosina*^b sey/ wz *Syrena* sey/ wz *Permutatio*, *Transplantatio*^c vnd *Transmutatio* sey/ vnd wie sie mit vollkommenem verstand zu fassen seind: was vber die Natur sey/ was vber die arth sey/ was vber das leben sey/ was das sichtbar/ vnd was dz vnsichtbar sey/ was die süsse/ vnnd was das bitter geb/ was da schmeck/ was der tod sey/ was dem Fischer diene/ was dem Lederer/ was dem Gerber/ was dem Ferber/ was dem Schmidt der Metallen/ was dem Schmid des Holtzs

^a P. gives this example of a “**wundsegen**” for healing wounds to the veins: “[The words] *Roseta, sacor, areboth*” should be spoken three times, after which the wound is bandaged with a common oil (S 5:325).

^b P. was familiar with the tale of “**Melosina**” (S 7:477) as a French tale of the supernatural (she was “ein nymphe...besessen mit dem bösen geist”—S 14:142); but he also made use of the word in the plural as a common noun, ranking “melosinen” among the phenomena pertaining to the bestial arts (“die vihischen künst”) found on earth and in the heavens (S 13:333).

^c As used by P., *Transplantatio* is rooted in the grafting of a branch of one tree onto the stem of another, but it suggests in medicine a transformation which occurs when the human being is transferred, as it were, from the influence of one planet to another (“der mensch sol transplantirt werden und sol genomen werden einem planeten und einem andern unterworfen”—S 1:41). The term may also indicate the way in which nature transforms diseases, as with “luxus, welcher transplantirt ein morbum in den andern (S 6:352ff.), or under the impact of a stellar conjunction: “so ist conjunctio ein ursach der transplantation” (353).

your understanding of your medical arts. For how can you judge anything when you do not judge from [the knowledge] of others? A judge should take from without the judgment that he conceives within: he understands art who is himself artful; and he who is not artful cannot judge [the arts] in any way. From others is comprehended that which is to be judged. And how indeed can there be a physician without artfulness? Particularly since the greatest *arcana* are known to reside and dwell within him. For the greatest *arcana* have arisen from those who were intelligent. What is the artfulness of a physician? The answer is that he knows what is good for the insensate things, and what is bad for them: what is good or bad for the *beluae marinae* [monsters of the deep], for the fishes, for the *bruta*; what is conducive to their health or sickness: those are artful matters concerning the things of nature.¹ What else besides? The wound incantations² and their powers: from what [source] or how they bring about [their effects], whatever they might be. What is *Melosina*? What is *Syrena*?³ What is *permutatio*, *transplantatio*,⁴ and *transmutatio*? And how can they be grasped with an adequate understanding? What is above nature (**vber die Natur**)? What is above the natural (**vber die arth**)? What is above life? What is the visible and what is the invisible? What causes the sweet and what causes the bitter? What is it that tastes? What is death? What is useful to the fisherman, to the leather worker, to the tanner, to the dyer, to the smith of metals?⁵ What does the smith

¹ If P.'s touting of a knowledge of marvels as vital to the medical profession gives the impression that he is a solitary mountebank, the impression is lessened by a comparison with the compendium, *Des Monstres et Prodiges* (1473), compiled by the great 16th-century surgeon Ambroise Paré (d. 1590), see *On Monsters and Marvels*, trans. and intro. Janis L. Pallister (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982). Maclean places this preoccupation with monsters and *mirabilia* in the context of the time (269ff.).

² See **Wundsegen** (LMA, cf. HDA): Of very ancient origin, the use of magical incantations for healing wounds was integrated into surgical practice in the Middle Ages and remained so in the 16th century.

³ Ruland defines *Melusina* and *Syrena* in conformity with the preceding allusion to marine monsters: *Melusina* and *Meliora* are royal daughters transformed for their sins into the half-beasts known from the familiar legend (cf. Frenzel, *Stoffe*, "Melusine"); similarly, "*Syrenes sunt monstra marina, e nymphis nata.*"

⁴ On P.'s special use of *transplantatio*, see vis-à-vis.

⁵ If the business of the tanner, dyer, or smith-smelter evokes the questions of alchemy, the business of the fisherman may be served by knowledge of the marine prodigies previously mentioned. The proximity of medical matters to the prodigies of nature is rooted as much in Pliny as in the culture of the Middle Ages.

zuwissen sey/ was in die Küchen gehört/ was in Keller gehört/ wz in Garten gehört/ was der Zeit gehört/ was ein Jäger weiß/ was ein Bergmann weiß/ was ein Landfarer zusteht/ was ein bleibenden zusteht/ was Kriegsleuff bedörffen/ was Fried mach/ was den Geistlichen/ was Weltlichen vrsach gebe/ was jedtwederer Stand mach/ was jedweder Stand sey/ wz jedweders Standts | 93 | vrsprung sey/ waß Gott/ waß Sathan sey/ waß Gifft/ waß Giffts wieder sey/ waß inn Frawen/ waß in Mannen/ waß vnterscheidt zwischen Frawen vnnd Jungfrawen/ zwischen Gelben vnnd Bleichen/ zwischen Weissen vnd Schwarzen/ vnnd Roht vnnd Falben/ inn allen dingen/ warumb die Farb da/ ein ander da/ warumb Kurtz/ warumb Lang/ warumb Gerathen/ warumb Fehlen: vnnd was diese Adepterey antrifft in allen dingen. Nit das diß Artzney sey/ sondern der Artzney angehenckte Eigenschafft. Zu gleicher weiß wie ein eigenschafft ist eins gerechten außewelten Apostels/ das er gesundt mach die krancken/ die Blinden gesehen^a die Lahmen geradt/ die Todten aufferweckt: Also hangen auch solche ding am Artzet. Wie wil dann so ein alter Erbar betagkter Mann diese ding fassen/ der do verlegen ist *in Casualibus, in Temporalibus*? Der do bedörffte lange zeit allein die Nammen zu lernen/ die mit der Rutten sollen eingangen sein? Auff solchen dingen steht der grundt der Artzney/ das ein Artzt sol solcher dingen wissen haben. Dann mehr ist an eym Artzt gelegen/ dann an andern Faculteten: Mehr an eim Artzt/ dann andern dingen dergleichen. So also mehr an jhm gelegen ist/ mehr ist er auch/ mehr soll er auch sein/ mehr soll er auch wissen/ dann er soll ein Vatter der Philosophey vnd Astronomie sein: Wie mügen diese alten Schuler/ Apotecker/ vnd ander/ die mit der zeit in die Artzney kommen/ vnnd den *Gradum* erlangen/ wol stehn vnnd wol gegründet sein? Alters halben hetts nicht nott: Aber kunst halben/ do ist gepresten. Das ist nicht kunst/ Doctor vnd Meister werden/ das Geldt thuts: Das ist ein kunst/ Doctor vnnd Meister warhafftig zu sein. Was berümen jhr *Professores* vnnd *Promotores* in ewren *Discipulis*? So sie *Doctor* werden/ so sagen jhr/ er ist mein Discipel gewesen zu Leyptzig/ hatt von mir *Auicennam, Galenum, etc.* gehört/ vnd *Aphorismos Hippocratis*,^b *etc.* vnd viel gutter ding: Vnd du vnnd dein

^a Sudhoff (216): “geschend, die.”

^b P. wrote an extensive commentary on the *Aphorisms of Hippocrates* (S 4:493-546; cf. Intro 8). Despite some inconsistencies in P.’s opinion, H. still enjoys a relatively high standing among the precursors who generally fare poorly. Despite occasional criticism, the favorable remarks extend at least from the Basel-era commentary on the *Aphorisms* to the late, devoutly Christian *Sieben Defensionen* of

need to know of wood? What belongs in the kitchen, what in the cellar, what in the garden, and what belongs to time? What does a hunter know, what a miner? What is the business of a traveler and what of someone who is stationary? What is required for the affairs of war, what for making peace, what gives cause to the spiritual estate and what to the worldly estate? What pertains to each and every estate, what is an estate, and what is the origin of each of them? | 93 | What is God, what is Satan? What is poison and what works against it? What is in women and what is in men, and what is the difference between women and maidens, between the yellow and the pale, between the white and the black, or the red and the pale yellow in all things? Why does one color appear there and another elsewhere? Why short, why long? Why hit, why miss?—and everything that has to do with the adept arts in these matters. Not that this is what medicine is; rather these are qualities associated with medicine. Just as it is a quality of a just [and] chosen apostle that he can heal the sick, make the blind see, the lame whole, and awaken the dead—similarly, those [aforementioned] things pertain to the physician. How could an old and honorably aged man grasp these things when he is so mired *in casualibus, in temporalibus*?¹ For he would need a long time just to get to know the names—how should they be beaten into him? Medicine is based on such things of which the physician should have a knowledge. For more depends on medicine than on other faculties. More depends on the physician than on other things of this sort. And since more depends on him, he is more, more must he be, and more must he know; for he should be a father of philosophy and astronomy. How should these old pupils [and] apothecaries and others besides, who in time came into medicine and got their *gradus*—how should they stand or have any footing? If it were a matter of age, there would be no problem. But it is a matter of art: that’s the problem. There is no art in becoming a doctor and magister. Money will suffice. The art is in truly being a doctor and magister. What do you *doctores* and *promotores* praise in your disciples? If they become doctors, then you will say: “He was my disciple at Leipzig. It was from me that he heard about *Avicenna*, *Galen*, and so on, about the *Aphorismi Hippocratis*, etc. and many other fine things.” But as for you and your affairs, there

¹ Here the immersion of the academic scholar in Latin grammar is seen as a barrier to real learning.

ding/ ist nichts gutts dorinn: Was hatt er dann gutts gelernt von dir? erlehmen zu beyden seitten. Das wer wol berühmens werdt/ so ein *Doctor, Promotor, Praeceptor, etc.* sein *Auditores* lernete *Secreta* der warheit: Hie lege der Butz: so möcht sich der *Auditor* frewen/ vnd sagen/ das hab ich. | 94 | Ach Gott aber/ sie seindt klein bey euch/ das jhr euch derselben beschemen: Lassens also gutt sein mit den todten büchern/ auß denen kein warhaffter Artzt bey euch nie erstanden ist. Der sich mit Ehren seins Discipels berühen wil/ muß jhm mehr mittheilen dann [das] Plodern *Auicennae/ vnd Nugas Galeni, etc.* vnd das *Mare magnum*^a [*Jacobi*] *de Partibus*.^b

Wiewol die ding alle von krancken gebrochen mögen werden: dann vrsachen/ jhr sehet das die ding alle in denen gewirckt sollen werden/ oder die wirckung volbracht/ müssen auch geschickt sein darzu: Wo nicht/ so wirdt nichts außgericht in demselbigen. Dieweil nun in krancken so viel ligt/ vnd alles dz im Artzt ist/ soll er geschickt sein zuempfangen/ on welche geschicknuß nichts beschehen mag. So wissent/ was im krancken sein soll: Ein Natürliche kranckheit/ Natürlicher will/ Natürliche krafft: In diesen dreyen stehet des Artzts werck zu vollenden. So nuhn Etwas anderst im selbigen wer/ als diß wie gemelt/ so wirdt er vom Artzt kein heilung erwarten. Dann die so Christus gesundt gemacht hatt/ musten der empfangung geschickt sein: Der vngeschickten ward nie keiner gesundt. Noch viel mehr einem Artzt hie zuerkennen ist/ das seine Krancken der geschickligkeit sollen sein: Dann weniger ist die krafft des Artzts/ dann Gottes selbst. Es ist ein außtheilung bey Gott vber die Menschen/ vnd vber die Natur/ die niemand mag ermessen oder ergründen/ oder erfahren/ in was ein jedlichs getheilt wirdt: Es ist ein grosses bey Gott/ den Menschen nit wissentlichen. Nichts aber trifft es den Artzt an/ sondern allein das trifft jhn an/ dz er nix mit Gott verantworte: Dann niemandts

1537-38, which characterize H. as an embodiment of the divinely instituted first great age of medicine (S 11:125, 159). In the drafts of *Astronomia Magna*, the great age of Holy Scripture coinciding with the apostolic speaking in tongues (understood no doubt as a proto-scripture) is compared with the great age of medicine coinciding with Hippocrates: “wan ist die heilig schrift hoher gestanden, dan da mit feurin zungen geret ward? wan ist die arznei höher gestanden, dan do Hippocrates war?” (S 12:476).

^a **Mare magnum** is proverbial for the long-winded compendia in which the reader is “at sea” (S 7:392).

^b **Jacobus de Partibus** ranks with Trusianus and Gentile among the long-winded commentators (S 7:143).

is not a bit of good in it. What good thing could [your student] have learned from you? How to lame [patients] on both sides? It would indeed be worthy of praise, if a *doctor*, *promotor*, [or] *praeceptor* etc., taught his *auditores* the *secreta*¹ of the truth. Here would be the heart of the matter: Let the *auditor* rejoice and say that he has done it. | 94 | Oh God, but they are small in your case, that you would be ashamed to mention them. So let's let it rest with those dead books, from which no real physician has ever emerged from your ranks. Whoever would honorably boast about his disciple must have imparted more to him than <the> chatter of *Avicenna*, the *nugae Galeni*² and that sort of thing, as the *Mare magnum <Jacobi> de Partibus*.³

Nevertheless, all things can be frustrated by the patients. Since it is clear that, as you can see, if the effects are to be brought about in them, they must also have the proper disposition: otherwise, nothing will be effected in them.⁴ Since so much is needed by the patient, and it is in the physician to provide it, he must be adept at receiving it; for without this adeptness nothing comes about. Consider what it is that should reside in the patient: a natural disease, natural will, natural force. It is the task of the physician to bring these three to completion. If the patient is not disposed in just this way, he cannot expect to be healed by the physician. For even those who were healed by Christ had to be susceptible. Of those who were not so, none has ever been healed. All the more must it be expected for a physician that his patients should be of a susceptible nature. For the powers of the physician are less than God's. There is a dispensation by God among [all] human beings and throughout nature which no one can fathom or know concerning the distribution of each: it is [a] great matter of God's, unknown to human beings. But it is not a matter of concern to the physician: It is only up to him not to answer for himself by blaming matters on God. For no one can know how God sustains or

¹ The term evokes the medieval medical "books of **secrets**" (cf. WS; or LMA, "*Secreta Salernitana*"; or the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*).

² Galen's *nugae* are his "trifles" (OLD), his blathering foolishness.

³ Zedler identifies **Partibus (Jacob von)** as a French physician to royalty who was prominent in Paris in mid-15th century and published works of practical medicine and an Avicenna commentary (Lyon, 1498).

⁴ The tortured phrasing in Huser is convincingly interpreted by both Peuckert and Strebel to this effect.

ist möglich/ wo Gott fürdert oder hindert/ zuerkennen. Der Artzt soll stehn in des Himmels/ des Wassers/ des Luffts/ vnd der Erden erkantnuß/ vnd auß denselbigen/ den *Microcosmum*, vnd auff solche erkantnuß sein gewißny vertedigen/ nichts Gott entziehen noch zulegen/ dann allezeit gnad vnd barmhertzigkeit erwarten. Dann hat er der Sonnen ein Finsternuß geschaffen/ vnd dem Mond/ hatt sie still heissen stehn/ hatt Sündfluß lassen vber die Welt gehen/ hat teglich Reiff vnd Hagel verordnet: So verordnet er in den dingen allen dergleichen seinen willen auch/ vnnd wil darbey nicht/ das sein Artzney/ sein geschopff dardurch | 95 | gelestert soll werden oder geschmecht/ oder vntüglich/ nicht genugsam/ sondern aller krefft voll. Das aber/ auff dißmal ist auch sein will: Also wil er handeln nach seinem willen/ vnd wil der Natur jhr krafft nicht nemmen/ aber still lassen stehen/ wie der Sonnen nimpt er jhren schein nicht/ so schon Finsternuß kommen: Aber die zeit/ dieweil die Finsternuß ist/ die zeit sihet mann nichts. Also dieweil Gott der Artzney solchen vntergang zufüget/ so schleicht dieweil der Todt herein/ vnnd nimpt das leben: Vnnd demnach so er hin ist/ so scheinet die Artzney als fast als vor/ wie die Sonne. Dann bey der Nacht stelen die Dieb/ mann sihet sie nit/ vnd seind die geschicksten Dieb/ die do stelen das mans nit sihet: Also der Todt schleicht herein in solcher Nacht der Artzney/ vnd stilt das leben/ das ist/ den höchsten schatz/ den der Mensch hatt. So Gott die Artzney nit ließ still stehen/ wie die Sonne zu der zeit Josue^a wer wolt sterben? Vielen/ denen er die gesundtheit nimpt/ wie er die Sonne hinder sich zogen hatt/ die will er also kranck haben/ vnd wil doch nit/ das sie jhn solchs bezeihen sollen. Dann also heimlich seindt seine werck/ das wirs nicht meynen/ nicht wissen/ empfinden/ vnnd nicht wissen woher/ vnd wil/ das wir der Artzney sollen vnterworffen sein/ auff das/ das wir do rein sein ins vns/ das wir kein argwon auff jhne haben vnnd tragen. Also guttwillig sollen wir sein vnnd so behertz gegen jhm/ das wir jhme solches nicht sollen vertrauen/ sondern der Natur die schuldt geben/ vnnd für vnnd für in die arbeiten durch sein Artzney in dem Glauben/ das alles/ was der Artzt thue/ das es gethon sey/ durch Gott volbracht oder gehindert. Solche Trew und Hertz/ Hoffnung vnd Vertrauen soll der kranck haben gegen Gott/ auff dz er nit in vrsach falle der Finsternuß/ in der der Todt kompt/ in der die

^a P. affirmed that God's divine magic made the sun stand still for **Joshua**: "das got die sonn hat gestelt zu Gibeon zu Josuae zeiten ist magica gewesen." Moreover, with Christ a new divine magic begins: "die selbig magica caelestis ist nun fürhin magica beata im neuen testament. ... magica nova" (S 12:371).

impedes. The physician should be grounded in a knowledge of the heavens, of water, of air, and of earth; and from these [he should comprehend] the *microcosmus*; and from such knowledge [he should] defend his certainty,¹ taking nothing from and adding nothing to God[‘s will], other than always expecting grace and mercy. For [God] darkened the sun and the moon, and let them stand still;² [he] let the flood loose over the world, and he commonly orders hoar-frost and hail. Thus, in all things, in the same way, he orders his will to be done; and he does not intend that medicine, which is his creation, should be blasphemed against | 95 | or disdained as worthless or as insufficient, but rather [it is likewise] full of powers. Therefore, this is his will as well, so he must carry out his will, and [God does not want] that the powers of nature should be taken from it, but that it should stand still, not that the light of the sun should be taken away from it, even though darkness comes. However, in the time of the darkness one will not see anything. And when God ordains for medicine this sort of decline, death creeps in and steals away life. Yet after it has gone, medicine, as radiant as before, shines like the sun. For it is in the night that thieves steal, when one sees nothing; and the cleverest thieves are those who are unobserved. Death steals in this night of medicine and takes away life, the highest treasure of the human being. Had God not allowed medicine to stand still, as did the sun in the day of Joshua,³ who would ever die? For many whose health he has taken away, as he let the sun drag behind its course, he intended that they should be sick, and yet does not want that they should blame him for it. For this is how mysterious are his works: that we think nothing, know nothing, feel nothing, and do not know whither; and [God] wants for us to be subject to medicine, in order that we might remain pure within ourselves, and bear no grudge against him. So well disposed and loving should we be toward [God] that we should not ascribe such things to him, but instead blame nature; and thoroughly [trust] those who work in medicine, in the belief that everything the physician does, is done—completed or hindered—by God. The patient should bear such faith and love, hope and trust toward God, that he should not fall into the darkness in which death comes, in which the sun is

¹ See Grimm, *Gewissen* (IV,1, 2, a): the sense here is more intellectual than moral.

² Josh 10:13.

³ Josh 10:12-13 (“**The sun stopped in midheaven**, and did not hurry to set for about a whole day”). This was proof to Luther that, counter to Copernicus, the sun had to revolve around the earth.

Sonn zuruck gezogen wirdt/ oder ein Sündtfluß gar vbergange. Dann hatt er der gantzen Welt nit vbersehen/ wie wolt er dann einem Einigen vbersehen? Vnd das in der stille vnd verborgen. Als offenbar do war die Sündtfluß/ vnnd bekannt allen Creaturen: Also verborgen hingegen seint nachfolgent solche beschlossene vrtheil/ das der Mensch selbst one das vrtheil Gottes abscheidt von dieser Welt. | 96 |

Dieweil nuhn der Artzet so hoch vnnd fast angesehen soll sein/ gegründet auff solche starcke Gründt vnd Pfulmenten: So wissen hierbey/ das mit nichten ein Artzt sein mag auff den grundt/ ausserhalb der angezeigten Vier Gründe: Vnd nemlich/ dieweil so viel an einem Artzt ligt/ also dz Gott durch jhne wircket/ vnd wil jhn haben/ vnd soll do tragen das Lob vnd dz Leidt der artzney. Das Lob in dem/ so er geneust/ durch dz er Gott preiß: Nachfolgend das Leid/ das ist/ so jhme die artzney gestillt wirdt/ dieweil jhme der Dieb den krancken stielet/ so geduldets Gott in keim falschen/ dz solche weder freud noch leidt von jhm getragen sollen werden. Darumb so wisset hierin/ das die Artzt so sich mit der artzney allein begeren sich selbst zuerhalten/ weither nichts gründen noch erfahren. Was nuhn dieselbigen Artzt/ die Gott muß nehren nach jhrem willen/ mit lügnerey würcken oder tödten/ das wil Gott nicht/ das auff jhn^a gelegt werde/ sondern demselbigen ein Mordt zugeurtheilt/ sein freudt/ sein leidt/ ein ding/ arges vnnd nichts gutts: Dann Gott wil nicht/ das durch solche falsche leut die artzney soll erhalten werden. Darumb nun zubetrachten ist/ in wz grundt vnnd weg der Artzt wandeln soll: Vnd ob ich euch billich den fürhalt/ dieweil jhr das wollen sein/ das jhr mit nichten seindt/ vnd wollen den grundt verwerffen/ auff den jhr sollen gebawet sein/ ohn den jhr nicht mögent stehen noch platz haben. Nun habt die Rechnung von mir/ worauß ich redt vnnd schreib/ vnnd was mein grundt sey/ vnd deren/ so jhr auß meiner Secten zu sein nennet:

^a Sudhoff (219): “ime.”

retarded, or indeed a flood rises. Inasmuch as he has not disregarded the entire world, how should he disregard a single person? And [how would he not do] this quietly and in concealment? Though the flood was visible and known to all creatures, yet are the willed judgments of God concealed, [so] that the human being departs from this world without [having learned] the judgment of God. | 96 |

Since the physician should be held in such high and certain esteem and should be established on such strong foundations, we conclude that he can rest on no footing other than the aforementioned four grounds and foundations. For so much depends on the physician, inasmuch as God acts through and affirms his mission, that he is destined to bear the adulation and blame for medicine: adulation through whomever recovers, by which he serves to praise God; and misfortune when his medicine is suspended [by God], so that the thief steals his patient from him. Accordingly, God will not tolerate in any false physician that their kind should have neither joy nor sorrow to bear. Hence the physicians who merely seek to maintain themselves neither find anything nor learn anything of importance. As for those physicians whom God would have to preserve for their own benefit by either enacting [their] lies or killing off [their patients], God does not intend for [their misdeeds] to be ascribed to him but rather to the physician himself: whether [it is a matter of] the physician's good luck [or] ill, it all amounts to the same thing: wrongdoing and nothing good.¹ For God does not intend that medicine should be perpetuated by such false people. Therefore one must consider what path and ground the physician should proceed upon. So it is proper now that I explain [the ground] to you,² since you want to be what you are not; and [since you] are resolved to shun the foundation upon which you should be building, without which you can neither stand nor assume a [proper] place. With this you have your assessment from me, concerning what I speak and write and on what basis [I do so], and

¹ By minor interventions, Peuckert renders this difficult passage more readily translatable as: "Wenn nun diese Ärzte, die Gott ernähren muß, nach ihrem Willen mit Lüge wirken oder töten, will das Gott nicht, daß das auf ihn gelegt werde, sondern dem selbigen Arzt wird der Mord zugeteilt, seine Freude, sein Leid als ein Ding, Arges und nichts Gutes" (I:582).

² Note that P. now directs his remarks at the false physicians whom he has conjured up in his increasingly impassioned tirade.

Wie viel ehrlicher vnnd statthaffter sie gegründet seindt/ dann jhr/ die da nichts anders wissen/ dann auff das Papir zuzeigen/ das im nechsten Wasser zerschwimbt/ vnd auß alten hadern gemacht wirdt. Vnnd wie dasselbig ist/ also haderey ist auch/ das jhr darauff finden/ vnd Lehr der hadern vnd lumpen. Das Papir ist der Acker/ in den der Ratten geseet wirdt/ vnd jhr seidt die Ratten Artzt: Dann jhr klaubent allein auß/ das nichts soll/ das da soll/ das zertretten jhr. Darumb das der Ratten dicker stehet/ vnd scheinbarlicher in seim ansehen dann der Weitzen/ so muß er ewer Apotecken füllen/ vnd in ehren halten/ vnd euch bey ewerm Nammen. Vnnd wie die *Simplicia* sindt/ also seidt jhr *Doctores*: Sie seindt | 97 | faul vnd gerodirt/ verlegen/ wurmstichig/ vnd niemandts ist vnter euch/ der da wisse was darinnen sey: Also wie jhr nichts in jhnen wisset/ so weiß man vnnd findt mann auch nichts in euch: Dann daß das gemeldt in Apotecken das best ist/ vnd ist auch an euch das best. Vnnd dieweil [jhr] auff solchen vngründigen grundt gebawet seindt/ so wissent jhr nichts: Vnd so baldt ein kleiner schweiß kompt/ so stecket jhr / vnd wisset nit wo daran/ vnd Doctor Helueter/ den jhr verachtet/ ist ewer Meister alle: Vnd jhr lesen vnd lesen/ lernen vnd lernen/ vnd können nichts. Was seidt jhr anderst/ dann auß der zal der Jungfrawen/ die jhr Lampen verschütt hatten/ kamen zu den andern/ vnd wolten enthlenen? Also seidt jhr *Doctores*: Alle ewre Büchsen seindt verschütte Lampen/ vnnd wo ein frembder *Doctor* kompt/ so sprechen jhr: Lieber lern mich auch etwas/ mein Lampen wollen nicht brennen/ ich hab nicht Oele/ ich hab nit Safft: Vnd also ich vnd ein anderer/ der euch nit als Narren erkent/ derselbig theilt euch mit/ vnd machen vns selbst eigne feindt mit. So wir aber nach der Jungfrawen Parabel lebten vnd geben euch nichts/ vnd liessen euch Stadtartz/ Fürstenartz/ vnd andere auff den Pulsterdecken sitzen/ vnd vmb ewer Ampelöle/ etc. selbst trachten/ so würden jhr innen/ wz jhr erlangen würden. Vnd so wir Landtfahrer (die jhr vns also heisset) nit weren/ wie groß Mördt geschehen durch euch? Wie

about those among you who claim to be of my sect.¹ How much more honest and upright are they grounded than you, who would know nothing more than how to point at a piece of paper that would float off on the next current and is composed of nothing more than ancient quarrels. This being the case, what you find in it is nothing but disputation either, the teachings of quarrels and rascals. Such paper is the field upon which the weeds have been sown and you are the weed physicians.² For you merely take what does not belong to you. What is good in the field you trample down. This is why the weeds are so much thicker and more apparent than the wheat: they have to fill up your apothecaries and keep you respectable with your good name. As are these *simplicia*, so are the *doctores*. They are | 97 | rotten and of refuse, ill disposed of, [and] wormy, and no one among you knows what is in them. And just as you don't know what is in them, no one can know or find anything in you. For what has been said of the apothecaries is the best that can be said of them, and the best that can be said of you. And since <you> are founded upon such baseless foundations, you know nothing. And as soon as you have to sweat just a little, you are stuck and do not know how to proceed; and [then] Dr. Helvetian, whom you all hold in such contempt, will be master over you all. And you read and study, and cannot achieve a thing. What are you if not those maidens who emptied their lamps, [and] then went to the others and wanted to borrow from them?³ That is the sort of *doctores* you are. All your fireworks are nothing but empty lamps, and when a strange doctor shows up, you say: "Dear fellow, teach me something too; my lamp will not burn; I have no oil, I have no tallow." And this is how it goes with me and another one who does not recognize you as fools; that other one tells you something; and we make enemies for ourselves that way. But if we were to behave as in the parable of the maidens and give you nothing and let you, city physicians and princes' physicians and all the rest, just sit on your padded cushions and let you worry about your own lamp oil, then you would come to see what you are capable of accomplishing. And if not for us travelers⁴—for this is what you call us—how great would the

¹ P.'s reference to his and other medical **Secten** accords with ancient medical usage but also takes on a secondary overlay from the religious sectarian stirrings of his day.

² Again Mt 13:24ff. as above.

³ Jesus's parable of the well and ill prepared **bridesmaids** in Mt 25.

⁴ Though here and elsewhere P. treats "**Landfahrer**" as if it were solely a term of abuse, it was applied by Sebastian Franck and others of the time to the great explorers

viel der verderbten bringen wir auff? Vnnd so jhr sehent/ das in solcher erfahrenheit so viel ist/ so schicken jhr ewern Ratten auch auß zu wandern/ vnnd habt jtzet das wandern auch betrogen vnd beschissen: Also das jhr nit allein die heymischen/ sondern auch frembde vnd heimische bescheissen und betriegem. Wil euch also [hie] mit mein^a grundt fürgehalten haben: Gutter hoffnung/ jhr werden Ewer augen dermassen auffthun/ vnd wissen/ was ewer kunst vnd Artzney sey/ erkennen: Doch am wenigsten die *Auditores*, das sie euch nit zufallen [ermant haben.]^b

^a Sudhoff (221): "meim."

^b Sudhoff (221): "Dixi."

slaughter be that is committed by you! How many of those ill treated by you do we not restore! And when you realized how much is to be gained by experience of the other sort, you would send off your rats¹ to travel. But as it is now you have shortchanged and cheated [the experience gained by] traveling. So it happens that you do not merely shortchange and cheat your own, but indeed strangers along with your own. <With this> I hope to have demonstrated my foundation to you: in the patient hope that your eyes might be opened so that you will know what your art and medicine amount to, yet at least so that the *auditores* might <be admonished> not to look to you [for instruction].

of the age (Grimm). As in his initial defense against accusations that he is a “Lutherus Medicorum,” a subtle form of boasting is ironically implicit.

¹ A play on words: **Ratten** (“rats”) has replaced the Ratten/ Raden (“weeds”) of Mt 13.

OPVS PARAMIRVM:

AVREOLI THEOPHRASTI

von Hohenheim / geboren zu den Einsiedlern

Gemacht in den Ehren des Ehrwürdigen / Hochge

lehrten Herrn Joachim von Wadi / Doc

tors vnd Burgermeisters zu

Sanct Gallen.

Das erste Buch.



Jeweil ohn erkandnuß
 der Anfang vnd der dinge / so be
 sohlen sind / nichts kan gründlich
 erkandt werden / So gebürt sich zu
 beschreiben dz werck Paramirum,
 dir Doctor Joachim von Wadi
 zu sonderen Ehren / der du sonder
 lich fürderst ein jedlichen weg / der
 zu der Warheit gehet / vnnnd die so
 darinn wandlen : Ist billich ein solchen fürzunehmen / Nem
 lich ject / zubewegen die Irtsal / betreffend die Arzney / deren
 du nit der wenigist vnfers Vatterlandts der Eydgnoschafft
 vor allen Arzeten erscheinst / vñ tregst den gebürlichen Palm
 dich sonderlich zu einen Richter hierin zuhaben : denn ich dich
 vnpartheyisch hierin verhoff vnnnd weiß / den nit rewet zuuer
 lassen den Irtsal / vnd anzuhangen der warheit. Auff welchs
 ich geursacht wirdt / das ich solchs an dir ansech / vnd mein zeit
 zu Sanct Gallen / die ich ject verzeer / nicht vergeblich hinloß
 gahn / vnd dein Lob vnd Erkandnuß in den Natürlichen din
 gen aufferweck zum vrtheil / das deiner vnd meiner vnverges
 sen werd / bey mennighen so der Arzney vnterworffen sind.
 Dann du der da nit allein ein Erhalter / vnd nicht das wenigst
 gliedt / erfunden wirst in auffnehmen der Warheit / vnnnd die
 zufördern / betreffend das Ewig : Also nicht weniger auch er

OPVS PARAMIRVM^a

AVREOLI THEOPHRASTI Von Hohenheim/
geborn zu den Einsiedlen/

Gemacht in den Ehren des Ehrwürdigen/ Hochgelahrten
Herrn Joachim von Wadt/^b Doctors
Vnd Burgermeisters zu Sanct Gallen

Das erste Buch.

Dieweil ohn erkantnuß der Anfäng/ vnd der dingen/ so befohlen sind/
nichts kan gründtlich erkant werden/ So gebürt sich zu beschreiben
dz werck *Paramirum*, dir Doctor Joachim von Wadt zu sonderen
Ehren/ der du sonderlich fürderst ein jedlichen weg/ der zu der
Warheit gehet/ vnnd die so darinn wandlen: Ist billich ein solchen
fürzunehmen/ Nemlich jetzt/ zubewegen die Irrsal/ betreffend die
Artzney/ deren du nit der wenigist vnsers Vatterlandts der Eyd-
gnößschafft vor allen Artzeten erscheinst/ vnd tregst den gebürlichen
Palm/ dich sonderlich zu einen Richter hierin zuhaben: denn ich dich
unpartheyisch^c hierin verhoff vnnd weiß/ den nit rewet zuuerlassen

^a P.'s announcements of the coming "**Paramiran work(s)**," made with reference to issues ranging from theology to medicine, can be followed from his earliest writings to the present title. In the early Salzburg phase of theological polemics, the Trinitarian speculations of the *Liber de Sancta Trinitate* (1524) refer to the "paramiran" writings no less than eight times, in one case with a promise of disclosures to be validated by the two lights of nature and the Holy Spirit: "Die paramirischen schriften seindt uns wol zu betrachten in dem, das das liecht der natur und der heilig geist uns anzeigt. dann von ihm [i.e., God] gehts alles aus in unsern gedanken" (G 3:241). References are made in *Von den natürlichen Wassern*, dated by Sudhoff prior to Basel. The association is with the "drei ersten" and "arcana" (S 2:327), and in the *Archidoxis* with the "mysteria der natur und der kunst" (3:128). In Basel, the "paramira" promise to be of relevance for the pathology of *tartarus* (S 5:83). Allusion to paramiran works is also made in *Paragramum* (see H 2:54). The long heralded "paramiran" disclosure pertains variously to "metaphysica" as a dimension of alchemy (S 2:108), to the theology of the soul and concordance of the two "lights," and to the etiology of diseases.

^b Sudhoff (9:39): "Watt."

^c Sudhoff (39): "unparteisch."

THE *OPUS PARAMIRUM*
OF *AUREOLUS THEOPHRASTUS* von Hohenheim,
born at Einsiedeln,
written in honor of the honorable learned
Joachim von Watt,¹ doctor
and mayor of St. Gall.²

The first book.

Inasmuch as nothing can be thoroughly understood without a knowledge of the beginnings and of the things made requisite [by them], it is fitting to commend this work called *Paramirum* to the special honor of you, Dr. Joachim von Watt, since you are singularly promoting every path leading to the truth as well as those who are traveling upon it. [It] is indeed fitting to choose such a path now in order to clear away medical errors; for medicine is a field in which well-deserved laurels are borne by you, who are not least among the physicians of our fatherland, the [Swiss] Confederation: therefore you are appropriately singled out as a judge of these matters. For I expect and know you to be without partisanship³ in such things, since you are remiss

¹ Joachim von **Watt**, Wadt, or Vadianus (1484-1551): Swiss Humanist and Protestant reformer of St. Gall, student of arts and medicine, rector at the University of Vienna, and scholar of Pliny the Elder, Pomponius Mela, and Strabo's *Hortulus*, an early medieval work on the cultivation and power of herbs that he recovered and edited. Watt served as city physician and mayor, leading St. Gall in the Reformation, contending with Anabaptist radicals, and opposing the return of monastic rule (HBLs). We know nothing of his relation or acquaintance with P., though such an extended stay in his city could hardly have gone unnoticed. Meier's *Paracelsus*, largely devoted to P. in St. Gall, notes the honorific nature of the title: "Bürgermeister ist hier Titel und nicht Amt, Vadian amtiert im Turnus 1526, 1529, 1532" (63). He became acting mayor upon the death of P.'s patient and patron, Mayor Christian Studer on December 10, 1531 (Rosner 24; cf. Intro 5, note 6, Gamper, "Paracelsus und Vadian")

² The Eastern Swiss city of St. Gall (**Sankt Gallen**) in which the Watt family was prominent had its origin in an eighth-century Benedictine monastery which ruled it until 1457. Reformed by Watt in 1524, the city faced the return of the abbot after the Battle of Kappel in October 1531—near the end of the year of P.'s residence (see Gordon 89-92; cf. "Die Stadt St. Gallen zu Ausgang des Mittelalters," Näf 17-81).

³ See Grimm, **unparteiisch**: this term in use during P.'s period of sectarian and political strife signified to the magisterial reformer Luther or the dissenter Sebastian Franck a rising above unworthy factionalism.

den Irrsal/ und anzuhanen der warheit. Auff welchs ich geursacht wirdt/ das ich solchs an dir ansech/ und mein zeit zu Sanct Gallen/ die ich jetzt verzeer/ nicht vergeblich hinloß gahn/ vnd dein Lob vnd Erkandtnuß in den Natürlichen dingen aufferweck zum vrtheil/ das^a deiner und meiner vnvergessen werd/ bey menniglichen so der Artzney vnterworffen sind. Dann du der da nit allein ein Erhalter/ vnd nicht das wenigst^b gliedt/ erfunden wirst in auffnehmen der Warheit/ vnnd die zufürdern/ betreffendt das Ewig: Also^c nicht weniger auch erfunden | 68 | wirst ein Fürderer zusein in den dingen des Leibs/ darinn das Ewige wohnt.

Darumb mir billich zusteht Mein diß Paramirisch Werck dir zu zuschreiben/ das also anfacht.^d

Am aller ersten/ muß der Artzet wissen/ dz der Mensch gesetzt ist in drey Substantz.^e Dann wiewol der Mensch auß Nichts gemacht ist/ so ist er aber in Etwas gemacht: dasselbig Etwas ist getheilt in dreyerley: diese drey machen den gantzen Menschen/ vnnd sind der Mensch selbst/ und er ist Sie/^f auß denen vnnd in denen/ hatt er all sein gutts vnd böses/ betreffend den *Physicum corpus*. Auff das folgt nuhn/ daß der Artzt soll wissen derselbigen außtheilung/ vnnd erkennen ihr zusammen setzen/ erhaltung vnd außeinander zerlegung. Dann in diesen dreyen steht die gantz/ die halb/ die wenigst gesundtheit und kranckheit: Also das da erfunden wird/ wie groß/ wie

^a Sudhoff (39): “in natürlichen dingen auferweck, zum urtheil, das.”

^b Sudhoff (39): “wenigist.”

^c Sudhoff (39): “ewig, also.”

^d Sudhoff (40) has no paragraph break preceding this sentence in which “paramirisch werk” is lower case. It is followed by the chapter heading “Caput primum.” There are no enlarged letters in the next sentence.

^e The **triadic patterning** of concepts or trinitarian speculation varies but extends throughout the corpus. It is more general than the alchemical *tria prima* per se. In the possibly early work *De Mineralibus* (S 3:41), the *tria prima* are called “die sêl des elements und sein geist und das recht wesen.” In the early *Archidoxis*, the traditional four elements coexist uneasily with an as yet unarticulated concept of three (S 3:103). The threefold unity is envisaged as the correspondence of alchemical nature to human life (S 3:96). In the *Elf Traktat* (erroneously placed at the beginning of P.’s work, but more likely a work written soon after Basel), healing encompasses “drei ding”: “den himel, die erden und den microcosmum” (S 1:7). The presumably late *De Imaginibus* carries triadic speculation furthest with reference to the human faculties: “das gemüt, der glaub und die imagination” are said to be both three and one (“es kompt eins aus dem andern”) and are therefore comparable to “dem trinitato deo” (S 13:383-4). See H 1:73.

^f Sudhoff (40) renders “nichts,” “etwas,” and “sie” lower case.

neither in shunning error nor in cleaving to truth. Therefore, I am moved to view these matters with regard for you and not to waste in vain the time I am presently spending in St. Gall, but rather to arouse praise and recognition for you in natural matters, so that it shall be judged that you and I should not be forgotten among the many who are servants of medicine. Indeed, you who are not only a preserver of truth and are not the least significant member in taking up [truth] and promoting it with respect to what is eternal—you | 68 | should not be deemed less a preserver of [truth] in matters of the body in which that which is eternal dwells.

Therefore I appropriately dedicate to you this my Paramiran work which begins as follows.

[*CAPUT PRIMUM*]

Before all else the physician must know that the human being is crafted (**gesetzt**)¹ in three substances. For though the human being has been made from nothing, he is, however, made in something: the something in question is divided in a threefold manner.² These three make up the entire human being and are the human being himself and he is them; from them and in them he has all his good and evil with respect to the *physicum corpus*. From this it follows that the physician should know the distribution of these and recognize their composition, maintenance, and disintegration. For in these three consist the whole, the half, and the least portion of health and sickness, so that it is

¹ **Setzen** has among its early uses making, casting, building, or writing by setting characters (Grimm).

² See note on *tria prima* (H 1:73). This assertion has a bearing on the doctrinal question of the **creation ex nihilo** with its consequences for human freedom and knowledge. Under the impact of Luther's *De Servo Arbitrio* of 1525 (cf. WA 18:753-54), as part of a larger controversy, this question linked seemingly remote matters of nature and creation with the most intimate matters of soul and salvation. On the triadic pattern of P.'s thought in human nature, see Kämmerer's study of Paracelsian anthropology.

viel/ der gesundtheit ist/ auch das gewicht der kranckheit. Dann das soll der Artzt nit leugnen/ die kranckheit steh^a in dem gewicht/ in der zaal/ vnd in der maaß: So sie nuhn also steht/ so muß da erstlich^b dieser dingen grund fürgehalten werden/ worauß sie sich nemmen/ vnd das ist das nottwendigst/^c zu einem Eingang vorhin wol zubetrachten. Darbey ist auch der Todt/ in dem/ so denen dreyen das Leben genommen wirdt/ welcher zusammen verbindung das Leben/ vnnnd der Mensch ist. Also von denen dreyen Substantzen gehndt all Vrsach/ Vrsprüng/ vnnnd Erkandtnuß der kranckheiten: Weiter auch die Zeichen/ Wesen/ vnd Eigenschafft/ vnd was einem Artzt noth ist zuwissen.

Darauff ist nun not/ daß die drey ding durch den Artzt wol sollen erkannt werden/ vnd in allen ihren Eigenschafften verstanden/ welche die sind/ vnd wie sie gsund oder kranck machen. Dann gleich ist es ein^d wissen/ wie der Mensch gesundt ist/ vnd wie er kranck ist oder wirdt. Dann wie ein kranckheit wird vom gesunden/ also wirdt auch von kranckheit der gesundt. Darumb nit allein im wissen ist oder sein soll der kranckheiten vrsprung/ sondern auch das widerbringen der gesundheit. Es sindt aber vngeschickt Artzet eingefallen in das Liecht der | 69 | Natur/^e und dasselbige gefelscht: Haben die drey Substantzen der Natur nit ergründt/ sondern allein/ ausserhalb demselbigen/ für sich genommen den grundt/ so ihnen ihr eigen Kopff in Fantasirung geben hat/ ohn zeugnuß des lichts der Natur: Unbetracht/ das kein artzt den grundt der kranckheiten oder des menschen kan oder mag fürhalten/ Er hab dan gnugsam zeugnuß auß dem Licht

^a Sudhoff (40): “stet.”

^b Sudhoff (40): “erstlichen.”

^c Sudhoff (40): “notwendigst.”

^d Sudhoff (40) adds emphasis: “Dann gleich ist es ein wissen.”

^e P.’s citing of **das Licht der Natur** suggests a qualitative evolution from the general and ambiguous use to a more focused and positive one. In the *Liber de Sancta Trinitate* (1524), the light of nature is antithetical to the spirit, indeed “oft ist ein subtile verführung” (G 3:259). The *Archidoxis* “prologus de microcosmo” suggests a transition to a positive light of nature: the “mysteriae naturae” promise to illuminate theology itself (S 3:94). Programatically, the *Elf Traktat* treat the light of nature as an exegesis of the prefigurative book of nature that contains “figures” of the human being: “Woraus sol der arzt reden, dan aus der natur, wie sie in lernet. nun ist die eußer welt die figur des menschen, nit des leibs figur, sunder des menschen figur. was also in der natur eußerlich geschicht, das ist ein spil, das also im menschen geschicht, gleich als ein traum, der praeludia gibt...” (S 1:52). Specific diseases in the *Elf Traktat* exemplify the analogical principle of the light of nature and the correspondences of microcosm and macrocosm (see H 2:24, note).

thereby ascertained how great [and] how much of health prevails, as well as the weight of the disease. For it should not be denied by the physician that the disease stands in weight, in number, and in measure.¹ Since it stands thus, the source of all these things must first of all be presented: from what do they arise. This is the most necessary question for the purposes of introduction, hence to be taken up first of all. Moreover, death also enters the process when life is taken from the three, the nexus of which is life and the human being. Accordingly, from these three substances proceed all causes, origins, and the understanding of diseases, as well as their signs, natures (**Wesen**),² and properties, and whatever [else] a physician might need to know.

Therefore it is necessary that the three things should be recognized by the physician and understood in all their properties as to what they are and how they make people healthy or sick. For it pertains to one single body of knowledge as to whether the human being is healthy and how he is or becomes ill. For just as a disease arises out of health, so also out of disease the healthy. For that reason, the physician should know not only the origin of disease but also how health is restored. But the feckless physicians have encroached on the light of [69 | nature³ and falsified it; they have not fathomed the three substances of nature but instead shut it out and seized upon the reason their own minds provided them by fantasizing without the light of nature. This, notwithstanding the fact that no physician can establish the basis of diseases or indeed of the human being without sufficient witness from the light of nature. That light is the great world.⁴ For just as

¹ Job 28:25, “[God] gave to the wind its weight, and apportioned out the waters by measure”; Wis 11:20, “you have arranged all things by measure and number and weight.” Characteristically cited to legitimize human knowledge of nature, the three terms were interpreted by Nicholas of Cusa to refer respectively to geometry, music, and arithmetic of the seven liberal arts (cf. *On Learned Ignorance* [1440] II:13).

² **Wesen**, nature, being, essence, entity; cf. H 1:78, note on *Ens*.

³ **Licht der Natur**: The concept of *lumen naturale* or *lumen naturae* is of medieval theological origin. (See TL: “*Lumen*, 2. *lumen connaturale s. naturale s. naturae*”). Contrary to a misleading view that “the light of nature” was unique to the Renaissance, Aquinas already associated it with “*anima humana, cuius lumen est intellectus agens*” in his *Summa Contra Gentiles* II:79; cf. CP² 660.) P.’s precise philosophical sources are uncertain. Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus were names familiar to him (cf. H 1:283).

⁴ The great world is the **macrocosm**. Microcosm and macrocosm are associated with the Renaissance but were also common to ancient, Christian medieval, and Patristic thought. (See note on H 2:24)

der Natur: Dasselbig Licht ist die grosse Welt. Dan wie das Gold zum Siebenden mahl im Fewr probirt wirdt: Also soll auch zum siebenden mahl vnd mehr/ der Artz bewert werden durch das Fewr: Das ist/ das Fewr bewehrt die drey Substantzen/ vnnd stellt sie lauter und klaar für/ rein vnd sauber: das ist/ dieweil das Fewr nit gebraucht wirdt/ dieweil ist nichts bewehrd^a do: das Fewr bewehrt alle ding/ das ist/ so das vnrein hinweg kömpt/ so stendt die drey Substantzen da. Also wirdt der Artzt bewehrt: Nit ihn zuverbrennen/ sondern^b sein Kunst/ Theorick/ Practick/ die soll im Fewr getaufft werden: Dann sie erzeugen sich vor den augen der Pawren nicht/ lassen sich auch nit greiffen dermassen. Darumb so ist das Fewr das jenig/ das solchs sichtbar macht das do verdunkelt ist. Also soll die *Scientia* der artzney fürgetragen werden.

Dorauff volgt nun/ das Gott die artzney beschaffen hat/ darumb so besteht^c sie durch das Fewr: Also hat er auch beschaffen den Artzt/ das er auß dem Fewr gebohren werdt. Nun ist der Artzt auß der artzney/ vnd nit auß ihm selbst/ darumb so muß er durch der Natur *Examen* gehn/ welche Natur die Welt ist vnd all ihr Einfang: Vnnd dasselbig was ihn die Natur lernet/ das muß er seiner weißheit^d befehlen: Vnnd aber nichts in seiner weißheit suchen/ sondern allein

^a Sudhoff (41): “bewerts.”

^b Sudhoff (41): “sunder.”

^c Sudhoff (41): “bestat.”

^d **Weisheit (wisdom)** along with *theorica* (theory) is mentioned throughout the corpus but acquires special resonance in the writings of the middle period, increasing in importance as P.’s principle of authority from the Basel period on. The assertion in *De Renovazione et Restauratione und vom Langen Leben*, that “in labore sophiae ... geschehen die operationes elementorum mit vollkommener wirkung ganz mit kreften” (S 3:238), is echoed when *Paragranum* hypothesizes that “die natur ist der weisheit vol” (S 8:85; H 2:36). From *Paragranum* to *Paramirum*, wisdom only increases its profile from a power at work in nature to one presiding over all things and guiding the physician and philosopher. *De Inventione Artium* (S 14:249ff.) emphasizes that God, not the stars, is the source of true wisdom; and it extends this dictum even to craft knowledge, asserting that, “der erst schmit aus got gelert ist worden” (259). The *Liber de Fundamento Scientiarum Sapientiaeque* refines this tendency further in accordance with the biblical-Pauline view that human wisdom is nothing and divinely granted wisdom everything (S 13:293). The same treatise brings the concept of wisdom back to the naturalistic context of the disciplines of knowledge and forces of nature: “dan got hat sein macht in kreutern geben, in stein gelegt, in die samen verborgen....” (305). Moreover, wisdom is granted equally to all human beings: “darumb ist die weisheit genugsam bei allen menschen” (294). The assertion that there are two wisdoms, one concerning the body and one the soul, recalls the concordance of the two lights in the theological writings of 1524 (see H 1:69, note).

gold is tested in fire a seventh time, the physician must be proven by fire a seventh time and more.¹ That is to say, the fire proves the three substances and presents them pristine and clear, pure and clean. That is to say, if fire is not used, nothing of a proven sort results. Fire approves all things.² That is to say, when the impure is gone, the three substances are there. Thus the physician is tested; [but] not that he may be burned: rather, his art, theory, [and] practice are to be baptized by fire.³ For these [things] are not revealed to the eyes of peasants: [they] cannot be grasped in that way. Therefore, fire is that which makes visible what is obscure:⁴ that is how the *scientia* of medicine should be advanced.

It therefore follows that God created medicine:⁵ for this reason it perseveres through fire. Hence, too, [God] also created the physician⁶ that he might be born of fire.⁷ Now indeed the physician is [born] of medicine, not of himself: for this reason he must pass the exam of nature, an exam consisting of the world and all that it encompasses. And whatever it is that nature teaches him he must commend to his wisdom, and yet seek for nothing in his [own] wisdom,⁸ but rather solely

¹ Allusion to the seven steps in purifying gold; the addition “and more” shifts the emphasis from the number seven per se to an emphasis on experience in pursuing a tried and trying path to knowledge.

² The extended biblical allusions to **testing gold by fire** in order to reveal what is obscure and prove the quality of human works corresponds also to the terms of 1 Cor 3:12-15 (cf. H 1:71).

³ According to John the Baptist (Mt 3:11), “[Jesus] will **baptize** you with the Holy Spirit and **fire**.”

⁴ 1 Cor 3:13 and 1 Cor 4:5, “[The Lord] will bring to light things now hidden in darkness.”

⁵ Sir 38 praises the following as altogether God-given: **physicians** (“Honor physicians for their services, for the Lord created them, for their gift of healing comes from the Most High,” Sir 38:1-2), **herbs** (“the Lord created medicines out of the earth,” Sir 38:4), and “the **pharmacist** [who] makes a mixture from them” (Sir 38:8).

⁶ Sir 38:12 also states: “Then give the physician his place, for the Lord created him.” P.’s conclusions and claims of authority lack expository premises unless they are assumed to stand on Scripture.

⁷ Mt 3:11. The use of scripture confirms the apostolic nature of the physician frequently stated by P.

⁸ In abjuring a lower human wisdom in favor of a higher or divine **wisdom**, P. conforms to an estimation of human versus divine knowledge expressed in the Bible and recapitulated by Paul, 1 Cor 1:20 (God renders foolish the wisdom of the world); 2:7 (God’s secret wisdom is being revealed); 3:19 (the wisdom of this world is foolishness to God); Gal 1:11 (against a gospel devised by humans); Col 2:8 (against a philosophy based on human tradition and the elemental spirits of the universe [in the

im Licht der Natur/ vnd nachfolgendt dieselbige leer beschliessen in die Zell^a derselbigen behaltnuß. Nun ist der Artzt augenscheinlich mit seinen wercken/ vnd die Natur ist auch offenbarlich/ nichts verborgen: Also augenscheinlich sollen auch sein die vrsach der gesundheit/ vnd der krankheit/ vnd nichts vertunckelt. Darumb am ersten das Fewr gemeldt wirdt/ in welchem zerlegt werden die ding/ so verborgen sindt/ vnd augensichtig werden. Auß diesem Sehen/ entspringt die *Scientia* der artzney/ dan sie gibet | 70 | zeugnuß/ also: Dieweil der Artzt auß der artzney ein Artzt ist/ vnd ohn sie nicht/ vnd Sie ist elter dan Er/ Er ist auß Ihr/ Sie nit auß ihm: So muß er dasselbige betrachten/ vnd in dem lernen das ihn macht/ vnd nit auß ihm selbst. Also ligt in der Natur der artzney/ die Weißheit/ Kunst^b/ Theoric/ Practic/ etc. des Artzts/ vnd in ihm selbst nit. Damit gnugsam widersprochen ist dem Irrsal/ der sich in der Natur nit erfindt/ welcher allein auß fürgenommener weiß erhalten vnd angezeigt wirt. Dann im Fewr ist der Schulmeister/ nicht im Schuler selbst.^c

Aber noch verstendiger ist das: Im Menschen ist nichts/ dz ihn zu einem Artzet mache: Wiewoll er hat (das *Praeclarum Ingenium*)^d darin ist aber kein kunst. Sie ist leer als ein wolgemachter Kasten oder behalter der leer ist/ vnd aber geschickt zubehalten was mann darein

^a A context of the “Zell” (cell) of acquired knowledge is evident when the divine wisdom and arcane forces in nature elsewhere occur in a common context with “the eternal honey,” “das ewig honig,” (manna or wisdom), which sustains human beings (*De Potentia et Potentia Gratia Dei*, 1533—G 1:140).

^b *Paragranum* asserts that like wisdom all the **arts** including medicine have a divine source (S 8:208, 210; H 2:85ff.).

^c Sudhoff (42): “selbs.”

^d The *Volumen Paramirum* contrasts the superficial and overweening *ingenium* or capacity of P.’s medical opponents (“ir teilt aus die geschlecht der fieber wol in 70 teil und betrachten aber nit, das ir fünfmal 70 sind, und ir gebt einer ingenium auf das ens naturale und betrachtet nit, das ir noch 4 sind”—S 1:174), with the pious physician’s own *ingenium*, which has been honed by a faith in Christ (“er sol uns alein scherfen unser ingenium—176). In the *Sieben Defensiones* (1537-38), P. writes that the heavens bestow on us in the light of nature “ingenia, neue inventiones, neu artes, neue aegritudines” (S 11:127). The consideration that true *ingenia* are granted from above may resolve the apparent contradiction between the empty *praeclarum ingenium* referred to here, and the seemingly innate knowledge that is later associated with “sidereal spirit”: true knowledge derives in either case from a higher and ultimately divine source. Sudhoff (42) does not retain the parentheses.

in the light of nature, and thereafter infuse this same teaching into the cell¹ of the same repository. Now the physician is manifest with his works; and nature is also manifest, not hidden. So, too, the causes of health and disease should be manifest and not at all obscure. This is why in the first place fire is called for, in which the things that are concealed become manifest. From this visibility arises the *scientia* of medicine, for it gives | 70 | testimony as follows. Inasmuch as the physician takes his being from medicine and not without it, and it is more ancient than he [and] he arises out of it, not it out of him, he must contemplate it and learn from that which makes him and not from himself. Thus in the [very] nature of medicine lies the wisdom, art,² theory, practice, etc. of the physician, and not in himself.³ With that enough has been said against the error that does not find its ground in nature, which is professed and demonstrated solely in the manner presented [here]. For the teacher is in the fire and not in the pupil himself.⁴

But the following should be even more comprehensible. There is nothing in the human being that would make him into a physician, even though he possesses the *praeclarum ingenium*:⁵ for there is yet no art in it. It is empty like a well-made chest or container, which is unfilled yet suited for retaining whatever one should place into it,

Vulgate: “*secundum traditionem hominum, secundum elementa mundi, et non secundum Christum*”). Yet knowledge of nature can lead to knowledge of God. Paul preaches to the heathen Romans that the invisible qualities of God are revealed in nature (Rom 1:20), and to the Athenians that the “unknown God” is present in all of creation (Acts 17:23). The apparent contradictions of P.’s statements can only be reconciled in reference to their point: whatever is truly known from nature is known on divine authority. What is believed but not true rests *ipso facto* on mere human authority, worldly philosophy, or false tradition.

¹ See Grimm, **Zell, Zelle**: originally a repository or cellar for storing food, then the cell in a beehive or monastery, here it is a metaphor of bees gathering honey as knowledge (cf. Grimm, “Biene, Bienenzelle”).

² The questioning of the authority of the **arts** and sciences parallels a contemporary theme in Agrippa von Nettesheim’s *De Vanitate et Incertitudine Scientiarum et Artium atque Excellentia Verbi Dei* (1526).

³ P. echoes the Lutheran doctrine of *sola gratia*: grace is everything, autonomous human powers nothing.

⁴ Along with the Pauline generalization of Rom 1:20, this may also accord with universal and Christian folk myths of fire and its mastery. See Mircea Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible*, 106–08.

⁵ **Ingenium**: talent, intellect, cleverness, inspiration, skill (OLD); here it is the bright or transparent talent or gift, understood as a capacity or *tabula rasa* yet to be filled.

thun will/ den Schatz so vnserere hendt gewinnen. Also ist das *Praeclarum Ingenium* ohn all erfahrungheit/ vnnd kunst/ vnnd artzneyische weißheit: Aber/ was wir erlernen vnnd erfahren/ das behalten wir darin/ vnd brauchen das zu seiner zeit. Nun secht ahn zwey Exempel/ den Artzt dester leichter zuuerstehn. Eins ist also: Der Glaser oder Glaßmacher/ auß weme hatt er sein kunst? Nit auß ihme selbst: Dann eigen vernunft mag nimmermehr dohin kommen: Aber do er nahm die Subjecten der kunst/ vnd warffs in das Fewr/ da zeiget ihm das Licht der Natur das glaß: Diese kunst ist behalten worden in diese Truhen. Also ist es auch mit dem Artzt. Darumb so folgt auff das/ das ander Exempel: Ein Zimmermann der da bawet ein Hauß/ das mag er selbst auß seiner weißheit erfinden/ so er Holz und Axt hat: Der Artzt aber nit also/ so er schon die artzney vnd den krancken hat/ noch hat er *Scientiam*^a nicht/ vnd der dingen Erkantnuß: So er aber die Axt hat vnnd das Holz/ so mag er wol ein Artzt sein/ darumb so muß er ein Schmid erstlich sein/ das ist/ die Axt können machen/ demnach so hilfft ihm sein *Ingenium* diese zebrauchen.^b Also ist *Praeclaritas Ingenij* ein Kasten der artzney vnnd ihrer *Scientiae*: Aber auß dem Fewr kompt der Schatz der darinn behalten soll werden. Darumb wie der Glaßmacher sein Glaßmachen auß dem Fewr hat/ der da | 71 | nit wuste zuvor was er machte/ vnnd aber die kunst behalten: Also auch das Fewr lernet die weißheit und kunst der Artzney/ das ist die prob des Artzts.

^a *Scientia* is among an increasingly prominent array of cognitive concepts that include the light of nature, wisdom, and *theorica*. The positive valence and context of *scientia* was elaborated in P.'s commentary on the *Aphorismen des Hippokrates* (see Intro 7-8): *scientia* like *theorica* is vital to a medicine that transcends mere hit-or-miss empiricism: "*scientia* get für und ist nimer experimentum fallax. das macht die *theorica medica*, die in vier seulen steht: *philosophia*, *astronomia*, *alchimia* und *physica*" (S 4:497). The tentative form of the four pillars links this passage with an early moment of P.'s turn to "theory" in response to his Basel detractors. One of the most resolute assertions of *scientia* is in the *alterius* version of *Paragramm*: "und wiewol da sind geschiden namen, es seind aber nit geschiden künst oder geschidene wissen, das ist *scientiae*; dan eins ist in allen" (S 8:147). In *Astronomia Magna*, *scientia* is ambivalent. What it calls "*scientiae perversae*" pertain to errors induced by the light of nature (S 12:338). But the late *Labyrinthus* anchors *scientia* firmly in a divine ground: *scientia* is both innate in the medical virtues infused in nature ("scammona purgirt, das tut er cum *scientia*, die in got geben hat"—S 11:191), and tantamount to the true "experientia" that issues from God and contrasts with the false "experimentum" ("experientia hat *scientiam* und wo *scientia* ist, da wird vom experiment nichts geret oder gemelt"—193).

^b Sudhoff (43): "zugebrauchen."

[such as] the treasure won by our hands. Thus the *praeclarum ingenium* is lacking any experience or art or medical wisdom. Yet whatever we learn and experience we retain in it and use in its time. Now let us consider two examples so that we might understand the physician all the better. One is as follows. [Take] the glazier or glassmaker—from whom does he have his art? Not from himself: one's own reason¹ is in no way capable of arriving at such a thing. Yet as soon as he took the subjects of his art and cast them into the fire, the light of nature showed him glass. That art has been encompassed in those containers. It is the same with the physician. Hence follows the second example. A carpenter builds a house: he can invent this himself out of his wisdom if he has wood and an axe. But the physician cannot do likewise. Though he has medicine and a patient, he does not yet possess *scientia*² and knowledge of the [requisite] things. But if he has an axe and wood, he may indeed be a physician. For this reason, he must first of all be a smith, that is, be able to fashion the axe, after which his *ingenium* will help him make use of it. Accordingly, *praeclaritas ingenii* is a receptacle of medicine and of its *scientia*. Yet from fire comes the treasure that shall be contained in it. Thus, just as the glassmaker has [received] his art of glassmaking from the fire, since | 71 | he did not know beforehand what he was doing, but [in so doing] has retained the art, thus fire teaches the wisdom and art of medicine, which is the test of the physician.

¹ **Vernunft** as an innate human understanding was distrusted equally by Luther, Erasmus, and Sebastian Franck (see Grimm).

² **Scientia** in Scholastic-Thomistic tradition could refer to knowledge acquired from experience or infused by God. It was comparable to *lumen naturalis* (TL 455; cf. note on H 1:69).

Das ist waar/ das der vnerfahrene theil/ das ist/ der theil der nicht auß der Natur geboren ist/ will nicht sein Schulmeister erkennen/ sondern^a sein Eigen vernunfft ein Artzneyische Weißheit sein lassen/ vnnnd drauff gründen: Das allein in Sandt gebawen ist vnnnd heist. Was das Fewr anzeigt/ das mag ohn das Feuer nicht ersinnet werden noch erfahren. Dann zwo seindt der Weißheit: Eine/ die wir auß der Erfahrenheit nemmen/ vnd Eine/ die wir auß vnserer^b geschickligkeit haben. Die auß der Erfarnheit ist zweyfach: Die eine/ ist des Artzts grundt vnnnd Meister/ die ander/ ist sein Irrsall vnnnd verführung. Die Erst ist die/ so er auß dem Feuer nimpt/ in dem so er die Vulcanische khunst treibt in der Transmutirung/ Fixirung/ Exaltirung/ Reducirung/ Perficirung/ vnnnd andern anhangenden dingen diesen zugehörig. In dieser Erfahrung werden die Drey Substantzen erfunden/ was Arth vnnnd was Natur vnnnd Eigenschafft/ so in der gantzen Welt ist/ begriffen in allen Naturen. Die Ander aber ist die/ so ohngeferdt etwas geräth^c ohn bemelte erfahrung: Das Einmahl also gerecht ist/ wirdt nicht bestetet/ das all mahl gerecht sey/ auff solch erfahrenheit sich zuuerlassen/ zugründen/ zubawen. Das ist ein grundtloser Baw/ auff welchem Baw der Irrsall stehet/ der da glosiert wirdt mit erdichten Sophistereyen. So ein solcher sich selbst bedechte: Wer giebt dier das Experiment?^d Nemlich der: Wer demselbigen? Nemlich der Ander: Vnnnd also hindersich biß auff den Ersten/ von dem sie es alle haben/ so kompt es in den *Vulcanum*^e vnnnd *Spagyrum*. &c.

^a Sudhoff (43) always changes Huser's "sondern" to "sonder."

^b Sudhoff (43): "unser."

^c Sudhoff (43): "geret."

^d P.'s Basel lecture program resoundingly praised "experientia ac ratio"; however, the seemingly related term "**experiment**" is often negative, probably because of its association with a traditionally discredited ancient medical "empiricism." The late *Labyrinthus* thus refers to opponent physicians who wander "in disem labyrintho experimenta experimentorum und alle tollen labyrinthen" (S 11:166).

^e In *Elf Traktat*, "*vulcanus*" is a natural alchemical agency revealed in the macrocosm and microcosm by the action of the stars (S 1:47ff.) and in the laboratory by the operations of the alchemist (*Labyrinthus*, S 11:186).

It is indeed true that the inexperienced (that is, whatever is not born of nature) does not want to recognize its teacher, but instead lets its own reason serve as medical wisdom and as [the medical] foundation on which to build. This is, and is called, building on sand.¹ What is revealed by fire can neither be conceived nor experienced without fire. For there are two distinct wisdoms, one that we take from experience and one that we have from our skill.² The one from experience is [likewise] twofold: the one is the foundation and master of the physician; the other his error and seduction. The first is the one he receives from fire by pursuing the volcanic art of transmutation, fixation, exaltation, reduction, perfection, and the related things pertaining thereto.³ In such experience, the three substances are found, that is, what species and nature and properties there are in the entire world, encompassed in all natures. The other [wisdom] is the one in which something comes about without the aforesaid experience. What was once found to be thus is not always found to be the case—[it is a matter of] relying on, founding, building upon such experience. That is a foundationless building upon which error stands, which is glossed [over] with invented sophistries. If such a one [who asserts this kind of knowledge] were to think about it, who is it that gives you that information?⁴ It is that person. And who gives it to him? Well, it is someone else. And so on it goes, back to the first from whom all others have it.⁵ That is the way it arrives at the *vulcanus* and *spagir[ic]us*,⁶ and so forth.

¹ Mt 7:26, “And everyone who hears these words of mine and does not act on them will be like a foolish man who **built his house on sand**.” The metaphors of the paragraph depend upon this image.

² See Grimm (3a, b), **Geschicklichkeit**: the term is equivalent here to *ingenium*. P. is confirming the same distinction between human and God-given capacities as in Luther’s word: “nicht das wir geschickt gnug sind, etwas zu gedencken von uns selber, sondern unser geschickligkeit ist von gott” (cited in Grimm [3b]).

³ Intended are the operations of transformation, especially those of purifying gold (cf. H 1:69).

⁴ See MLLM, *experimentum*: information (cf. H 1:73, note on “*experimentator*”).

⁵ What begins here as a polemic against hearsay switches to the attribution of received opinion to the most ancient and definitive sources. Similarly the *Vorred* (cap. 4) of Brunfels’ *Contrafayt Kreüterbuch* (Strasbourg: Schotten, 1532) begins with Pliny’s intimations of divine or prophetic inspirations but then asserts that the spirit of God had taught Adam and Eve the reported secrets of nature (cf. Intro 38, note 31).

⁶ *Vulcanus*, *Spagir(ic)us*: the alchemist who works with fire and who separates and joins together is the font of knowledge in this passage.

Also wissendt/ das wir nit von solchem hören sagen oder lesen sollen gelehrt werden inn der artzney/ sondern/ wie hat der Erste gelernet? Also Wir auch: der ihn gelernet hab/ der lerne vns auch: Die Natur in *Vulcano*, die sey auch vnser Leermeister. Dann so einer spricht: Thue du das/ so wirstu selig: So fordert die nott/ [zuwissen]^a wer das gesagt hab? So kompts in den/ der die Seligkeit selbst ist. Also da auch: | 72 | Allein wir kommen in die artzney selbst/ das ist in die Natur/ sunst werden wir nit Artzet sein. Dan will ich/ das der grundt bestandt vnd herfliesse/ [so muß ich]^b nicht von vnsichtiglichen dingen/ sondern von sichtiglichen sagen vnd reden. Dann das ist hoch einem Artzet zuermessen/ das wir Gott sichtig/ greifflich/ vor vnsern augen gehabt haben/ also das wir vnsern Seligmacher selbst gehört haben/ den grundt der warheit: Noch viel mehr die artzney sichtig vor vns stehet/ vnd sie sichtig vnd nit im Traum endtpfahen sollen/ greifflich/ nit im Schatten: Das alles aber ist vnsichtig fürgehalten worden zusein/ von denen/ so die augen des Fewrs nit gehabt haben/ darauß dann der Irrsall entstanden ist/ dorauff die vnergründte artzney gestelt ist. Hart ist zu glauben/ das im menschen 4. *Humores*^c seyendt mit sampt derselbigen außweisung/ es steht im glauben: So soll doch die artzney nit im glauben stehn/ sondern in den augen. Nichts steht im glauben als der Seelen krankheit vnd Seligkeit: Alle artzney des leibs steht sichtbar/ on allen glauben.

Es ist mit diesen dingen des Irrsals/ gleich als mit dem Falschen glauben/ do nicht ein jedlicher der do spricht/ Herr/ Herr^d wirdt

^a Sudhoff (44): “zu wissen,” without square brackets.

^b Sudhoff (44): “so muß ich” without square brackets.

^c P.’s opposition to humoral medicine is relatively mild in *Archidoxis* and *Volumen Paramirum*. There the apparent intention is to assert a place for the new medicine alongside established medicine, not to demolish the latter completely. After Basel, the attacks on humoral medicine become increasingly strident.

^d The physician who says “**Herr/ Herr**” is praying as if to God; the “she [that] does not hear you” (“**Sie erhört dich nit**”) is a medicine, like God, not recognizing the supplicant who has not been chosen.

Let it be known that we should not be instructed by this sort of hearsay or reading in medicine. Rather [we should ask], how was it that the first one was instructed? Let it be thus with us as well. Let him who instructed that one teach us, too. Nature *in vulcano* should be our teacher as well. For when someone says: do that and you shall be saved (**selig**);¹ it is necessary <to know> who it is that has said it. Thus does one arrive at him who is salvation per se [the foundation of truth]. And so it is likewise: | 72 | Unless we enter into medicine proper—which is nature [as] art—we will not be physicians. For if I desire that the foundation should be firm and fertile, <then I must> not speak about invisible things, but rather about things that can be seen. For the physician is to be highly prized in that we are the ones who have seen our God before our very eyes, having heard our very savior as the foundation of truth.² Yet even more does medicine manifestly stand before us, and we should receive it manifestly and not in a dream, palpably and not as a shadow.³ Yet such things have been presented as [something] invisible by those who have not had the eyes of fire. From this has arisen the error upon which the groundless medicine is founded. It is hard to believe that in the human being there are four humors with all that is said to pertain to them: that is a matter of belief.⁴ Thus medicine should not be founded on belief but rather on our eyes. Only the illness and salvation of the soul are a matter of faith. All medicine of the body stands visibly without all belief.

With these matters of error it is as with false faith: not everyone who says, “Lord, Lord,” is heard;⁵ that is to say that if you are not a

¹ See Grimm, **selig** (*felix, beatus*): the term was impressed early into the service of the church without completely losing its worldly reference.

² See LCK, “Lukas”: a certain early Christian tradition identified Luke the Evangelist as a **physician** and companion of Paul (based on Col 4:14). This may explain P.’s odd claim of a special professional honor for the physician of having distinctly witnessed the Savior.

³ Possibly suggestive of a Platonic influence, the dichotomy of **shadow** and reality is also employed by the Apostle Paul in Col 2:17, “These are a shadow of what is to come, but the substance belongs to Christ.”

⁴ The reader should note that this demand for a medicine of visible things may entail a rhetorical inversion of the vulnerability of his own medical claims. For as traditionally understood, the humors were hardly an ethereal postulate of **faith**: P. is indeed claiming a presence for arcane powers that are as elusive as humors.

⁵ P.’s rhetoric here echoes Mt 22:14 (Jesus: “many are called, but few are chosen”) or Mt 7:15 (Jesus warns against false prophets as wolves in sheep’s clothing, who are to be recognized “by their fruits”).

erhört: Das ist/ so du kein Artzt bist/ vnd gebrauchst dich deß doch:
So du dein Experiment nimst/ sagst/ thu das/ thue das/ so thuts es aber
nicht: Dann Sie erhört^a dich nit/ bist nit der rechte Hirt zu diesen
schaffen/ Sie spricht aber woll/ Ich kenn dich nicht/ die Krancken
müssen den Artzt haben so müssen sie ihn auch erkennen/ dan er ist
ihnen beschaffen. Darumb alleine der/ so da berufft wirdt/ ein Artzt
ist/ demselbigen wechst die artzney auß der Erden/ vnd sie kent ihn/
hat ihn zusetzen/ vnd zu entsetzen. So ist nun der grundt/ das wir die
drey Substantzen erkennen vnd erfahren: Das nicht auß vnsern
köpffen/ noch auß hören sagen/ sondern auß der Erfahrenheit der
Natur zerlegung/ vnd Erfarung solcher eigenschafft ergründung. Dann
der mensch wird erlernt von der grossen Welt/ vnd nit auß dem
menschen. Das ist die Concordantz die den Artzt gantz macht: So er
die welt erkennt/ vnnd auß ihr den Menchen auch/ welche gleich Ein
ding sindt vnd nit zwey: Das ich der Erfarung weiter heimsetz. | 73 |

^a Sudhoff (45): “erkennet.”

physician, yet act like one by taking your findings and telling [people]: “do this” or “do that”; nevertheless, you shall have no [good] effect. For you shall not be recognized by medicine. You are not the true shepherd for such sheep.¹ But medicine does indeed utter in truth: “I do not recognize you.” For the sick must have the physician whom they also recognize, for he was created for them. Therefore, for the one who is truly summoned as a physician, medicine grows out of the earth² and it recognizes him and is empowered to ordain and to reject him. And for this reason we must recognize and know the three substances, which stem not from our heads, nor from hearsay, but from the experience of nature’s composition [as] the foundation of such a qualification. For the human being is instructed by the great world and not by the human being. This is the concordance that makes the physician whole. [It takes effect] when he understands the world and from it the human being, which indeed are the same thing and not two distinct things, as I shall proceed to elaborate. | 73 |

¹ Following a common ideal of imitation of God, “**the true shepherd**” evokes Jesus, “the good shepherd.”

² Sir 38:4 (see note on H 1:69).

CAPVT SECVNDVM.

Drey sind der Substantz/ die do einem jedlichen sein *Corpus* geben: Das ist/ Ein jedlich *Corpus*/ steht in dreyen dingen. Die Namen dieser dreyen dingen sind also/ *Sulphur, Mercurius, Sal.*^a Diese drey werden zusammen gesetzt/ als dan heists ein *Corpus*/ vnd ihnen wirt nichts hinzu gethan/ als allein das Leben/ vnd sein anhangendes. Also so du ein *Corpus* in die hand nimst/ so hast du vnsichtbar drey Substantzen/ vnder Einer gestalt: Von diesen dreyen ist not zu reden. Dan do sind drey Substantzen in einer gestalt/ vnd die geben vnd machen alle gesundheit. Dann so du ein Holtz in der hand hast/ so hastu vor deinen augen nur Ein leib: Das wissen ist dir nit nütz/ die Pawren wissends vnd sehends auch. So weit mustu gründen vnd erfahren/ das du wisest/ das du in der hand ein *Sulphur* habest/ Ein *Mercurium*, vnd ein *Sal*: So du die drey ding sichtbar hast/ greifflich vnd wircklich/ ein jedlichs gesunderet von dem andern: Jetzund so hastu die augen damit ein Artzet sehen soll: Diese augen sollen bey dir sein so sichtlich in seinem Sehen/ wie dem Pawren das roch holtz. Vnd also laß dir das auch ein Exempel sein/ das du den menschen in den dreyen solt erkennen/ gleich so wol als das holtz/ dz ist/ du hast den menschen

^a Some medical writings thought to be early have little to say about the so-called *tria prima*. Others do so in a relatively naturalistic vein. The three are discussed in connection with specific cures in the Basel or post-Basel-era *Elf Traktat* (S 1:19) or they are applied to alchemical processes (1:148). They are related to the ingredients of gunpowder and posited as the cause of “fulgur [the lightning flash],” (1:90). A chapter on salt in *Von den natürlichen Dingen* treats of the “drei stück” both as “prima condita” and as recipients of “nutriment” from “all gewechs der erden” (S 2:98). The alchemical context addresses the ingredients of gunpowder (108), as well as some diseases associated with *tartarus* (109); but here further discussion of the “kunst vulcani” is deferred to “der metaphysica in Paramiris” (108). In the Basel lectures, the significance of the three is generalized in connection with the discussion of St. Anthony’s fire: “quod homo consistit ex tribus, id est mercurio, sale, sulphure... nam nulla res est quae consistere posit sine his tribus; ubi alterutrum deficit, perit res” (S 4:270). In *De Mineralibus* the three are equated with the *prima materia* in a nature united by universal processes (S 3:39, 41). In a theological treatise *De Genealogia Christi*, dated by Goldammer to around 1530, the three are ascribed to all things, animate and inanimate, in accordance with the pattern of creation “after the divine image”; the three are identified here specifically with the Trinity (G 3:63). In the late *Astronomia Magna* the three are a set formula with few naturalistic or alchemical traces.

CAPUT SECUNDUM

Three are the substances that thus give each [being or thing] its *corpus*. That is to say that each *corpus* stands in three things. The names of these three things are *sulphur*, *mercurius*, [and] *sal*.¹ When these three things are put together, there is that which is called *corpus* and nothing is added to them but life and that which pertains to it. Thus when you take a corpus in hand, you have invisibly three substances in one form (**vnder Einer gestalt**).² It is necessary to speak about these three. For they are three substances in one form, and they give and make health altogether. Thus, if you hold wood in your hand, you have before your eyes only a single body. But this knowledge is of no use to you: the same thing is known and seen [even] by peasants. You must delve and learn until you are certain that your hand holds a *sulphur*, a *mercurius*, and a *sal*. Thus you [must] have the three things visibly, tangibly, and really, each one separated from the other. At this point you have the eyes with which a physician should see. Such eyes should you possess in order to perceive as manifestly in seeing as when the peasant sees the raw [piece of] wood. And let it be exemplary for you, too, that even so should you recognize the human being in the three things, as well as the wood: you have the human being before you in the same way. If you have the bones of the human be-

¹ *Sulphur, mercurius, sal*, these central terms of P.'s philosophy of nature, are certainly distinct from the common substances of those names. See Pagel, 100-04: "These are 'Principles' and not the substances which are known under these names in the chemical laboratory today".... "Each of them rather stands for a principle conferring on matter some faculty or condition such as structure, corporality and function. In this the principle is compared to the soul acting in and on the body or to seed which embodies the separate character of each individual and species" (100, 102-03). Pagel compares the three to the "'semina, which contain soul-like impulses and directions'" (103). An alternate view emphasizes the medieval tradition that recognized throughout nature "*vestigia trinitatis*." The three have an archetypal exemplification in niter or saltpeter and two other substance-principles. They are dynamically present in all things, thereby qualifying nature and all objects within it as both divine force or virtue and process (see Weeks 117-18, 123, 157-58).

² P.'s reference to three things invisibly present **in one form** is reminiscent of the Eucharistic controversies of Luther's Reformation raging during the same years: Is the body of God present physically or spiritually; in one or both elements of the Communion; and in one or all divine persons? Considering that for P. God is all in all; that he did equate the *tria prima* with the Trinity; and that he wrote extensively on Eucharistic doctrine, the parallels in language can hardly be meaningless or accidental. (Cf. TRE: "Abendmahl III/3.)

auch also: Hastu sein gebeyn/ so hastu das Pewrisch: So du aber sein *Sulphur* besonder/ sein *Mercurium* besonder/ sein *Sal* besonder hast/ jetzt weistu/ was das Bein ist/ vnd so es kranck ligt/ was ihm gebrist/ vnnnd anligt/ oder auß was vrsach/ oder wie es leidet. Also das Eusser zusehen/ ist dem Pawren beschaffen: Das Inner zusehen das ist/ das heimlich/ das ist dem Artzt beschaffen.

So nun die ding sichtlich werden müssen/ vnnnd ohn diese Sichtbarkeit ist der Artzt nit gantz: Nun muß die Natur dohin gebracht werden/ das sie sich selbst beweist. Darumb so secht an/ in was *Vltimam Materiam*^a die ding gehndt/ vnnnd in wie viel: In so viel *Genera* werdend ihr auch finden die drey Substantzen vnderscheiden voneinander. Der Pawr acht das nit/ Aber der Artzt: Der *Experimentator* acht sie auch nichts/ aber der Artzt: Der Irriger achtet sichs auch nicht/ aber der Artzt. | 74 | Dan vor allen dingen muß der Artzt wissen die drey Substantzen/ vnd all ihr Eigenschafft in der grossen welt: Also hat ers dan auch im menschen: Itzt weist er/ was ihm vnder den henden ligt/ vnd was er in seim gewalt hat. Nun die ding zuerfahren/ so nempt ein anfang vom holtz: Dasselbig ist ein Leib/ Nun laß brinnen/ so ist/ das do brinndt/ der *Sulphur*, das da raucht/ der *Mercurius*, das zu Eschen wirdt/ *Sal*. Das Brennen zerbricht dem Bawren sein verstand: Dem Artzt aber gibt es sein anfang zu den artzneyischen augen. Also finden sich da drey ding/ nit mehr/ nit weniger/ vnd ein jedlich ding gescheiden vom andern. Von diesen dreyen ist weiter zumercken/ das also alle ding/ die drey ding haben: Und ob sie sich aber nit eröffneten in Einer weiß vor den augen/ so

^a Traditional Aristotelian sources of the concepts of **prime** and **ultimate matter** are subjected by P. in *De Mineralibus* to scathing critique: Aristotle, Albertus (Magnus), and Avicenna are vilified, their followers called “ratten” (S 3:42). Christ, faith, and an eschatological outlook are embraced instead, thereby clearing the way for alchemical knowledge. The *tria prima* and the *archeus* are associated in the same context with “virtutes, vires, arcana” (43). A static-philosophical notion of a constant matter is thereby replaced by P.’s association of a universal process with the true substance (see Intro 27), thus informing nature with divine powers and design. As prime matter, the three give rise to “vil species” (43); but Aristotle is condemned for denigrating the transformation of matter: alchemy spurns “den Aristotelem, der do sagt, man möge die species nicht verwandlen (S 2:125).” P. heralds “die transmutation, das der blau philosophus Aristoteles in seiner philosophiei nicht wol ergrünt sei gewesen” (S 2:63; cf. Intro 25). The divinely empowered alchemical transmutation has the power, “mer aus einem ding zu machen, dan es an im selbs ist” (141-42). Thus the organic realm offers the key to the true meaning of prime matter, as seed, and of ultimate matter, as that which grows from the seed (86).

ing, you have [your object] in the manner of the peasant.¹ But if you have the [human body's] *sulphur* in particular, the [human] *mercurius* in particular, the [human] *sal* in particular, you truly know what bone is, and if ill, what ails or afflicts it then and from which cause it suffers. Therefore, to see what is external is for the peasant; to see what is internal, that is to say, what is concealed, is for the physician.

Since the things must become visible and [since] without this visibility the physician is not complete, nature must be brought to the point of proving itself. Hence consider into what sort of *ultima materia*² things pass, and into how many. In as many *genera* you will find the three substances distinguished from one another. The peasant does not recognize this, but the physician does. The *experimentator*³ does not recognize it either: the physician does. The mind steeped in error thinks nothing of it either: the physician does. | 74 | For above all, the physician must know the three substances and all their properties in the great world, for then the physician has ascertained it in the human being as well. For then he will know what it is that is in his hands and what is within his power. In order to gain knowledge of things, begin with wood: It is a body. Let it burn: that which burns is *sulphur*. What smokes is *mercurius*. What turns to ash [is] *sal*. This combustion shatters the understanding of the peasant; but the physician begins to receive from it the eyes of a physician. Thus are found in it three things, no more, no less; and each separated from the others. Furthermore, it can be said of these three that all things have the three; and [even] though they do not disclose themselves in one manner to the eyes, art

¹ Apparently adhering to the received opinion of his age, P. regarded the **Bauer** (the peasant, who in reality should have been especially aware that things are transformed in accordance with their inner properties) as too obtuse to rise above superficial appearances or break with rote habits. This apparent class prejudice is echoed in such German sayings as, “Der Bauer glaubt nur seinem Vater,” “Ein Bauer und zwei Stiere sind drei große Thiere,” or “Was der Bauer nicht kennt, das ißt er nicht” (see Wander, “Bauer”).

² *Ultima materia* and *genera* may be drawn from alchemical usage; they are, however, also in conformity with traditional philosophical, Aristotelian, or Scholastic usage.

³ Seemingly in crass contradiction to his own emphasis on alchemical experience, P.'s negative references to the “**experimenter**” may derive from his association of the term with a controversy involving the ancient anti-theoretical medical school of the Empiricists: this was familiar to the late fifteenth century, when *De re medicina* (ca. 35 A.D.) of Aulus (or Aurelius!) Cornelius Celsus was recovered and among the first medical works to appear in print (Florence 1478). See IGM I:366-72, 402-03 (Celsus is named in the list of prominent “autores” at the fore of Brun.-Lat.).

eröffnests die kunst/ die solchs dahin bringet vnd sichtig macht. Das so da brinnt/ ist der *Sulphur*: nichts brenndt/ allein der *Sulphur*: Das da raucht/ ist der *Mercurius*/ Nichts Sublimirt sich/ allein es sey dan *Mercurius*: Das da in Eschen wirt/ ist *Sal*, Nichts wird zu Eschen/ allein es sey dan *Sal*.

Das ding das zu Eschen wirt/ das ist ein Substantz/ das ist ein stuck dorauß das holtz wirt: Vnd wiewol es ist *Vltima materia* vnd nit *prima*, So beweist es aber *primam materiam*/ deren *Vltima* sie ist/ gestanden im lebendigen Corpus. Wiewol das ist/ im lebendigen Corpus sieht niemandts nichts/ dann ein Bawren gesicht: Die scheidung aber beweist die Substantzen. So red ich hie nit von der *prima Materia*: Dann ich will hie nit *Philosophiam* tractiren/ sondern *Medicinam*. Also wie vom Saltz steht/ so wissen vom Rauch/ der beweist den *Mercurium*/ der sich durch das Fewr auffhebt vnnd Sublimirt/ Vnnd wiewol auch sein *prima materia* hie nit sichtbar ist/ so ist doch sichtbar der ersten *Vltima Materia*: Also das der *Mercurius* da ist die ander Substantz des dings. Also was da brennt/ vnnd den augen Fewrig erscheint/ dasselbig ist der *Sulphur*/ der verzeert sich/ dann er ist *Volatile*. Nun ist das so da Fewr ist/ auch ein Substantz/ vnnd ist die dritte/ die das *Corpus* gantz macht. Nun ist die *Theorica*^a auß denen zunemmen/ was der *Sulphur*/ was der *Mercurius*/ was das

^a In some early or mid career writings, *theorica* may designate the unremarkable companion of *practica*. Some passages refer to “theorica” as flowing out of practice, “theorica, die aus der experienz fleußt” (S 2:50). However, its purview also includes “die mysteria der natur” and the “dreien ersten” (S 3:9). The post-Basel writings dramatize and problematize “theorica,” often with P.’s acerbic criticisms of his Basel opponents in mind, as in one preface to *Paragranum*: “aus ursachen, wie sich Basileae begeben hat, das ich in solchen billichen ein neue theorik und philosophei und anders angefangen hab einzuführen” (S 8:33). A fragmentary, shortly pre-*Paragranum* writing, “Von den hinfallended Siechtagen der Mutter” (on *caducus* or hysteria), proclaims “theorica” as a criterion for true knowledge, even while demanding a knowledge of “philosophia” and “astronomia” (and implicitly of alchemy) as prerequisites for medicine. Here “practica” is distinguished as a realm encompassed by the eyesight from the invisible realm of “theorica” (S 8:337). That the true “theorica” is from God is reconfirmed in the later *Labyrinthus Medicorum Errantium*: Since God is the beginning of all things and all in all, the physician speaks with a divine authority: “so muß ein ietlicher medicus theoreticus aus got reden; dan aller anfang ist aus ime und er ist alles in allen” (S 11:200).

discloses them by bringing things to a certain point and making [them] visible. For that which burns is *sulphur*. Nothing burns but *sulphur*. What appears as smoke is *mercurius*; nothing is sublimated but *mercurius*. That which turns into ash is *sal*: nothing turns into ash unless it is *sal*.

The thing that turns to ash is a substance: a piece of that [stuff] of which wood is made. And even though it is *ultima materia* and not *prima [materia]*, nevertheless, it establishes the *prima materia* of which it is the *ultima* as subsisting in the living corpus. [Even] though this is the case, in the living corpus no one sees anything except what a peasant sees. However, the separation proves the substances. Thus I do not speak here of *prima materia*, for I do not intend to treat of *philosophia* here but rather of *medicina*. Therefore, what is said of salt can be known about smoke: it establishes the *mercurius* that is elevated and sublimated by fire; and even though its *prima materia* is not visible here, the *ultima materia* of the first is indeed visible. Hence *mercurius* is the second substance of the things. Thus, that which burns and appears fiery to the eyes is *sulphur*: it consumes itself; for it is *volatile*. Now that which is present when there is fire is a substance as well; and it is the third [thing] which makes the corpus whole. Hence the theory (*Theorica*)¹ can be inferred as to what *sulphur*, *mercurius*, and *sal* are, [as to] what is present in wood or in other things;

¹ See LMA, “Ars medicinae”: “**theorica**” and “**practica**” designate the subdivisions of the medical art; see also Latham, “*theoria, theorica*, 12th-century, “speculation, theory.” *Theoria/theorica* was associated with the contemplation of God, as in a commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict, “*Una et sola est theoria, id est, contemplatio Dei*” (PL 66:440); in reference to the Song of Songs (PL 172:371); or in accordance with the key trope symbolic of the alternatives of *vita activa* or *vita contemplativa*: “*Quod ergo unum optat facere, scilicet theorica, pro qua vita Maria praefertur Marthae, ut est, Maria optimam partem eiligit. Haec ergo theorica, id est, contemplatio Dei, omnium justificationum genera vel merita praecellit....*” (Sedulius Scotus, PL103:70-71). In P.’s own age, the Lutheran theologian Philipp Nicolai gave one of his books the title *Theoria Vitae Aeternae* (1606). If it appears incoherent that *theoria* or *theorica* should have denoted the earthly twin of practice on the one hand and mystical contemplation on the other, one need only reflect that medieval Scholasticism as well as ancient philosophy knew this same ambiguity. Aristotle understood “contemplation” (“θεωρία”) as an activity of God (which is replicated by the philosopher) (*Nichomachean Ethics* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962], X:viii.8, 622-23).

Saltz sey/ was im holtz/ oder was in andern/ vnnd also | 75 | dasselbige zuergleichen dem *Microscomo*: Jetzt hast du den menschen/ das sein leib nichts ist als allein ein *Sulphur*/ ein *Mercurius*/ ein *Sal*: In denen dreyen [dingen] steht sein gesundtheit/ sein kranckheit/ vnnd alles was ihme anliget. Vnnd wie do allein Drey seindt/ Also sindt die drey/ vrsach aller kranckheiten/ vnnd nicht vier *Humores*, *Qualitates*, oder dergleichen. Vnnd wiewol das ist/ das nicht alle ding brennen/ als Stein/ so beweist aber doch die Alchimey/ das sie zum brennen bereyt werden/ auch die Metall/ vnnd alles das vnbrennlich geacht wirdt: Vnnd wiewol viel ding nicht sich Sublimiren/ So beweist das aber die Kunst/ daß dahin gebracht werden: Also auch werden vom Saltz die ding verstanden. Dan was in den Bawren augen nicht liget/ dasselbige ligt inn der Kunst/ das in die augen gebracht werdt/ das ist *Scientia Separationis*. Dieser dingen Erkantnus gibt die gemelte Kunst/ daß also ist in allen dingen.

Nuhn von der Eigenschafft zureden/ Natur vnnd wesen so in den dreyen ist/ dergleichen fürgenommen soll worden^a das endtweders die Arth *in M.* oder *in Sul.* oder *in Sale* ligen muß/ Sie sey gutt oder böß/ gesundt oder kranck. Dann ein jedliche Substantz hatt sein Eigenschafft: So es nuhn zusammen geht inn ein *Corpus*/ so erscheinen die Eigenschafft vnder einer gestalt/ die sollen aber gelegt werden in sein Substantz/ nicht in die gemein: Dann die Eigenschafft seindt gutt/ so sie nuhn nicht da sindt/ so ist ein kranckheit da: Jetzt weist du/ was der Substantz abgeht/ dann hinweichen des Einen/ ist Eins andern hinzusetzen: So viel kranckheiten/ so viel Eigenschafften/ [soviel eigenschafften] soviel der zaal der Kranckheiten. Von solchen Eigenschafften zureden/ gepüeret sich *Primam Materiam* zuerkleren. Dieweil aber *prima materia mundi*, *FIAT*,^b ist gewesen/ wer wil sich vnterstehn das *Fiat* zuerkleren? Nuhn aber Etwas haben wir durch das Fewr *Vulcani*/ dardurch wir die drey Ersten erkleren: Nemlich durch

^a Sudhoff (48): “werden”; the abbreviations that follow are spelled out as: “in mercur oder in sulphur.”

^b In *Astronomia Magna*, the term “*FIAT*” takes on a broader eschatological significance and is weighed against free human will (S 12:352f.), a line of speculation carried further in writings Sudhoff classed as pseudepigraphic: *Liber Principiorum* (S 14:499) and *Liber Azoth* (S 14:549). Sudhoff (48) has “fiat.”

and | 75 | a thing of this kind can be thought of as the microcosm.¹ With that you have the human being whose body is nothing but a *sulphur*, a *mercurius*, a *sal*. In these three <things> stands its health, its illness, and everything that pertains thereto. And just as there are no more than three, so, too, all diseases are caused by the three, not by four *humores*, *qualitates*, or anything of the kind. And even though not all things burn, stone for example [does not], nonetheless, alchemy proves that they can be prepared so as to burn; the same applies to the metals and to everything [else] that is regarded as nonflammable. And even though many things cannot be sublimated, nonetheless the art establishes that they can be brought to that point. The same thing applies to *sal*. For what does not lie in the sight of a peasant lies within the realm of art, so that it can still be brought to the eye. This is *scientia separationis*.² Recognition of these things yields the aforementioned art: that it is the case in all things.

Now to address the property, nature, and being in the three, these should be studied [further] since it is a matter of the nature that is based either in *mercurius* or *sulphur* or *sal*, whether good or ill, healthy or sick. For each substance has its property: if it combines into a *corpus*, the properties appear together under a single form; but they should be taken in their [true] substance and not in the common sense. For their properties are good, and if they are not present, disease occurs. Now you can see what is missing in the substance; for the diminution of the one means the addition of the other.³ There are as many diseases as there are properties, and <as many properties as there are> that is how great is the number of diseases. In speaking of the properties it is proper to explain the *prima materia*. Yet inasmuch as the *prima materia mundi* was *fiat*,⁴ who will take it upon himself to explain the *fiat*? But because of the fire of *vulcanus* we have something

¹ In this context, **microcosm** means the totality of the human body. Yet since the equation of one totality with another is transferable and reversible, a piece of wood is in a sense a microcosm of the body as well.

² In conformity with the analogies of alchemy to the works of creation and redemption, the designation of the art as the “**science of separation**” calls to mind both the basic alchemical operations and the separation of waters, light from darkness, and land from seas in Gen 1:1-10.

³ Despite being against humoralism, P. seems close to accepting balance or proportion as vital to health.

⁴ This interprets Gen 1:3 in the Vulgate: “God said: Let there be (“*fiat*”) light. The first material of the created world is the creative divine will; as the cause of all it cannot be explained causally or materially.

den Schwefel/ den *Sulphur*/ dieweil sie sich vergleichen: Durch das Quecksilber den *Mercurium*/ auß vrsachen auch eines solchen vergleichens: Durch das Saltz/ *Salem*/ dann es gibt gleiche wirckung. | 76 | Aber wiewol das ist von der grossen welt/ so ist es aber auch in der kleinen welt dergleichen zuverstehn: Doch mit der vnderscheidt/ das der mensch sein *primam materiam* hat in *in limbo*,^a der *Sulphur*, *Mercurius*, und *Sal* gewesen ist der 4. Elementen/ zusammen gefasset in einen Menschen. Darumb so soll der Artzt das wissen/ das alle kranckheiten in den dreyen Substantzen ligendt/ vnd nit in den 4. Elementen: Was die Element Krafft haben/ oder was sie sindt/ dasselbig trifft die artzney der vrsachen nit an/ der *Humorum* halben^b Sie sindt *Matres*:^c In was weg aber/ zeigt sein Capitel an. Darumb die drey ding/ allein der Artzt wissen soll vnd erkennen: Dann do ligen die vrsprung aller kranckheiten.

Nun aber dieweil der Mensch die ding nit sicht/ dieweil das leben da ist an ihm: Allein in der zerstörung: So soll er die ding/ die sich zerstörend/ ihm ingedenck lassen sein/ das sie Köstlich vnd Hüpsch im menschen stend/ dieweil sie leben vnd gesundt seint. Der *S.* oder *M.* oder *SS.* dieweil sie leben/ so sindt sie nit kranck/ allein so sie zerbrechen: Darumb billich auff das zerbrechen acht zu haben ist. Secht an ein Carfunckel/ der ist hüpsch vnd schön/ wunderbarlicher art: Nun ist er allein ein *S.* ein *M.* vnd ein *Sal*: So er nun zerlegt wirdt/ so sicht mann/ das er die ding ist/ Ein vngeschaffen ding/ so er das leben nit hatt: Darumb so gib dem leben das zu/ das du [die ding] nit sichst: Dasselbig ist also ein solcher deckmantel/ der die ding verbirgt. Also secht auch den menschen an/ so er lebt/ wie schön er ist: Vnd aber so er stirbt/ wz vbels das ist: oder welchs glied ihm stirbet/ wie dasselbig so gar geht in die drey Substantzen/ erkantlich/ sichtlich vnd

^a *Limbus* as a prime matter created by God to contain and yield all things is developed in the early or more likely post-Basel writings on gout (podagra): “*De limbo*: Alle ding sind gewesen unsichtbar bei gott, die so jezund sichtbar sind, die selbigen all, wie sie gewesen sind, sind gefaßt in ein limbum, das ist ein sichtig corpus. Das selbig corpus ist die große welt worden und darnach aus ir der mensch” (S 1:316). The concept of *limbus* gave the title to a collection of P.’s writings on the Eucharist and other theological questions in *Philosophia de Limbo Aeterno* published by Johann Staricius in 1618.

^b Sudhoff (48) punctuates as follows: “...trift die arzney der ursachen nit an der humorum halben; sie...”

^c P.’s gendering of the elements as “mothers” (*matres*) is stated more generally in the *Paragramum*, where the external elemental world is said to be a “mother” of the internal (human or animate world): “das eusser ist ein mutter des innern” (H 2:24).

by which we can explain the first three, namely by sulphur (**schwefel**), [that is] the [primary substance known as] *sulphur* insofar as they are comparable, by quicksilver, the [primary substance known as] *mercurius*, again by means of such comparison, [and] by salt [the primary substance known as] *sal*; for the effect is comparable.¹ | 76 | But even if this is said of the great world, nevertheless it can be understood similarly in the small world, however with the difference that the human being has his *prima materia* in the *limbus*;² which was the *sulphur*, *mercurius*, and *sal* of the four elements which were combined into a human being. Therefore, the physician should know that all diseases reside in the three substances and not in the four elements. Whatever power the elements have or whatever they may be does not concern the medicine of causes with respect to the *humores*: they are *matres*.³ What that means will be explained in its respective chapter. Hence the three things alone must be understood and recognized by the physician; for in them lie the sources of all diseases.

But now insofar as the human being does not see these things when life is upon him but rather only in the state of disruption, the human being should be aware of the things that are disrupted. They are precious and beautiful in the human being as long as they are alive and healthy. The S. or M. or SS.⁴ are not sick as long as they are alive, but only as soon as they are shattered. Therefore, it is proper to attend to their destruction. Consider a carbuncle:⁵ it is lovely and exquisite, [and] of a marvelous nature. It consists only of a S., a M., and a [S]*al*. If it is decomposed, one recognizes that it is these things: an uncreated thing when it does not have [its] life. Therefore you should accord life to things, so that you will not see those [three] <things>: [Life] is a cover of this sort that conceals the things. Consider also the human being, how beautiful he is alive, but of what foulness it is in death. Moreover, whatever human organ or part dies, look how it disintegrates into the three substances recognizably, visibly, and observably.

¹ P. acknowledges that his three substances are in some way comparable to the eponymous common ones.

² See H 2:48, note on *limbus*. Of the original uses of this term associates with border, hem, belt, or lap, the association most apt here is “womb,” corresponding to the present context of giving birth.

³ See Intro, H 2:25, note on Elements, *matres*.

⁴ *Sulphur, mercurius, sal*.

⁵ Lat. *carbunculus*, a small, dark red precious stone; in a second sense an inflammation or tumor (WID).

mercklich. Das also ist im todt/ dz ist auch im leben also: Aber gemahlet vnd gezieret. Also auch der *Cedrus*,^a der ist hüpsch/ so er lebt: So er aber in dz Fewr kompt/ so zeigt sich dz/ das sein leben verbirget: Vnd also mit allen dingen. Diese ding all, die mannigfaltig zubeweisen sindt/ wil ich/ das sie verstanden werden/ allein von wegen der vrsprüng so in ihnen sindt/ auß denen die kranckheiten geboren werden. Dann so die drey Einig seindt vnd nicht zertrent/ so steht die gesundheit wohl: Wo aber sie sich zertrennen/ dz ist zertheilen vnd sündern/ das Ein fault/ das ander brendt/ das dritt^b zeucht ein andern weg: | 77 | Das sindt die anfäng der kranckheiten. Dan dieweil das einig *Corpus* bleibt/ dieweil ist kein kranckheit da: wo aber nicht/ sondern es spaltet sich: Jetzt gehet an/ das/ so der Artzt wissen soll. Vnd zu gleicher weiß/ so xx.^c Mann beyeinander sind in einem Bundt/ vnd du kennest sie all: So wiß auff das/ so sie zertrennt werden/ so sagstu/ also sind sie zertrennt: das nimpst auß ihnen/ wie du an ihnen erkennest. Also da auch/ must du alle ding erkennen/ vnnd im zerbrechen so weist du/ was da zerbrochen ist: wo dz nicht beschicht/ was ist da/ als der anfang deß Todts? das ist/ zerstörung des gantzen Reichs.

Daß du nun im beschluß diß Capitels verstandest den grund seins fürhaltens/ so zeigt es allein an/ den *S. M.* und *S.S.* daß sie die Substantzen sind/ vnd aber durch das leben verborgen: In abziehung des lebens werden sie offenbar. Daraus soltu nuhn verstahn die *Genera* vnd ihr *Species*, in der gestalt/ das sie all benempt sind: vnd so ein Kranckheit zufalt/ eine oder zwo/ oder mehr/ das du sagest/ der ist die kranckheit/ der hatt das gethan. Also^d wie das Exempel laut vom Bundt der Einigkeit/ der von vielen beschlossen ist/ vnnd so er

^a *Cedrus*: see 13:64f. (cedar is associated as a cure with its corresponding disease; or discussed in connection with the theory of sulphur, which is specific to certain parts of the tree). See H 1:94, note.

^b Sudhoff (49): “dritte.”

^c Sudhoff (49): “20.”

^d Sudhoff (50): “getan, also wie das....”

This is how it is in death; this is how it is in life, though [in life it is] painted and adorned. So it is too with the cedar:¹ lovely as long as it is alive; but when it goes into the fire, that which life has concealed becomes manifest. And so it is, too, with all other things. All these things, which admit of demonstration of many sorts, are to be understood solely with respect to the sources within them, out of which diseases are born. For as long as the three things are there and not separated, it is well with health. But when they are separated, there occurs a [fatal] division and rendering asunder: the one thing rots, the other burns, the third draws off another. | 77 | Therein lie the beginnings of disease. For as long as the integral *corpus* persists, there is no disease; but where this is not so, where it is divided, that is where that begins about which the physician must be well informed. In the same way, if twenty men are together in a union (**Bundt**) and you know all of them, still you can be sure that as soon as they are separated you will say: “They have gone their own way. They will lose the quality that you knew them for.”² There, too, it is necessary to know all [these] things; and it is through disintegration that you come to know the things that have disintegrated. When that happens, what is that if not the beginning of death? It is the destruction of the entire realm.³

In order that in conclusion of this chapter you should understand the reason for its presentation, [I will repeat that] this is apparent solely in the S., M., and SS.: these are the substances; and though they are concealed in life, when life departs, they become manifest. From this you should understand the *genera* and all their *species* in the form in which they all occur. And should a disease occur, whether it is one or two or even more, you should [be able to] say: that one is the disease; that one has brought it about. Hence as the example of the formation of unity formed by many members has shown: if it is broken,

¹ *Cedrus*, much prized for its powers in the ancient world; cf. CPNH; e.g., Pliny 12:125, 24:20; cited in Lev 14:4, 6 in connection with hyssop for its use in cleansing leprosy (cf. Vulgate).

² The metaphor is reminiscent of the symbol of the then common militant peasant leagues (“**Bundschuh**”) that came into being with great force before disintegrating or being dispersed by the armed violence of the rulers.

³ The concern with division and ruin may reflect the evident moribundity of the confessionally, politically, and socially fractured Holy Roman Empire; this theme soon merges with an extended allusion to Mk 3:24 (“If a kingdom is divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand”). Given the pervasive parallels of microcosm and macrocosm, physical and political disintegration can be truly equivalent. See also H 1:80.

brochen wirdt/ so sagstu/ der oder die habens gethan/ durch das/ oder also: vnd sagst nicht/ *Cholera, Melancholia, Phlegma, &c.* hatts gethan/ sondern du sagst/ der Mann hats gethan: Also must duß da auch verstahn: dann so man spricht/ der hatts gethan/ ist mehr vnd rechter/ dann spreche man/ *Cholera* hatts gethan.

Nit weniger ist ein Kranckheit/ dann zuvergleichen einem Mann/ mit allen stücken: dz lasset euch Artzeten befohlen sein. Hierinn ligt der grund/ daß das/ so die Kranckheit ist/ ein Mann geheissen werdt/ mit allen zugehörendt^a eins Manns Eigenschafft: So begreiffest du die Element/ die drey Substantzen/ die 4. *Astra*, die 4. *Terras*, die 4. *Aquas*, die 4. *Ignes*, die 4. *Aeres*, vnd alle *Conditiones, Mores, Proprietates, Naturas* deß Manns/ ohn welche keine [Kranckheit] ist: deren du vergessen hast an dem orth/ da du beschreibst/ der kranckheiten vrsprung komme auß den 4. *Humoribus*, die doch mit den Elementen/ vnd den vieren/ vnd den dreyen/ kein gemeinschafft nie gehabt haben. Es muß dermassen geredt werden/ das alle Mannliche art in der kranckheit gefunden werden/ vnd ein Mann^b geheissen | 78 | werdt: der^c dann geborn ist auß vollkommenen *Limbo*,^d also auch die Kranckheit.

^a Sudhoff (50): “zugehörenden.”

^b The **humors** are elemental, and in P.’s thinking the **elements** are female and maternal (see H 2:25, note); the active impetus of **disease** is like the agency of seed which is **male**, as is the *Limbus* from which the first creature (male) was fashioned.

^c Sudhoff (50): “geheißen werd, der.”

^d Sudhoff (51): “aus volkommnem limbo.”

you should say: that one or those have done it in that way or that. You should not assert: *cholera, melancholia, phlegma*, etc. has done it; but rather: that man¹ has done it. This is how it must be understood. For if one asserts: that one has done it, you say more and pronounce more correctly than if you were to say: *cholera* has done it.

No less than in this way is a disease comparable to a man in all his parts. Let this be commended to you physicians. In this reside the grounds that, if there is a disease, it is to be understood as a man with all that pertains to the properties of a man: In this way, you encompass the elements, the three substances, the four *astra*,² the four *terrae*, the four *aquae*, the four *ignes*, the four *aeres*, and all the *conditiones, mores, proprietates*, and *naturae* of man without which there is no <disease>. All of this is forgotten when you write from [the vantage of] the four *humores*, which indeed have nothing to do with the elements, with the four and the three, and never have had. It must rather be stated that every male property is found in disease, and that it is properly called a man: | 78 | as it is with him who is born from the perfect *limbus*, so [it is] also with disease.

¹ P. is asserting a gendered, individualized concept of disease (as against the intangible and more relational Galenic and medieval concept of disease as a non-individualized humoral imbalance). This and the “astral” nature of disease are aspects of the “Neoplatonic and Gnostic Tradition” discussed by Pagel 1985, 125ff.

² Each of the four **elements** or corresponding *astra* contains the others.

CAPVT TERTIVM

Noth ist in den dingen einer mehrer außlegung/ dieweil die Kranckheiten dermassen beschaffen worden/ vnnnd sollen also männlich verstanden werden. Nuhn ist das also: *Sulphur* ist ein *Humor*, *Mercurius* ein *Humor*, *Sal* ein *Humor*, also sind ihr drey: dise drey *Humores* sind aber *Corpora*. *Corpus* ist ein *Humor*, nicht ein frembdes ding: der Leib selbst ist dasselbig/ das der Artzt sol fürnehmen. Vnd wiewol du sagen möchtest/ es were die vrsach/ so die kranckheit machte/ das it nun nit: *Humor* macht kein kranckheit. Das die kranckheit macht/ ist ein anderß/ nemlich *SUBSTANTIAE ENS*.^a Nuhn muß alles das, so die kranckheit macht/ männlich sein/ das ist/ Astralisch/ auß gantzem *Limbo*: So doch der *Humor*, wie er gehalten wird/ nix von *Astris*^b an ihm hatt/ drumb so mag ers nit machen. Darumb billich Männisch die Kranckheit geheissen soll werden/ von wegen der Männischen art so sie macht. Darauff nun so wissend/ was die drey seyend/ die hie vrsach vnd kranckheitmacher geheissen werden.

Das Erst ist *Sulphur*: Nuhn wisse sein macht/ das er nicht in sein vbel geht für sich selbst/ er sey dann Astralisch/ das ist/ das ein Funcken Fewr in ihnen geworffen werd/ als dann so wirdt er Männisch/ endtpfangen von dem Funcken. Ist brennen nit Männisch/ oder ein Männische wirckung? ohn diese wirckung geschicht nichts. Darumb/ so ein Kranckheit vom *Sulphure* erklärt wirdt/ am aller ersten soll der *Sulphur* genennt werden mit seinem nammen: darnach sein Männische wirckung/ wer ihn entzündt hab. Der *Sulphurum*^c sind

^a *Ens* is defined in the *Volumen Paramirum* (on the five *Entia* of disease) as follows: “ens ist ein ursprung oder ein ding, welchs gewalt hat den leib zu regiren” (S 1:172). This accords with P.’s inclination to regard disease as a specific entity and agency, not as a mere imbalance of universal humors. This is also key to his reference to disease as “male.” Thus a writing on gout argues that “ein igliche krankheit ein ganzer mensch ist und hat ein unsichtigen corpus und ist ein corpus microcosmi und ist auch microcosmus” (S 1:365). In *De Renovatione et Restauratione*, “primum ens” and “prima entia” have reference to stages of metallurgical transformation, analogous to and instrumental in the restoration of the body to health (S 3:212-20).

^b In speaking of *astrum* as a component of substances or human beings, P. is consistent with his alchemically conceived attribution of fire or the fiery realm of the heavens to things or processes subject to inflammation or ignition: “also ist der himel der laborant im menschen” (S 1:59; cf. S 1:47ff.); or: “Dieweil nun der himel der ursacher ist diser dingen durch das element feur und gebirt diser krankheit iren vulcanum verborgen im microcosmo...” (1:50).

^c Sudhoff (51): “Der sulphur.”

CAPUT TERTIUM

What is needed in [understanding] things is [a] complex explanation (**außlegung**), since the diseases are constituted in the aforesaid way and are to be understood as male. It amounts to this: *sulphur* is a *humor*, *mercurius* a *humor*, *sal* a *humor*, so that there are three of them. But these three *humores* are *corpora*. *Corpus* is in this sense a *humor*, not a foreign thing. It is the body that the physician should treat. And though you might say that it is the cause that results in disease, this is not so; for *humor* causes no disease. Disease is made by something else, namely *substantiae ens*.¹ Indeed, everything that causes disease must be masculine, which is to say astral from the entire *limbus*. And if the *humor*, as it is understood, has nothing of the *astra* in it, it cannot therefore be the cause. Hence the disease is appropriately called masculine on account of the male nature that is its cause. Thus, let it be known what the three are, which are in this sense called cause and pathogen.

First comes *sulphur*. Let its power be known: that it does not pass of itself into its bad state unless it is astral. That is to say: [not] unless a spark of fire is cast into it, whereupon it is conceived by the spark as male.² Is not combustion male and a masculine action? Without this action nothing occurs. Hence, if a disease is explained with reference to *sulphur*, before all else *sulphur* should be specified by its name; and after that its male action: who has ignited it. *Sulphur* is [not one but]

¹ The difficulties of this passage indicate that P. is struggling to get beyond the humoral common sense of the prevailing medicine while asserting the real presence of the disease-bearing agency. *Ens substantiae* signals that the cause of disease is not an insubstantial imbalance of alien humors but a disease-engendering substance, entity, or agency, hidden beneath outer physical appearances, like the virtues that are extracted from mineral ores. Ruland gives *ens* a mineralogical context: "*Ens, primum est extractum mineralium, quae nondum attingerunt vltimam perfectionem....*" See also DML, "*ens*": either a being or (living) thing; or the opposite of *nihil*. As an occasional equivalent, P. uses the German **Wesen**, a word with residual mystical and theological implications in the 16th century. See Grimm, "Wesen" (II.B.1).

² **Astral**: the spark from the heavens is reminiscent of the worldviews of Gnosticism and Neoplatonism. Note that the spark here is not divine but pathogenic. See Pagel 1958, 66-67; cf. H 2:46. P.'s assertion can also be interpreted as a description or analogy of what happens when a spark of fire (the element pertaining to the heavens in the cosmology of the age) ignites sulphur or its analogues.

viel: *Resina, Gummi,*^a *Botin,*^b *Axungia, Pinguedo, Butyrum, Oleum, Vinum Ardens,&c.* Ettliche sind *Sulphura* des Holtz/ ettliche der Thieren/ ettliche der Menschen/ ettliche der Metallen/ als *Oleum Auri,*^c *Lunae, Martis,&c.* Ettliche der Steinen/ als *Liquor Marmoris, Alabastris,*^d &c. Ettliche der Saamen/ vnnd anderer dingen all/^e bezeichnet mit ihren sunderen Nammen: | 79 | vnnd als dann das Fewr in ihnen zufellig/ das allein *Astrum* ist/ mit seinem Nammen: Jetzt dise wirkung ist *Materia peccans*^f auff einem theil.

Nuhn also ist in *Sale* zuuerstehen/ dasselbig ist für sich selbst ein *Humor materialis*, vnd macht auch kein kranckheit/ es sey dann sein *Astrum* darbey. Sein *Astrum* ist *Resolutio*, das machts Männisch. Dann nit minder denn ein *Spiritus Vitrioli, Tartari, Aluminis, Nitri, &c.* so es resoluirt wird/ sich erzeigt mit aller vngestümmigkeit: wo wolt nun herkommen den *Humoribus* solche art ohn das Gestirn ? Daruon alle Artzt geschwigen haben: Vnnd so sie sonst kein irrung geführt hetten/

^a Flammable or burning *resina, gummi, axungia, pinguedo, butyrum*, many sorts of *oleum*, as well as the spirits comparable to *vinum ardens* were of common use and persistent interest to P.

^b *Botin(us)* is characterized in contexts of P.'s work that discuss the resin or sap of a tree. In the third book (*De Elemento Terrae*) of the *Philosophia de Generationibus et Fructibus Quatuor Elementorum*, the section *De Arboribus*, I, treats (*de botin, abiete et pino*, in terms of the qualities of coagulation or combustibility of its resin or sap (S 13:62f.). The Basel lecture notes make use of it in these formulas: "Terebinthinae sive botin praeparatio. Rec. botinae lib. 4; reduc ad arenam, ab arena ad ignem, et exhibit album, rubicundissimum et tenacissimum; estque balsamus ille de quo Archilaus in septimo primae distinctionis" (S 4:110); "Resina de botin, id est terpentina et loriet, A Pandectis cavendum est, errant enim plurimum" (5:339).

^c *Oleum auri* is associated with "aurum potabile" and is among the "große confortatif" (S:473) of use in healing the intractable ailment of "contracten glidern" (475ff.).

^d Though many *liquores* are mentioned by P., these ones are rare or unique in P.'s works.

^e Sudhoff (52): "und anderer dingen, all bezeichnet."

^f *Materia peccans* is used by P. to signify diseased tissue (S 3:298; 4:285). In *De Ulceribus, Pruritu et Scabie* (transcribed from an autograph, a work bearing the polemical earmarks of the Basel or post-Basel period—S 5:493-505), the author denies that "die humores...seien materiae peccantes." Discussing ulcers in terms of the *tria prima*, he defers the discussion of origins ("den ursprung") to the "Paramiran [works]" ("es begreifts aber *Paramira*"..."das lernent euch die nachgehenden bücher"—494).

many: *resina*, *gummi*, *botin*, *axungia*, *pinguedo*, *butyrum*, *oleum*, *vinum ardens*, etc.¹ Some are *sulphura* of wood; some of animals; some of human beings; some of metals, such as *oleum auri*, *lunae*, *martis*,² etc. Some are of stones, such as *liquor marmoris*, *alabastris*, etc. Some of seeds and other things. They are designated by their particular names, | 79 | and insofar as fire occurs in them, which is nothing other than *astrum* by its [proper] name, the resultant action is *materia peccans*³ in one part.

Next *sal* is to be understood. In itself, it is a *humor materialis* and causes no disease [as such], unless its *astrum* is involved. Its *astrum* consists of *resolutio*, which makes it male. For nothing less than a *spiritus vitrioli*, *tartari*, *aluminis*, *nitri*, etc., results with full violence when it is resolved.⁴ From which source would such a nature come to the *humores* without the stars, about which all the physicians have been silent? And even if they had introduced no other error but to omit

¹ These variants of “*sulphur*” are for the most part cited by their classical designations. The deliberate classical allusion is underscored by designations such as *butyrum* for butter and by P.’s qualification of *resina* in accordance with the ancient Roman provinces as *resina Rhetia* or *resina Norica* (H 1:80). Most substances named here were in the standard vocabulary of natural philosophy, mentioned numerous times in Pliny’s *Historia Naturalis* (cf. CPNH), often in connection with their healing properties: *resina* (resin), *gummi* (gum), *axungia* (axel grease or animal fat), *pinguedo* (fatty or oily substance), *butyrum* (butter); *oleum* (oil). Exceptions are *vinum ardens* (spirits or brandy, not found in Pliny) and *botinus* (*botin*, defined by Ruland as “*terpentina: item balsamus terpentinae, quando certo suo tempore colligitur secundum illinc influentiam balsamicam*”; cf. Zedler). Certain materials may have possessed an added dignity because they occur in the Vulgate.

² *Oleum lunae, martis*: oil of silver, of iron. As an aid to understanding these metallic “oils,” see Ruland’s wide-ranging definitions of “*oleum*”: *Olea soluta sunt, quae per deliquium partium subtilium oleosarum secesserunt. ... Oleum, id est, ignis, wirdt außgezogen von einer trocken Substanz/ aber das Wasser von einer feuchten Substanz. ... Oleum sulphuris, sindt sublimirte oder erhöchte Nebel von dem bereite[te]n Schwefel. ... Oleitas rerum, in omnibus Sulphur est.*” Thus solution and distillation extend the notion of *oleum* beyond current usage. All “oiliness” is equivalent to “*sulphur*.”

³ *Materia peccans*, “sinning matter,” is defined by Zedler as that from which diseases proceed (“wovon die Kranckheiten ihren Ursprung nehmen”). Though the term is reminiscent of a creation plunged into evil by the transgressions of Lucifer or Adam and of the inferior status of matter in Neoplatonic metaphysics, it must be taken in its present context in which disease results from an incendiary “astral” agency.

⁴ For the references of these **spirits of vitriol**, **tartar**, **antimony**, or **niter**. See Ruland on these substances and their state: “*Spiritus est aqua solvens e re simplici, & acri producta cum ignei halitus natura.*” Other definitions follow: as vital warmth or life; animate spirit; and a variety of alchemical and mineral spirits.

dann daß sie außgelassen haben in allen *Causis* vnnd *Curis*, das *Astrum*, so wer es gnug beweret/ daß sie auff ein Mooß und Sandt gebawen hetten. Darauff nuhn so wissendt/ das viel sind der *Salia*: Andere sind Kalch/ andere Eschen/ andere Arsenicalisch/ andere Antimonisch/ andere Margasitisch/ andere dergleichen/ die alle entspringen vnnd werden/ nach dem vnnd das *Corpus Salis* ist/ in ein sondere krankheit: darumb sie sein sonderen Nammen hatt/ vnd Eigenschafft.

Also auch vom *Mercurio* verstandent/ der ist nicht Männisch/ allein ihn^a sublimier dann das *Astrum* der Sonnen/ sonst steigt er nit auff. Seiner sind viel bereitung/ aber nur ein *Corpus*: das *Corpus* aber ist nicht als der *Sulphur*, oder *Sal*, die vielerley *Corpora* haben/ darumb sie vielerley *Salia* vnd *Sulphura* geben: hie allein ist es Ein^b *Corpus*, aber das *Astrum* bereitt dasselbig mannigfaltig in viel arth: Darumb von ihm viel Kranckheiten kommen. Darumb so ist sein Männische Arth auß dem *Astro*, die es also darzu in Kranckheiten führt. Also sind alle Kranckheiten in den dreyen begriffen/ vnder seinem Nammen vnnd Tittel. Darumb so wißt nuhn/ das zu *Sulphur* gemacht soll werden/ was da Sulphurisch ist/ damit es brenn: vnnd was da *Mercurius* ist/ das soll in ein Sublimation gebracht werden/ was sich zu sublimiren schickt: vnnd was vom *Sale* ist/ in ein Saltz gebracht/ so viel vnd sein ist. Also werden hie begriffen die gemeinen vrsachen der Kranckheiten/ wie obsteht. | 80 |

So bleibt nuhn das also wie obsteht/ das der Mensch in dreyen dingen gesetzt sey/ wie obsteht: vnd das die drey haben ein mittel *Corpus*, das ist/ das lebendige *Corpus*. Dann vor disem leben ist *prima materia*, nach disem leben ist *ultima materia*: vnd das ist ein Mittels zwischen dem ersten/ vnnd dem letzten/ vnd ist das/ von deßwegen der Artzt vnnd die Artzney beschaffen ist. Nuhn aber/ wiewol der mittel leib das haupt ist/ so ist er doch nit das *Subiectum*: Sondern allein die drey Substantzen/ hindan gesetzt des Lebens/ Wesens/ Art/ vnnd Natur/ dem wir nichts zugeben noch zu endern haben. Nun aber das vnser *Subiectum* ist/ das bricht in ihm selbst in drey weg. Im ersten/ durch sich selbst: vnd so das ist/ so treibt es sich vom leben. Dann dem leben ist wie dem fried: wo fried ist/ da ist einigkeit/ vnnd so bald die einigkeit sich entschleust/ da entschleust sich auch der

^a Sudhoff (52): “in.”

^b Sudhoff (52) reduces the emphatically capitalized “Ein” of Huser to lower case: “ein corpus.”

the *astrum* in all *causae* and *curae*, this would have proven sufficiently [fatal] to indicate that they had built on nothing but moss and sand. Be informed therefore that the *salia* are many: some are limestone, some ashen, some arsenical, some antimonial, some marcasitic, and so on. They all arise in accordance with how the *corpus salis* is consituted, giving rise to a particular disease, for which reason it has a special name and property.

And let it be understood regarding *Mercurius*: that it is not male unless it is sublimated by the *astrum* of the sun: otherwise it will not ascend. It has many [kinds of] preparations, but only one *corpus*. The *corpus*, however, is nothing but the *sulphur* or *sal*, which has many sorts of *corpora*, for which reason they yield many sorts of *salia* and *sulphura*. Here it is but a single *corpus*, but the *astrum* prepares it variously in many natures, for which reason many diseases come from it. For this reason, its male nature comes from the *astrum*, which accordingly makes it conducive to diseases. Hence all diseases are encompassed in the three beneath its name and title. Therefore, let it be known that that which is sulphuric should be made into *sulphur* so that it will burn; and that which is *mercurius* should be brought to a sublimation if that is its disposition; and what is salt should be brought into [the state of] *Sal* in accordance with its measure and property. Thus are encompassed the aforesaid common causes of diseases. | 80 |

Thus it remains the case that, as stated before, the human being is cast in three things, as we have said; and that they have a middle *corpus* which is the living *corpus*. For prior to this life, there is *prima materia*; [and] after this life is *ultima materia*; and it is an intermediate [thing] between first and last; and [it] is that on account of which the physician and medicine have been created. Although, indeed, the middle body is the main thing, it is not the *subiectum*: the latter is rather nothing but the three substances placed behind the specificity and nature of life and being, of which we can neither add nor change anything. But that which is our *subiectum* breaks down in itself in three ways. It does so first of all on its own; and when it is done, it departs from life. For it is [the same] with life as it is with peace: where there is peace, there is unity. As soon as unity departs, peace departs as well

fried/ vnnd geht ab/ also das leben auch: Wollen^a die drey nicht vnzertheilt in ihn selbst bleiben/ so faret es hinweg/ lest ihn todt vnd zerbrochen ligen. Das ander ist/ so wir da frevenlich brechen/ in der Geburt/ oder im Auffziehen/ oder in vnserm gewalt/ dardurch wir das Gestirn vber vns richten vnnd laden/ als ein Statt die ihr ein Herrn vber ihren halß vrsacht. Vnnd zum dritten/ so es sich selbst nicht bricht noch scheidet/ sondern einig bleibt/ vnd so wir da eusserlich nit vrsachen/ so kompt der dritte weg/ das ist/ das Endt: Also das alle ding ein Endt haben/ sie seind wie gut sie wöllen/ starck/ hüpsch/ so nemmen sie mit der zeit all ein end. Also ist auch der Mensch dem Endt befohlen/ vnnd seiner Jarzeit vnd zaal/ die klein ist.

Nun ist auch die vrsach hie zu bedencken/ warumb drey ding vnd nit eins/ vnd so vil vnd macherley *Species* in ihnen/ die vnzalbar sindt/ beschaffen sind? vnd der *Species* so viel/ das *Resina Rhetia*^b nit ist wie *Resina Norica*, noch *Oleum Amygdalarum Neapolitanum* nit gleich dem *Oleo Amygdalarum*^c am Cummer See/^d vnnd also im Berg anderst dann auff der Ebne: das ich dann hie nit beschreiben will. Aber die vrsach/ das so irrig vnd so vielfeltig sind diese ding/ ist die: das *Christus* sagt/ Ein jedlich reich das in ihm selbst zertheilt wird/ das zergeht.^e Ist so viel geredt/ Ein jedtlich zeitlich Reich zertheilt | 81 | sich in ihm selbst/ dann allein das Reich in *Christo* bleibt/ das ist nit zeitlich. Drumb so ist der Leib nit Ewig/ sondern tödtlich/ zeitlich: So er nuhn zeitlich ist/ so muß er zergehn. Soll er nun zergehn/^f so müssen in seinen eignen gliedern *Bella intestina*^g angehn/ vnd sich

^a Sudhoff (53): “Wöllen.”

^b Müller records no other citations for specific terms referring to the **resins** of these two Roman provinces.

^c *Oleum amygdalarum*, almond oil, is a commonly cited ingredient of P.’s remedies, suggesting that it may have been readily available, perhaps in varieties (cf. S 5:40f., 168; 4:110).

^d Sudhoff (54): “Cumer.”

^e The apocalyptic mood in which P. regarded nature while in St. Gall is suggested by his *Uslegung des Cometen* of August 24, 1531: he speaks of “zerstörung der monarchien” or “inbildent in uns die wörter gottes, darinen begriffen wird, das wir wissen söllent...das die hand gottes selbs angrifen wil” (S 9:378).

^f Sudhoff (54): “zergon.”

^g The extent to which the same apocalyptic pattern of thought occurs in reflections on very distinct themes is evident from P.’s reference to “**bella intestina**” in his subsequent tract on the earthquake which followed the comet in the year 1531, *Uslegung der Erbidem, beschehen nach usgang des Cometen in den Alpischen birgen im M.D.xxxi* (S 9:397). The mortal crisis of the individual life, of nature as a whole, and the world threatened by the division of the Empire reveals the same signs

and is missing: so [it is] also with life. If the three do not want to remain undivided among themselves, it departs and leaves them lying dead and broken. The second consideration is that if we frivolously break the unity by birth or by nurturing or by our own usurpation: in so doing, we direct and invite the star over us as a site of execution that causes it to be a master over our neck.¹ The third consideration is that if it [the unity] does not break or separate, but instead remains whole, and if we do not bring this about by our external agency, the third path is taken: the end by which all things find their end, no matter how good, strong, [or] lovely they may be: in time, they all come to an end. Thus, too, is the human being consigned to an end and to a season and number which is small.²

Now the reason is to be considered why it is that there have been created [the] three things, and not one, and why it is that there are so many and varied species in them, so that these are without number. And why it is that there are so many species that *resina Rhetia* is not the same as *resina Norica*,³ nor is *oleum amygdalarum Neopolitanum*⁴ the same as *oleum amygdalarum* at Lake Como, and thus also things are different in the mountains than on the plain, so that I cannot describe it [all] in this place. Yet the cause that these things are so errant and multifarious is the following. It is as Christ says: “Any realm that is divided in itself passes away.”⁵ This means that every temporal realm is divided | 81 | in itself: for only the kingdom in Christ remains; it is not temporal. For this reason, the body is not eternal but mortal, temporal; and since it is temporal, it must pass away. If it passes away, *bella intestina*⁶ must begin in its own members and kill and stifle it

¹ **Our neck:** signifies that in violating nature we cause its astral powers to become our executioner.

² Ecc. 3:1-2, “For everything there is a season ... a time to be born, and a time to die.”

³ See H 1:78.

⁴ Neapolitan almond oil; cf. CPNH, “*amygdala*.” Here the assertion is again of a species-defying variety.

⁵ Mk 3:24, “If a kingdom is divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand.” Cf. H 1:77.

⁶ The *bella intestina* are intestinal disturbances as internal wars which signal the disunited kingdom of the body that cannot stand (cf. H 1:113).

selbst tödten vnd erwürgen: vnnd das gar mannigfaltig: dann vnergründtlich sind die *Species*. Das ist der grund der Kranckheiten/ vnd nit die *Humores*. Also auch sindt mancherley Artzney/ darumb auch leichtlich vielerley zerstörung werden: Sie ist auch zergenglich/ mit dem Menschen ab/ vnnd mit den Menschen auff. Dann das sind *Anni Platonis*,^a in dem so sich Ernewern die ding all/ daruon *Arnoldus*^b etwas weniges sich hat mercken lassen/ als hab er deß ein verstand/ vnd falt doch zu bald wider ab vom grund. Der aber die Köpff der zerstörung deß Reichs erkennt/ der ist geschickt in die erkantnuß zugehen meins angezeigten grundts. Also in beschliessung des grundes/ alle Kranckheiten zuerkennen/ volgen hernach auff die drey gemelten Puncten/ drey Bücher/ darinn dann dieselbigen Kranckheiten/ so sich selbst/ so von vns selbst/ so vom Endt der zeit zufallen/ wie sie sich begeben.

Also mit den dingen allen/ so der Artzt will wissen den menschen/ vnd ihn erkennen in seinen Kranckheiten/ der muß aller der dingen Kranckheiten wissen/ so die Natur in der grossen Welt leidet. Denn darumb leidet sie/^c das wirs sehend: In dem *genus* das, in dem das/

in every sphere (cf. S 9:378). References to Christ's words of the transience of a kingdom divided and the accompanying metaphor of "bella intestina" are found also in the contemporaneous *De Secretis Secretorum Theologiae* (G 3:174-75), in a context that likewise stresses their prophetic-apocalyptic import for "the realm that divides itself" (cf. H 1:113, note).

^a *Annus Platonis*: in the *Elf Traktat*, this refers to the final destruction of nature, "dan wo das nit wer [i.e., that the human being is subject to death], so blib er mit der welt und lebte im anno Platonis, das sich endet mit sonn und mon und mit der zergehung aller elementen" (S 1:68). The *Philosophia de Generationibus et Fructibus Quatuor Elementorum* knows "ein jar in seiner fixitet, das selbig weret vom ersten yliastro bis in extremum yliastrum, in welchem ein neue welt wird. ...und ist annus ignis vel annus stellatus" (S 13:27).

^b In the preceding works of the Basel period, **Arnald of Vilanova** is mentioned in a rather favorable light, as "doctissim(us) Arnold(us) de Vilanova" (S 4:96). Vilanova is presumably meant in P.'s assertion that, "Raimundus Lullius primus curavit lepram, postea Arnoldus" (S 5:305). Sudhoff (54): "Arnaldus."

^c Sudhoff (54): "Denn darumb leidet sie?"

self, doing so in many ways. For the species are unfathomable. This is the reason for diseases, not the *humores*. For this same reason there are many kinds of medicine: because there are many kinds of destruction. It [the creation] is also transient with respect to the passing away and restoration of the human being. For those are the *anni Platonis*¹ in which all things are renewed, about which Arnaldus² has given some little notice, as if he had understood something of it, though he soon fell away from the true ground. But whoever recognizes the agents of the destruction of the realm is fit to embark upon the knowledge I disclose. Accordingly, to disclose the true ground for understanding all diseases, there follow, corresponding to the three announced points, three books, in which are elucidated the occurrence of the diseases that arise of themselves, from us or our doing, [or] from the conclusion of [one's appointed] time.

So it is with all things: if the physician is to know and understand the human being with respect to all human diseases, he must know the diseases of all things which are suffered by nature in the great world. For why indeed does it suffer? In order that we [should] observe it [and conclude]: In this *genus*, [there is] this. In that one there is that. However, in the human being [they are] all together. For inasmuch as

¹ The notion of the *annus Platonis* originated in the assertion in Plato's *Timaeus* that "the perfect number of time fulfills the perfect year when all the eight [planetary and stellar] revolutions, having their relative degrees of swiftness, are accomplished together and attain their completion at the same time..."(39). The further notion that all things are *renewed* in such years may be explained with reference to over-generalized Christian projections of redemption as in 2 Peter 3:13, which speaks of "new heavens and a new earth." On the concept in tradition, see RLAC: "Apokatastasis": this term was used both for medical healing and for restoration to a previous order, a notion subsumed in Judeo-Christian thought by that of the new creation.

² **Arnald of Villanova** (ca. 1240-1311), Catalan physician, medical author, and religious controversialist, associated with the University of Montpellier (DMA). Similarities with P. include Arnald's association of alchemy, astrology, and magic with medicine and his aggressive attempts at reforming both medicine and the church (LMA). Other points of convergence were his belief in the marvelous virtues in stones, plants, animals, and human beings, and receptiveness to their experimental discovery, which, through chance or supernatural revelation, is as open to the common people as to the educated (Thorndike 859). Compared with others whom P. disparagingly cites, references to Arnald are positive. The negative turn here might allude to Arnald's Galenic sympathies, his openness to Arabic medical knowledge, or his fall from grace with the church. For sources of further comparison, the reader may consult Pagel (263-65), or Joseph Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion c. 1300: The Case of Arnau de Vilanova* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

vnd aber im menschen alles. Dann so er je auß dem *Limbo* gemacht ist/ so ist er darumb auß ihm gemacht/ das er all sein guts vnd böses trag vnd hab. Darumb das Mittel gesetzt ist von Gott/ den zweyen nicht nach zu folgen/ in der Maß vnd Ordnung so fürgehalten ist im anfang. Dieweil sie nuhn also Eusserlich sind/ so soll der Artzt Eusserlich die lernen/ vnd die Concordanz nemmen in der bereytung und zertheilung/ die Kranckheiten von sichtlichen dingen/ vnd dieselbigen *Corpora* eusserlich Reduciren in *Vltimam Materiam* durch sein kunst *Spagyrica*, so findt er/ welche Substanz die Kranckheit mache: vnnnd so er die alle zusammen gebracht hatt/ so hatt er die erkandtnuß aller Kranckheiten. Wo er aber allein auff sein Region bekannt ist/ so mag er den frembden | 82 | nit helffen: dann der Artzt ist allein in dem bekannten/ vnd nit vnbekanntem.^a Darumb auch sol er sich nicht verführen lassen den Arabischen oder Barbarischen oder Chaldaischen^b noch dieselbigen vns: Ein jedtlicher glaub dem andern/ so viel vnd er selbst im fewr erfahren hatt. Dann die Artzney mag nicht gedulden zuglauben/ das nicht im Fewr beweret ist: durch das fewr wachst der Artzt/ wie angezeigt ist. Darumb so lehrn *Alchimiam*, die sonst *Spagyria* heist: die lehrnet das falsch scheiden von dem gerechten. Also ist das licht der Natur/ das mann durchauß prob sehe/ vnd am liecht wandere: In solchem liecht der Natur sollen wir kallen und reden/ nit auß der Fantasey/ in deren nix wachset/ dann 4. *Humores*, vnnnd ihr *Compositiones*, *Augmentum*, *Status*, vnd *Decrementum*, vnd dergleichen vnnütz anderß geschwetze/ die nicht auß *praeclaro ingenio* gehnd/ das angefült ist mit guttem Schatz/ sondern auß erdichtem vnbewehrtem grund.

^a Sudhoff (55): “ und nit im unbekanntem.”

^b **Arabischen, Barbarischen, Chaldaischen**: the opinion that herbs and medications are specific to lands and therefore to nations is expressed often and forcefully by P., as in the Prolog of his *Herbarius* (S 2:3).

the human being has been made of the *limbus*,¹ he has been made out of it in such a way that [it gives him] everything of his that is good and evil. For this reason the middle has been set by God in order not to continue in the measure and the order that was presented in the beginning.² Inasmuch as these things are external [i.e., macrocosmic], the physician must study them in their external mode and apply the concordance in their preparation and distribution, [studying] the diseases from visible things and reducing these same *corpora* externally into *ultima materia* by means of his spagyric art. This is how he finds out which substance causes the disease; and after compiling them all, he will have knowledge of all diseases. But if he should remain knowledgeable only in his own region, he will be unable to assist the others. | 82 | For the physician is only a physician in the familiar, not in the unfamiliar terrain. For the same reason, the physician should not allow himself to be misled by the Arab, barbarian, or Chaldean authorities; nor should they [be misled] by us. Everyone should believe another only after having discovered the thing in fire. For medicine should not deign to believe anything that has not been proven by fire. [It is] by fire that the physician increases, as we have seen. For this reason you should master *alchimia*, otherwise known as *spagyria*. It teaches how to separate the false from the just. This is the light of nature: that one sees proofs and walks in the light. In this light of nature we must declaim³ and speak, and not from the illusion in which nothing takes place except [through] the four *humores* and their *compositiones*, *augmentum*, *status*, and *decrementum*,⁴ and other useless verbiage proceeding not from the *praeclarum ingenium*, filled with good treasure, but [fashioned instead] out of invented, unproven arguments.

¹ See H 2:48; H 1:81, notes on *limbus*. Here the term is implicitly post-lapsarian in reference.

² This accords with P.'s view that the physician-chemist helps complete or perfect the work of creation.

³ See Grimm, **kallen**: a term of emphasis, it signifies to cry out and speak much.

⁴ The reference to the **compounding**, **increase**, **stasis**, and **decrease** of the humors indicates proportional imbalance among invariant humors; this is to be contrasted with the specificity of diseases as substances.

CAPVT QVARTVM.

Nuhn ist ein Irrsal eingefallen/ der fürgeben wirdt von den Complexionen/ als man sagt/ der Mensch ist ein *Sanguineus*, oder *Cholericus*, oder *Phlegmaticus*, oder *Melancholicus*, vnd ist aber der keins nicht: vnd das hat vilfaltig vrsach. Ein gemeine ist die/ daß das Leben dasselbige gibt/ das man *Complexiones* heist: vnnd darumb so es nuhn das Leben gibt/ vnnd nicht die drey Substantzen/ so sol es der Artzt nicht für sich nemmen. Dann im Leben/ vnd was dem Leben zusteht vnd anhanget/ das ist dem Artzt nit vnterworfen: Ob schon solch *Complexiones* da werend/ noch so ist es dem Artzt nicht zubetrachten. Dann was mit dem Leben hingeht/ das ist nit fürzunehmen einem Artzt vnder sein Theoric: das soll der Artzt in jm wol bedencken. Dann es ist nicht allein ein Irrsal im gesunden Leib/ sondern auch ein Irrsal im krancken Leib: dann sie ziehendts auff die Kranckheit/ daß sie im gesunden zusein vermeinen. Aber ander vrsach mehr: das der gantze Leib nicht vermag/ das solche vier *Complexiones* sollen in einem Menschen sein/ dieweil sie *Species* sind: In keim *Specie* ist kein Complex/ sondern die Natur seiner Substantz/ | 83 | die Natur ist kein Complex. Das ich sag/ das ist heiß/ ist nit sein Complex/ Sein Natur/ hatts auß seiner Substantz/ wie die Farben: diß aber macht kein kranckheit noch gesundtheit. Es muß etwas sein kalt oder heiß/ etc. in seiner Natur: das gehet aber das lebendig *Corpus* nichts an/ scheidet sich vom krancken und todten. Zu dem/ das gesagt wird/ das Sitten/ Geberdt/ Artt/ Weyß/ Gebrauch/ etc. seyen auß der Complexion/ das nicht ist: dann sie sind vom *Astro*, nit von Complexionen. Die Gall macht kein zorn/ *Mars* aber: Auß dem volget nun/ daß die Gall vberlaufft/ wie ein Magen den du vberfüllt hast von eusserlicher

CAPUT QUARTUM

An erroneous teaching has come into the world [and] is being foisted on people with reference to the complexions: it is said that a certain human being is a *sanguineus* or *cholericus* or *phlegmaticus* or *melancholicus*, and yet this is not the case at all. There are many reasons for this. A common one is that life does present that which is referred to as the *complexiones*; and since it is life that presents this, and not the three substances, the physician should not regard it as within his domain. For [that which happens invariably] in life and whatever pertains [invariably] to [life], is not subject to the physician.¹ Even if such *complexiones* should be present, it is of no concern to the physician. For what accrues to life is not to be taken up by the physician under [the headings of] his theory: the physician should be clear about this. For it is not merely an error in the healthy body, but also one in the sick body. For an illness is induced from it which is thought to be in the healthy subject. But there is another reason, in addition, why the entire body does not admit of four *complexiones* within one human being: because they are *species*. In no *species* can there be a complex, but instead the nature of its substance. | 83 | Nature is not a complex. If I say that this or that is hot, [this] is not [to state] its complex; [for] its nature derives from its substance, as with the colors. Yet this causes neither disease nor health. There is bound to be something, be it cold or hot or whatever [is] in its nature; but that does not affect the living *corpus*, [insofar as this] is distinguished from the sick or dead one. As to what is said to the effect that customs, demeanor, manners, type, habits, and the like arise from the *complexiones*: this is also untrue; for they stem from the *astrum*,² not from the *complexiones*. Gall does not cause anger. Mars does. It follows that the gall-bladder runs over like a stomach that has been overfilled with external nourish-

¹ Reinforcing his opposition to an entrenched humoral pathology, P. concedes that the complexions may exist but allows no correlation with disease: the pathological realm is distinct from the healthy vital realm. Pagel noted various motives in P.'s rejection of the medicine of the humors: antiauthoritarianism, "sound naturalism," and an anti-materialistic approach which placed arcane "virtues" above the elements (131-33).

² P. uses *astrum* for "star" yet relegates true astronomy (cf. H 2:46; Intro 26). Unlike the humors, *astrum* is a cause as specific as a quality arising from alchemical preparation. Cf. Ruland: "*Astrum* heist das Gestirn. Aber in vnser Chymischer Kunst/ bedeut es die Natur vnd Krafft eines Dinges ... auß der preparation."

speiß/ also vberschütt der *Mars* die Gallen. Solche ding zuerkennen/ was die arth sey/ gehört dem *Astronomo* zu/ nit *Medico*: deren sie nie gedacht haben. Darumb leichtlich der in ein Irrsal fällt/ der sein anfang vnnd zugehörnde kunst nit vollkommen kan. Darauf nuhn so wissent/ das ihr die *Complexiones* nit sollen dem Artzt vnderworffen achten zusein/ noch materien oder vrsach der kranckheiten: dann solche ding sind dem Leben eingebildet/ nit dem *Physico corpori*.

Das aber heiß oder kalt ist/ feücht oder trocken die Kranckheit/ nicht sage daß sie solcher Complexion sey: dann vrsach/ das sind *Conditiones*, nit *Complexiones*. Ein Complex steht in zweyen/ das ist/ in heiß vnd feüchtem/ oder heiß vnd trockenem: Also auch kalt vnd feücht/ oder kalt vnd trocken: Zeücht sich auff die Elementische artt/ das hie nicht fürzunehmen ist. Solch *Conditiones* der Kranckheiten sind heiß oder kalt/ aber darbey weder feücht noch trocken: sie sind feücht vnnd trocken/ vnnd darbey weder heiß noch kalt: Sondern also standen sie/ daß sie heiß ist/ vnd nix mehr darzu: Kalt ist/ nix mehr darzu: Also auch trocken/ nix mehr darzu: Also auch feücht vnnd nix mehr darzu: In Eim allein^a steht die Conditz/ nicht in zweyen. Ich sag/ das *Mania*^b sey ein hitz/ habe weder feüchte noch tröckne: Wassersucht^c sey ein feuchte/ hab weder kalt noch warms: vnd also mit andern. Also sind die Kranckheiten genaturt/ das soll auch in der Artzney betrachtet werden/ das der ander Gradt/ das ist/ die doppel Complex nicht genommen werd/ sondern alle ding bestehen sein Einige^d Conditz/ das ist/ heiß/ trocken/ feücht/ oder kalt: dann sie mögen in den | 84 | Kranckheiten nicht zusammen stehn/ es muß eins allein sein: Dieweil es zwey ist/ vnnd doppelt/ so ist es dem Leben vnderworffen/ vnnd nicht dem Artzt. Als ein ding das hüpsch ist/ schön vnd wolgefärbet/ was gehts den Artzt an ? Nichts: Also gehnd ihn auch nichts die *Complexiones* an: Sie sind der Natur kleider/ vnd

^a Sudhoff (57): "eim allein."

^b *Mania*: for P.'s extended discussions of this distinct mental disorder, see "Von mania" in *Von den Krankheiten, die der Vernunft berauben* (S 2:400-406) and "De cura maniae" (434-39).

^c **Dropsy, hydrops, wassersucht**, is a presumed disease frequently written of by P. In the *Elf Traktat*, the context is that of microcosm-macrocosm theory (S 1:3-23).

^d Sudhoff (57): "einige."

ment: thus does Mars cause it to spill gall.¹ To understand such things is the task of the *astronomus*, not the *medicus*, who has never considered them. For this reason, whoever has not completely mastered his basics and the pertinent arts easily falls into error. Therefore, let it be known that you should not regard the *complexiones* as subject to the physician, nor as materials or causes of diseases; for such things are imprinted upon life, not on the *corpus physicum*.

However, the fact that a disease is hot or cold, moist or dry, is not to be ascribed to a *complexion* of this [same] sort, for the reason that these are *conditiones*, not *complexiones*. A complex consists of two: in hot and moist or hot and dry or cold and moist or cold and dry: this manifests itself in the nature of the elements,² which is not our concern here. [But the aforesaid] *conditiones* of the diseases are hot or cold, but not at the same time moist or dry. They are moist and dry, but at the same time neither hot nor cold. Instead it may be hot and nothing else besides; cold and nothing beyond; or dry and nothing but this; or moist and that is all. In one thing only resides the condition, not in two. I tell you that *mania*³ is a heat, which has neither moisture nor dryness; hydropsy⁴ a moisture without cold or warmth, and so on with the others. In this way are the diseases natured. In medicine, it should also be taken into consideration that one should not accept the second degree, that is, the double complex; rather, all things consist in a single *condition*, which are hot, dry, moist, or cold. For they cannot be combined in | 84 | diseases. Each must be alone. If it is two and double, it is a matter of [the vagaries of] life, not a matter for the physician. Just as little as if a thing happens to be pretty, lovely, and nicely colored: of what concern is that to the physician? None at all. Of just as little concern to him are the *complexiones*. They clothe and

¹ While assigning agency to **Mars**, P. also gives an intrinsic explanation involving “external nourishment.”

² The complexioned qualities correlate with the **elements**: dry (earth), moist (water), air (cold), hot (fire).

³ For a discussion of *mania* in the context of P.’s theories of mental disorders, see Midelfort 116ff. (“a corruption of reason rather than the senses”); and KOR 82ff., 153ff.

⁴ The obsolete diagnosis of (**hy**)**dropsy** (actually the result of liver, kidney, or congestive heart failure or malnutrition) referred to any abnormal accumulation of fluid. Galen’s attribution to the hardening of the liver and inadequate formation of blood (thought to occur in the liver) persisted until the mid-17th-century. P. attributed it to dissolving of body tissues and treated it with mercurial oxide to dry the body (CWHHD).

zieren sie/ dem Artzt nit zubetrachten. So du aber wissen wilt/ das hitz allein steht/ kelte allein/ feüchte allein/ trückne allein: so nim das für dich/ das allein stehet/ dasselbig ist ohn Leben/ vnd scheidet sich vom Leben: drumb so ist jetzt die Kranckheit do. Also weiter/ die *Corpora* zünden sich an von *Astris*,^a sonst werden sie nicht kranck: die *Astra* machen ihr *bella intestina*: Darumb so nuhn das *Corpus* angezündet wirdt/ so nimpt es nuhr eins für sich/ nit zwey: Es wirffts in die hitz/ oder in die kelte/ oder in die feüchte/ oder in die trückne: In welche^b nuhn geworffen wirdt/ dasselbig ist dem Artzt fürzunehmen.

Wiewol der verstand besser ist/ wie das Exempel lautt: Einer schlecht eim ein Wunden/ oder Beulen/ oder Bein ab/ oder dergleichen: Nuhn dieser Streich ist an ihm selbst weder heiß noch kalt/ feücht noch trocken/ sondern ein streich: Also erkenn anfänglich alle Kranckheit zusein/ vnnnd dermassen herzukommen. So es nuhn im Leib ist/ was ist es anderst/ dann ein Wunden/ da weder hitz/ kelte/ feüchte/ noch trückne zubetrachten ist. Darum so ist die rechte kunst/ Incarniren: dieselbigen *Incarnatiua*^c sie seyend kalt/ feücht/ heiß/ trocken etc. laß dich nicht bekümmern/ sind sie *Incarnatiua*, so hastu genug: Andere ding laß stehn. Vnnnd wiewol das ist/ daß die Wunden hitzig/ äfflig/^d febrisch werden/ die ding aber sind die Kranckheit nit: Die Kranckheit nimb für dich/ die darff keins löschens noch kühlens: Solche ding sind anzeigung deiner irrigen kunst/ daß du nit mit *Incarnatiuis* versorget bist/ wie du dann versorget sein solt. Nun ist also auch in der Wassersucht: die ding gib/ so *Salem Resolutum* pelliren/ vnnnd achte nit weder kalts noch warms: dann in denselbigen steht die Artzney nit. Zu gleicher weiß wie Coloquint purgirt/ ohn angesehen der Complex/ vnd *Turbith* dergleichen: Die Tugent sie nuhn nicht haben von der Complex wegen/ sonder auß menschlicher art. Darumb

^a The *astra* are sublunary powers in P.'s theory. On their integration into alchemical medicine, a draft of *Paragranum* states following the logic of like to like: "Nun ist die alchimia ein kunst, die do lernt die astra zubesündern von den corporibus, auf das die astra nachfolgend dem gestirn und firmament gehorsam sind, zu dirigiren; dan dirigiren ist nicht in den corporibus, sonder allein im firmament" (S 8:123).

^b Sudhoff (57): "in welchs."

^c The uses of *incarnativa* are discussed in some detail in the framework of the concept of *mercurius* in P.'s *Declaratio Specierum* (S 2:216): "Alle incarnativa gehent aus dem mercurio, deren seind 26 aus disen werden all solche wunden und brüch geheilt."

^d Sudhoff (58): "efflig."

adorn nature, but are of no concern to the physician. But once you recognize that heat is by itself, as is cold, moisture, or dryness, you can concentrate on that which is thus solitary: it is without life, and is separated from life. In this case, we are dealing with disease. Moreover, the *corpora* are ignited by the *astra*. Otherwise there would be no illness. The *astra* cause their *bella intestina*. Accordingly, when the *corpus* is inflamed, it takes upon itself only one, not two. It is cast into heat or into cold or into moisture or into dryness. The physician must concern himself with that into which it is thrust.

However, the understanding can do better, as this example will show. One strikes [a blow that causes] someone a wound or boil, or one [cuts someone's] leg off, or some similar thing. The blow in itself is neither hot nor cold, neither moist nor dry, but [quite simply] a blow. From this, let the beginnings and origins of all diseases be recognized. If it is in the body, what is it other than a wound, for which hot, cold, moist, and dry are irrelevant. Accordingly, the proper art is incarnating (**Incarniren**).¹ As to whether the *incarnativa* are cold, moist, hot, dry, etc., be not troubled. If they are *incarnativa*, that is enough: forget the rest. And though it is the case that the wounds become hot, inflamed, fevered, these things are not the disease itself. Regard the disease itself: it needs no extinguishing or cooling. Such things betray the erroneous art: you are not equipped with the *incarnativa* as you should be. It is the same with hydropsy: administer the things that cause resolved salts and pay no attention to whether they are cold or warm since there is no medicine in that. In the same way, colocynth² purges without respect to any *complex*, and *turbith*³ likewise. Their virtue is something they do not have on account of any

¹ From *incarnatio*, *incarnativa*, medical terms pertaining to growth of new flesh as a wound heals (DML).

² Mediterranean herbaceous vine related to watermelon, used for preparing a powerful cathartic (WID); a gloss by Goldammer gives it as *Citrullus colocynthis Schrader*, a powerful laxative (G 6:53, note e).

³ See Grimm, **Turbith**: the medicinal plant *ipomaea turpethum*, common in herbal medicine of the time. Aschner's translation note adds: "turpetum minerale = $\text{HgSO}_4 + \text{H}_2\text{O}$, aber auch $\text{Hg}(\text{NS}_3)_2 + 2 \text{HgO} + \text{H}_2\text{O}$, manchmal ist auch Mercurius dulcis (Kalomel) damit gemeint, ferner die Wurzel von *Thapsia garganica*."

so sind alle | 85 | *Virtutes Rerum*,^a *Arcana*, also/ das sie ihr krankheit heilen in dem weg wie sie geschehen ist: Ohn Complex beschehen sie/ ohn Complex werden sie geheilt. Das lassendt euch all Ingedenck sein/ mit der Natur es kompt/ in gleicher maß gehets wider hin. Daß das Fewr vom wasser außgelescht wirdt/ ist nicht der kelti schuldt/ sondern der feuchti:^b Also auch/ daß das Fewr wermet/ ist nicht der trückni schuldt/ sondern der hitz. Also bleibt Einig das Jenig/ so die krankheit regirt: Aber nicht das *materia peccans* sey/ sondern als ein farben/ die nichts nimpt noch gibt: Die krankheit ligt da wie ein Schwerdt/ das da schneydt/ ohn alle Complexion.

Sich begiebt/ das der *Sulphur* angezündt wirdt vnd brent/ als in *Persico Igne*:^c Nun aber/ was ist sein artzney? Nemlich/ leschen wie ein Fewr. Dieweil aber mit kheltin/ Campfer etc. Die Cur^d gefürt wirdt/ so muß mann erwarten/ wie es geht. Der grundt hie ist allein zubetrachten/ waß do lesche das vnsichtig Fewr: Dann leschen ist der grundt/ Khülen ist sein giff/ treibets hindersich/ giebt ander vbel hernach. Also wil Gott nicht/ das wir handeln sollen/ sondern mit vollkommener artzney/ so in der rechten ordnung steht/ darauff geben/ wie vns die augen anzeigen mit dem wasser vnd Fewr. Also sollen vnser augen auffgethan werden in der kunst/ damit wir artzneyisch

^a The *arcana*, *virtutes*, *tugent* or *kreft* said to be present in all created things are extolled throughout P.'s career. *Von den natürlichen Dingen* asserts that medical powers are innate to the things created by God, "poured" into them in the same way God has inserted the soul into the body: "das sollen ir wissen, das die arzney in den natürlichen dingen, die ein unsichtbarer geist ist, gossen in das selbig corpus, wie der geist des menschen in den menschen" (S 2:67). Their divine source and eternal nature are stated unequivocally in *De vera Influentia rerum* (S 14:213ff.): "Hierauf solt ir ferner wissen, das wir in allen dingen die natur sollen verstên, das die geheus, herbergen sind der tugenden, und das die unterscheidnen form, zeichen sind, ein ietliche zu suchen, und das got die selbigen kreft und tugent in die natur gossen hat, wie die sêl in menschen, und das die kreft der sêl nicht ungleich sind, alein das sie on anfang bei got gewesen sind. ...also sind die magnalia gottes und seine mysteria groß und wunderbarlich zu erkennen" (S 14:221). In the sense of these eternal forces, and not merely in terms of ethical virtue, the *Opus Paragranum* makes the teaching of the "virtues" into the fourth pillar of medicine. Essential to medicine, the *arcana* contrast with the apothecaries' compounding (see S 2:111-16; H 2:15, note; Intro 28).

^b Sudhoff (58): "feuchte."

^c For P.'s discussion of *Ignis Persicus* in the framework of his *tria prima*, see: "Vom wilden feuer. Von igne persico und seinen speciebus zu reden, ist ir aller grund von den zweien ersten sal und sulphur..." (S 6:272ff.). For one formula of its cure, see "Cura ignis persici. Rec. aceti per se unc. 4, camphorae unc. 1, vitrioli unc. Sem., aluminis de rocha drach. 2; reduc ad formam..." (S 4:110f.). References are common.

^d Huser sic; Sudhoff (59): "die cur."

complex, but rather from their male kind. For this reason, all | 85 | *virtutes rerum* are *arcana*:¹ they heal their disease in the way that it has occurred. They occur without *complex*: they are healed without *complex*. You should reflect on that: with the nature by which it comes, in that same measure it disappears. That fire is extinguished by water happens not on account of its coolness but on account of its moisture. By the same token, the fact that fire warms does not happen on account of its dryness, but rather on account of its heat. Therefore, that which rules the disease remains one. Yet it is not *materia peccans*, but rather like a color that neither takes nor gives. The disease lies before us like a sword that cuts without any complexion.

It can occur that the *Sulphur* is ignited and burns as if *in persico igne*.² So what is the medication for it? Precisely to extinguish it like a fire. But if, instead, the cure is performed with cold—camphor³—one will see what happens. The thing to consider here is quite simply: what is it that would extinguish the invisible fire? For extinguishing is the foundation. Cooling is poison for it: you will bring about the contrary and other evils will follow. Accordingly, God does not want us to treat [it] with anything except the perfect medication that resides in the true order. We should apply to it what our eyes show us with water and fire. Hence our eyes should be opened up in [the practice of] art

¹ *Arcanum*, see H 2:55.

² Ruland: “*Ignis Persicus est vlcus ardoris incendio torquens, heiß Brandt.*” Under “Brand,” Zedler defines “*Ignis Persicus* (der heisse Brand)” as “Gangraena,” the dying of a part of the body. Latin *gradus Persicus* signified in Mithraism the fifth degree of initiation (OLD).

³ *Camphora*, the Indian or Arabic word designating “*resina ex arboribus q.d. Cinnamomam Camphora (Nees) vel Dryobalanops aromatica exsudata*”; gum known in the Middle Ages for its cooling medicinal qualities : Hildegard, *Physica* 1,40: “*ganphora, scilicet gummi, puram frigidatem in se habet*” (MLW).

vnd Fewrisch sehen das jenige/ so der Bawr offentlich sicht: zu solchem grundt werden wir getrieben die Cur anzufahren. Darumb so ist billich von den *Complexionibus*/ vnd 4. *Humoribus* zufallen/ dann sie sindt hie nicht zubetrachten: Wie dann betracht haben die/ so die artzney in Irrsall geführt haben. Daß ist waar/ ein kranckheit muß heiß oder kalt sein: Dann/ was ist ohn farben? Also nicht ohn das bemelt auch. So ist ein solchs nicht mehr/ dann ein zeichen/ vnd nicht ein kranckheit/ noch die kranckheit: Der die zeichen will haben für die *materiam*, der versaumpt sich. Was ists/ das die Stirn brent/ vnd ist heiß, vnd der gantz Kopff/ vnd der gantz Leib, vnd der Harn ist ist roth/ der Puls ist schnell/ die Lebern ist durstig/ vnd dergleichen: diese ding zeigen ein Kranckheit an/ aber nit die *Materiam*: Sie sind anders dann die *Materia* ist/ sie betriegen vnd felschen die Kranckheit. Also in *Colica* von der | 86 | Constipation/ secht was da kompt? Groß Grimmen/ Hitz/ Lehmi/ etc. Durst/ Kotzen/ vnd dergleichen/ die ding all^a laß dich nicht bekümmern: So du die Constipation ledigest/ so werden alle ding wie obstandt/ selbst auffhören. Sich den Stein an/ was er für zufäll mache: Wilt du sie nemmen, so thue den Stein hinweg/ der muß hinweg ohn Kaltes vnd Warmes/ ohn Complex vnd Humores/ mit dem messer. Also last euch ein Exmpel sein/ nit allein in diesen kranckheiten also/ sondern in allen: Das Messer laß sein *Arcanum* sein: Also erkenn die *Arcana*/ wie [sie]^b sein sollen. Das ist waar/ der Kalts auff Warmes brauchen will/ Feuchts auff Truckens etc. Der versteht den grund der kranckheiten nit. Dann sehet an in *Mania*: Was hilfft da/ als allein sein Adern auffzuschlahen/ so genist er: Das ist sein *Arcanum*/ nit Caffer/ nit Nenufar^c/ nit *Saluia*/ nicht *Maiorana*/ nit *Clysteria*/ nit *Infrigidantia*^d nit das/ nit diß/ sondern *Phlebotomia*.^e

^a Sudhoff (59): dergleichen; die ding al"

^b Sudhoff (60) omits square brackets.

^c **Nenufar** is an herb of frequent use, but divergent reputations in P. As an ingredient for curing deafness ("taubsucht"), it is ascribed together with other blossoms to the deceptive practices of the "devil conjurers," "teufelsbeschwörer" (S 1:106); however, in *Von Krankheiten, die der Vernunft berauben*, it is as respectable and effective as campher or frog sperm in curing nervous afflictions such as "caducus," epilepsy (S 2:429; on its status among the herbs of a cold nature, see below, cf. H 1:112, notes on *solatrum* and *portulaca*).

^d On the uses of *infrigidantia*, see S 2:94, 473; 11:296 ("narcotica, stupefactiva und infrigidantia").

^e For P.'s typically critical discussion of **phlebotomy** from the Basel period, see *De Phlebotomia. Vom Aderlaß. fünf Traktat* (1527) (S 4:374-408).

so that we recognize in medicine and in fire those things that the peasant recognizes overtly. To this end we are compelled to initiate the cure. Therefore, it is proper to abandon (**zufallen**)¹ the *complexiones* and the accidents of the four *humores*, for they are of no concern here. These were the preoccupation of those who led medicine into error. It is true that a disease must be hot or cold. For what is there that has no color? Nor is there anything without the aforementioned things. But such a thing is no more than a sign, not a disease, nor [much less] the disease. Whoever would take the symptoms (**zeichen**) for the material misses what is essential. What of it if the forehead burns and is hot and the entire head [as well] and the whole body; and the urine is red, the pulse quickened; the liver thirsts, and the like? These things indicate a disease, but they do not reveal its material. They are something different from the material. They deceive and falsify the disease. Consider the colic of | 86 | constipation: look what happens. Great pangs, heat, laming, etc., thirst, vomiting, and so forth. Do not worry about all these things. If you take care of the constipation, all these things, as we have said, will cease as well. Consider the stone, the sort of conditions it causes. If you want to take [care of] them, get rid of the stone. It must be gotten rid of without regard to warm or cold, without *complex* and *humores*, by means of the knife. Therefore, take this as an example not only in these diseases but in all others. Let the knife be the *arcanum*. Recognize the *arcana* as <they> deserve to be recognized. It is indeed true that whoever would use cold for warm, moist for dry, does not understand the foundation of diseases. For consider in the case of *mania*: what helps but to open the veins? The patient then recovers. That is its *arcanum*: not camphor, not *nenufar*,² not *salvia*, not *majorana*,³ not *clysteria*,¹ not *infrigidantia*,² not this, not

¹ See Grimm: the verb **zufallen** is used by P. to signify the opposite of essential (3a) and in the medical language of the time in the sense of “to occur” (3b). Here the impersonal verb of which “we physicians” is the implicit subject requires a translation in the sense of fall away from or reject.

² *Nympha lutea*, or yellow water lily of the Nymphaeaceae family (see Nikolov; cf. LMA: “Seerose”). Its (Arabic) name is glossed by the informative Brunfels: “Nymphaeam nennen die Kryechen/ so zû Teütsch Seeblûm...vnd von den Apothekern **Nenufar**” ... “Plinius spricht/ dz dißes kraut seinen nammen här habe in dem Kryechischen/ von einer Göttin/ die den Herculem gebület/ vnd also vß grosser lyebe gestorben” (iii). “wie Plinius spricht/ das es vl. tag lang getrucknen/ die nyeren erkeltet/ vnd allen männlichen somen ableschet/ vnd tödtet. ... Deshalb es billich ein Münch kraut solt genennet werden” (v). Perhaps for this reason, it is said by Rabelais to be as inimical to lecherous monks as tares to wheat (cf. COFR, GP 426).

³ *Salvia*: either sage or mullein (OLD); *majorana*: marjoram (cf. H 2:64).

Ist ihm also in *Mania*/ so ists auch in allen krankheiten also: Vnd mach kein besonders.

Daß aber auch etwas zusagen ist vom^a gesunden menschen: Er ist ein *Melancholicus*/ ist vbel geredt: Dann das Liecht der Natur weist nit/ was *Melancholia* ist. Sagtest^b du aber: Er ist in seinen Sitten *Saturninus*/ vnd *Lunaticus*/ das wer recht geredt: Dann vnser *mores*/ vnd dergleichen der Sitten Eigenschafft werden vom Gestirn gemacht/ vnnnd *Melancholia* wirt den Gestirn nit zugelegt. So sie nun nit des Gestirns ist/ so ist sie auch nit billich in der artney zubehalten oder fürzunemen/ als ein Seulen die da trag den grundt der Profession. Soll sie nun im Miltz ligen/ so ist das Miltz *Saturni*/ vnd *Saturnus* Regirt es: Nun gibt *Saturnus* vnd das Miltz mit einander/ die krankheiten des Miltzs/ vnd aber sie sagen nichts vom Miltz/ noch vom *Saturno*/ sonder von der Melancholy: Vnd *Quartana*^c ist auß dem *Saturno* gemacht und geschmidet/ vnd geht auch nach seiner Impression:^d Wo bleibt dann die Melancholy? Also ist ewer *humor* feel/ vnd nichts. Sie sagen von der *Phlegmate* des Hirns/ dz noch viel gröber feel ist/ nit not aber hie zuerzelen: Vnd von der *Cholera*/ vnd *Sanguine*: Wo

^a Sudhoff (60): “von gesunden menschen.”

^b Sudhoff (60): “sagtest.”

^c *Quartana*, quartan fever, is frequently discussed by P. (see S 5:100): “Quartanae. Pulsus tardus cum quarto tactu.” Characterized by the pulse rate and by the interval of occurrence as “quotidiana, tertiana, quartana” (S 3:17), fever recalls the role of time or the stars in “igniting” diseases.

^d Just as minerals are the fruit of the element of water, “cadus or **impressio**” is that of fire according to *Von den natürlichen Wassern* (S 2:330). “Impressiones,” “imaginationes,” and “incantationes” are linked to the term “bilt” in the discussion of St. Vitus’ dance or “chorea lascivae” in *Das 7. Buch in der Arznei. Von den Krankheiten, die der Vernunft berauben* (S 2:440). In the Basel work on *Phlebotomia*, knowledge of astral impressions that govern celestially induced diseases is important for treatment since, “die impression dem leib sein natur gibt” (S 4:408). Similarly in the materials on *De Modo Pharmacandi*, the celestial impressions govern digestion inasmuch as “die zeit und der himel solche colores gibt in der gestalt, dieweil die impression sein ist in den dingen des leibs micrococsmi” (S 4:463f.). *Von Blattern, Lähme, Beulen....* asserts that astral “impressiones” modify and diversify what is given in the seeds of creation (S 6:353f.). Modification is also a result of external or incidental “impressiones” in the venereal diseases discussed in *Von Ursprung und Herkommen der Franzosen* (S 7:306-09). In the political-astrological writings of 1529-30, the highest goal of astronomy is a knowledge of “impressiones,” concerned more with the seeds of time and the human heavens than stellar observations: “du mußß zulassen dem himel im menschen” (S 7:466).

that—but only *phlebotomia*. If this is true of *mania*, the same holds for all diseases as well. Make no exception.

Here, however, something must also be said about the healthy: to say that someone is a *melancholicus* is to speak poorly. For the light of nature does not know what *melancholia* is. But if you were to say, “In his customs, he is [a] *saturninus* and *lunaticus*,” that would be well put.³ For our *mores* and all similar properties of customs are caused by the stars; but *melancholia* is not brought about by the stars. Since it is not a matter of the stars, it is not properly to be retained in medicine, or to be conceived as one of the pillars that maintain the foundation of the profession. If it is thought to lie in the spleen, the spleen is a matter of *Saturnus*, and *Saturnus* rules it. Now it is a fact that *Saturnus* and the spleen together yield the splenetic diseases; and yet they [the advocates of humoral medicine] say nothing about the spleen or *Saturnus*; but rather speak only of melancholy. And *quartana*⁴ has been made and forged out of *Saturnus* and also proceeds according to its *impression*.⁵ Where is the melancholy in that? So you see that your *humor* is wrong and amounts to nothing. They say things about the *phlegma* of the brain that are even more grossly wrong; but these don’t need to be detailed here. And about *cholera* and *sanguis*

¹ *Clysteria*: syringes for administering enemas.

² *Infrigidantia*, herbs that have a cooling effect. Drawing on Pliny, Dioscorides, and other ancient sources, Brunfels’ Latin herbal encyclopedia of 1530 offered a “*Tabula medicinarum Simplicium*,” in which herbs were listed either as “*Calefacientia*” or “*Infrigidantia*” with cross-reference to the affected organs. Most of the medications named in this chapter were known to Dioscorides (cf. AUFM).

³ Here P. reconfirms his previously stated rejection of the humors, here temperaments, in favor of astral influences, referenced here to a character corresponding to Saturn or Luna.

⁴ *Quartana*, a quartan ague or fever (OLD), cf. Pliny, “*horrorem tertianae et quartanae*” (22:150).

⁵ Here the context is P.’s astronomy; as Ruland notes: “*Impressiones sunt fructus inuisibiles, vt stellarum in inferioribus, non Solis & Lunae, Vnsichtbare Frucht deß Gestirns.*” Conceptually related to the creature as an image or “bilt” (see H 1:87-88) and rooted in a medieval “Prägemetapher” (a metaphor of impressing or imprinting), betokening the Maker and mark of creation (see Ohly 17ff.), here “impression” designates the impact or manifestation of astral influence as disease. “Impressio” could thus also be negative: P. was not alone in attaching such connotations to *impressio* or *inclinatio*: the former also meant “oppression”; the latter, from *inclinare*, “to subdue, enslave, compel” (see MLLM); cf. OED, “incline” (4), “impression” (5).

bleibt nun *Ren, Pulmo, Stomachus*^a vnd ander mehr/ *Cor* voraus? So sie wolten *humores* haben/ so sollte *Cor* sonderlich | 87 | einen haben/ *Pulmo* auch/ *Epar* auch/ *Renes* auch/ etc. alß dann ist: Ein jedlich Glied im leib hat seine *humores*: Aber nit wie die 4. außweisen/ sondern wie die *Membra* außweisen/ Ein jedlichs für sich selbst allein/ keins gibt für das ander antwort: Das Miltz besteht sein schantz/ die *Renes* ihr schantz/ *Pulmo* sein schantz/ vnd die statt/ da *Cholera* ligt/ ihr eigen schantz/ die *Phlegma* do sie ligt/ jhr schantz/ *Melancholia* dergleichen. Weit sey von uns/ das wir den leib in die vier Seulen^b der *Humorum* theilen wollen/ als in die 4. Elementen. Das ist wohl waar/ 4. sindt der Elementen: So wir wöllen wissen was *Elementum* sey/ so ist es ein Mutter seiner Frucht: Als *Terra* ist ein Mutter seiner Frucht/ wie dann offenbar ist: Sein frucht fragt weder der Kelte/ noch der Trückne der Erden nach/ ist auch allein für sich selbst nichts: Da müssen zusammen kommen all 4. Elementen. Also auch das Wasser/ der Lufft/ vnnnd das Fewr. Wie ihrs aber anzeigt/ so befindet sich/ das die Elementen von Euch noch nie sindt erkant worden: So ihr sie verstanden hetten/ so hetten ihr den *Microcosmum* geschickter außgetheilet/ den ihr doch beym gröbisten außlegend.^c

^a The Basel lecture notebooks on wounds considered the afflictions or wounds of these particular organs as having each its own vulnerability or external defense: *pulmo, splen, epar, stomachus, renes* (S 5:346-48).

^b Before the completion of *Paragranum*, the pillars varied. The equation of the four elements or humors as false “seulen” hints that the pillars may have been P.’s answer to the false four elements or humors.

^c Sudhoff (61): “noch beim gröbisten auslegend.”

nas: what happened to *renes* [the kidneys], *pulmo* [the lungs], *stomachus* [the stomach] and other [organs] of the kind, above all *cor*? If they insist on *humores*, *cor* especially should | 87 | have its own, likewise *pulmo*, *epar*, as well, *renes*¹ too, and so on, so that in fact every organ of the body should have its own *humores*. But not in the way the four manifest themselves, but rather as the parts of the body do, each in its own way. None can answer for the other. The spleen holds its own;² the *renes* their own; *pulmo* its own; but the place where *cholera* lies unto itself with its hazard and its defense. *Phlegma*, where it lies has its own. *Melancholia* too. Far be it from us that we should divide the body into the four pillars of the *humores*, as if into the four elements.³ It is indeed true that there are four elements. If we want to know what *elementum* is: it is a mother of its fruit. Thus *terra* is a mother of its fruit, as is obvious. This fruit takes neither cold nor warmth from the earth. In itself it [the fruit] is nothing of this. In it the four elements must come together, water too, as well as air and fire. But the way you represent it, it seems that you have never understood a thing about the elements. Had you understood them, you would have proportioned the *microcosmus* more skillfully: as it is, you have interpreted it in the crudest way.

¹ *Cor, pulmo, epar, renes*: the heart, lungs, liver, kidneys.

² **Schantz** according to Grimm could refer both to a defensive fortification and a risk or danger: thus each organ runs its own risks and has its own defenses.

³ **Humors** pertain to the elements and hence to an inorganically material causation offensive to P.

CAPVT QVINTVM.

Dieweil nuhn *Vltima materia* beweist/ das alle ding in den Drey^a Substantzen stend/ vnd das sie des Artzts *Subiectum* sind: Vnnd aber das Mittel *Corpus* sicht ihm nicht gleich/ also gewaltig wirdt es geschmidet vnnd verkert: So ist doch diß verkeren nit anderst/ als allein wie ein Maler ein Bild malet an ein wand/ oder geschnitten von holtz/ da sicht mann das holtz nicht/ aber ein hüpsch Bildt:^b Vnnd ein nasser Lump/ verderbts alles wider/ was der Maler gemahlet hat. Also ist das Leben auch: Ein mahl sindt wir geschnitzlet von Gott/ vnd gesetzt in die drey Substantzen/ Nachfolgent vbermahlet mit dem leben/ das vns vnser stehn/ gehn/ bewegligkeit &c. gibt/ vnnd mit einem Lumpen ist es alles wieder auß. Nuhn ist das zu wissen hierin/ das wir nicht sollen vns das Leben mit seym zugehörenden anhang verführen lassen: Dann es ist gar ein meisterlicher mahler/ der das anstreicht auff die | 88 | drey Substantz/ das gleich sicht/ inn einem/ als hab ihn die Sunn gemahlet/ den andern der Monn/ den dritten *Venus* &c. Der sicht weiß/ der Braun/ der also/ der also: Es ist des Mahlers meisterschafft/ der sein geschnitzte Bilder dermassen zieret. Aber nichts nim auß dem gemeldt/ Es sind Farben/ die nicht von Oel

^a Sudhoff (61) writes “drei,” following his consistent use of lower case.

^b An extended allusion links P.’s terms “image” and “sign”: “Also geben die werk die zeichen selbs was es ist, wie **ein gemalts bilt** gibt sein zeichen, das es ein gemelt ist...” (S 1:79). Phenomenal creation as image or sign, marking what is made as the work of the Creator and thus providing clues to its divinely intended use or treatment, is postulated in the post-*Basel Elf Traktat*, in a context that encompasses the exegetic term prefiguration (“*praefigurierung*”), emphasis on “*theorica*” as the font from medicine must flow (“*die arzney, die aus solcher theorica fleußt*”), the notion that the world created by God embodies the mark of its Maker (“*was ist die ganz welt als ein zeichen das sie gottes ist und das sie got gemacht hat?*”), and the relationship of the seen to the unseen as that of creature to Creator (S 1:79-80). Image, sign, signature, and virtue are all related in a medical theory that revives the immediate experience of nature, as against hearsay: “*die natur ist so hoch begabt von got, das nit mit hören, sonder mit der natur das alles muß erfahren werden*” (87). However, the later work *Astronomia Magna* tends to treat “*biltus*” as unique to the nexus of Creator and human creature. “*Signatur*” becomes specialized for the relationship of other *creata* to their Creator, as when *Von den natürlichen Dingen* criticizes the reliance of Macer and Dioscorides on hearsay and counters with the forgotten science of signs or signatures which reveal the virtues concealed in things: “*so sol mans an dem zeichen erkennen, was tugent im selbigen sind das alle kreft, so in den natürlichen dingen sind, durch die zeichen erkant werden*”; “*die selbig signatur ist gar ... vergessen worden, aus dem dan groß irsal folget*” (S 2:86). In *Liber de Imaginibus* (S 13:361ff.), picture-making and image magic are ambivalent.

CAPUT QUINTUM.

Since the *ultima materia* reveals that all things consist of three substances which are the *subjectum* of the physician, yet the middle *corpus* does not have this appearance; for it is forged and transformed so effectively: nonetheless, this transformation is nothing other than the way in which a painter paints an image on the wall or carved it from wood: no one sees the wood, just a lovely image.¹ And a damp rag then ruins everything the painter had painted. Just so it is with life. First we are carved by God and composed in the three substances, then finished up with [the finish that is] life, which yields all our standing, moving, mobility, and so on; and [yet] with [a wipe of] a rag it is all over. The lesson to be learned from this is that we should not be deceived by life and its qualities. For it is indeed a masterful painter who thus colors the | 88 | three substances so that it seems in one individual to have been painted by the sun, in another by the moon, in a third by Venus, and so on:² the one looks white, the other brown, this one this way, that one another way. It is a matter of the mastery of the painter who adorns his carved images in this manner. But take nothing out of this painting: the colors are not of oil or glue,

¹ If the comparison with **wood carving** at first seems crude, it is helpful to recall the extraordinarily lifelike wood sculptures of this period (Tilman Riemenschneider, c. 1460-1531), especially in Southwest Germany and Switzerland (cf. LMA, “Holzschnitzerkunst”), as well as P.’s admiration for the skill of craft artists.

² The planetary agency of ch. 4 is here ascribed to the Creator, though it is still astrologically characterized. The mode of creation that crafts **images** appears to be the work of the sun, moon, etc., but is actually that of the Master Craftsman.

oder Leim sind/ sondern wie ein Schatten oder Luft. Nuhn aber/ das ist waar/ ettliche Farben seindt am menschen/ die noth sindt auffzumercken/ aber sie nemmens vom Todt: Der Todt hat auch sein farben/ so er angeht/ vnd sich setzt/ so weicht ihm das leben/ so scheint sein farben herfür: Dise farben was zeigens an? Den Todt vnd sein krankheit. Dise zwo farben sindt noth zuwissen: Sie geben dir aber kein grundt der krankheit: Dann sie sindt zeichen. Der zeichen artt ist betrüglich vnd falsch/ wie ein wort dz von seiner zungen geht/ ohn Ernst/ oder ohn Hertzen. Darumb aber das die farben sind in den dingen: Du solt darumb kein Urtheyl fellen/ dir dieselbig vnterwürfflich zumachen: Dann weder der Himmel/ noch die Erden gestehnd dir bey/ es ist vber die ding all.

Aber nicht anderst ist zugedencken/ vnd zuwissen/ dan das alle ding in dem Bildt stehend: Das ist/ alle ding sindt gebildet: In dieser Bildnuß ligt die Anathomey.^a Der mensch ist gebildet: Sein Bildnuß ist die Anathomey/ einem Artzt vorauß nothwendig zuwissen. Dann also sindt auch Anatomien der krankheiten: Das ist/ *Hydrops* ist gebildet wie ein Bildnuß sein soll. Darumb ist nicht genug/ die Anatomy des menschen zuwissen/ sondern auch der Wassersucht/ als wer sie gemahlet oder geschnitelt vor ihm in ein form: Also all andre krankheiten. Zu solcher Bildnuß der Anatomey sollen wir vns fleissen: Dan ohn die wirt vns die Natur nicht Artzt heissen. Nempt Euch ein Exempel für/ in der Rosen oder Lilgen.^b Worumb hat sie Gott also geformiret in die Bildtnuß? Vnd ander ding dergleichen? Darumb/ das er den Artzt beschaffen hat/ vnd sein artzney auß der

^a **Anatomey** is a term of frequent but idiosyncratic use in P.'s writings. Conceptually linked to the notions of "bilt" (image), and microcosm-macrocosm, it is distinct from the pioneering anatomy of his time, which he scornfully contrasts with his own: "anatomica ist theorica medicorum.... wir meinen aber nit anatomiam Itolorum, id est cadaverum" (S 2:325; cf. 6:342). Not this cadaverous anatomy of the Italians but rather an intuited constellation of living creatures is intended when he asserts: "Anatomiam der wesen zu verstehen ist trefflich, allein der confluenz halben. dan was ist in allen dingen, so eim arzet gebüret, gleich uber den verstand der confluenz, so doch die natur on die anatomei nichts beschaffen hat" (S 6:339). Sudhoff (62) replaces Huser's inconsistent German spelling ("Anathomey," "Anatomy," etc.) with "anatomei."

^b Sudhoff (62, 63): "gilgen."

but rather like a shadow or air. And indeed this is true: there are some colors in the human being that are [especially] to be observed. But these come from death. Death, too, has its colors: when it is initiated and applies itself, life yields to it, and its colors emerge. What is it that these colors reveal? Death and its illness. These two colors are to be learned. Yet they will not give you the cause of disease, for they are signs. The nature of signs is deceitful and false, like a word that passes from the tongue without seriousness or heartfelt sincerity. Hence the mere fact of colors in things should not induce you to make a judgment and to submit to it; for neither the heavens nor the earth will stand by you: it is above all these things.¹

But you should not think nor be assured of anything but that all things are in the image. That is, all things are formed.² In this formation (**Bildtneuß**) lies their anatomy. The human being is formed: his image is his anatomy, about which a physician must be advised. For so also are the anatomies of the diseases. Thus, dropsy is formed just as its image should be formed. Therefore, it is not enough to know the anatomy of the human being, but rather also that of dropsy, as if it too were painted or carved before us into a [particular] form. And so, too, with all other diseases. We must endeavor to attain such an image formation of anatomy, for without it nature will not recognize us as physicians. Consider another example in the rose or the lily.³ Why did God form it into such an image? And why all other things likewise? God has done so because he created the physician and [created the physician's] medicine out of the earth;⁴ so that the [the physician]

¹ The confusing subject reference in this sentence (“it” can only signify the higher truth of God’s creation) recall, as does the chapter as a whole, the admixture of faith and skepticism expressed during this period by Agrippa von Nettesheim’s *De Vanitate et Incertitudine Scientiarum et Atrium atque Excellentia Verbi Dei* (1526), as well as the disputes over substance in Communion as mere “sign” or real divine presence.

² In extending the doctrine that the human creature was created in the **image** of God to all created things, P. exceeds Gen 1:27; yet in so doing he builds on Patristic and medieval precedents. Augustine recognized “*vestigia trinitatis*” in the creation (*De Trinitate*, PL 42:959, 983). Hildegard of Bingen, a name familiar to P. (S 13:334), knew of trinitarian aspects in stones, flames, or words (*Scivias*, PL 197:449). Like God, the flame is threefold: “*sicut flamma in uno igne tres vires habet sic et unus Deus in tribus personis est*” (451).

³ Implicitly this refers to P.’s doctrine of the signatures: Healing powers are signaled by the shape of herbs. On the medieval Christian origins, the Paracelsian reformulation, and the subsequent impact of the doctrine of the signatures, see Ohly.

⁴ Extended allusion to Sir 38, see H 1:69, note.

Erden/ also das er wiß/ was auß der Erden gang/ in seiner Anatomy:
 So er ihr Anatomy weist/ so soll er darnach wissen *Anatomias Morborum*/
 so findt er da ein Concordantz/ die sich zusammen vergleichen vnd gehörendt.
 Auß dieser Concordantz dieser zweyen Anatomien/ | 89 | wachst der Artzt/ vnnd ohn die ist er nichts:
 Selig wer die Stundt/ darin zu arbeyten/ der mit Ellendt [nit]^a vmbfast wer.
 Darauff secht: Ein jedlich ding/ das zu der Mutter gutt ist/ hat der Matrix Anatomy/
 vnnd was krankheit dieselbig hatt/ dieselbig Anatomy ist darin verfast.
 Darumb billich die Anatomy groß soll vor augen ligen/ der krankheiten vnd aller Natürlichen dingen.
 Also sollen wir Gott in seinen wunderwercken erkennen/ vnd bey vns selbst außmessen/
 das die seltsamen bildtnuß nienerumb anderst sindt/ dann solch seltsam bildtnuß
 der krankheiten auch: Vnd der der krankheiten der Rosen Anatomy^b hat/
 soll sich frewen/ so er sie vor ihm sicht/ das ihm Gott ein solch artzney zustelt/
 die ihn frölich ansicht/ vnnd frölich tröstlich hilfft: Die Gilgen dergleichen/
 der Lauendel^c dergleichen/ vnnd also fürhin mit allen dingen.

Aber was seindt die Farben? Nichts/ den eussern augen allein ein weydt:
 Die krankheiten mügen sich wol vergleichen mit ihnen/ so sie inn ihr letzt *materiam*
 gohndt. Also mit dem *Gustu*: Was ist der *Gustus* als ein theil der Anatomy/^d
 der da nicht anderst bedeut/ dann

^a Sudhoff (63) eliminates square brackets.

^b Though not mentioned specifically, the concept of the signature, with its like-to-like equation of disease to the form of the healing herb, is understood here. The concept of the signature is implicit in draft materials of *Paragranum*: “es ist ein groß ding im liecht der natur, das die natur sein subiectum zeichnet ... den son des menschen zeichnet die natur in seiner wurz...” (S 8:123).

^c The reference to lily, rose, and lavender may be construed with regard to the microcosmic-macrocosmic scheme in *Vom Ursprung und Herkommen der Franzosen*. Disease and health, no less than foul or fragrant herbs of flowers, have a comparable growth in the body: “wie ir sehent, das die wolschmeckenden ding, **rosen**, **gilgen**, feiheln wachsen, auch hingegen der asa foetida, ebolus etc....künden und wachsen müssen gesundheit und krankheit zu beiden seiten” (S 7:287). With anti-esthetic severity, *De Sensu et Instrumentis* holds that one should appreciate flowers not on account of their color and taste (“vanitatem”), but rather for their specific qualities as medications: “die blumen nit von wegen der farb und geschmack, sonder von wegen der arzney, und also fort: die viel [violet] von wegen irer temperirten natur, die rosen von wegen irer küele, die tamarisci von wegen opilation, die salvia von wegen des hirs” (G 2:88, 89). On the life-prolonging horticultural use of “seminis **lavendulae** quinta essentia,” see S 3:143; H 1:298, note)

^d The strange notion of taste and its role in anatomy is intelligible as a reference to a classification intended by P. to supersede the four humors, explained in the *Volumen Paramirum (Entien-Schrifi)* with reference to the qualities of the sour, sweet, bitter,

should recognize what proceeded from the earth in his [or its] (**seiner**) anatomy.¹ If he recognizes their anatomy, he should also recognize the *anatomiae morborum* [*the anatomies of diseases*]. He will thus recognize in them a concordance of things which resemble one another and belong together. Out of the concordance of these two anatomies | 89 | emerges the physician. Without it he is nothing. Blessed [is] the one who labors in it for a while <without> being surrounded by misery. Observe, for example, how each thing is good for a mother if it possesses the anatomy of the matrix; and whichever disease one has, its anatomy is represented by it. Therefore it is proper that anatomy should loom large before our eyes, the anatomy of diseases and of all natural things. In this manner we should recognize God in his wondrous works and assess in our own existences that the [seemingly] strange forms (**biltnus**) are in no event different from the corresponding strange forms (**bildtnuß**) of the diseases. And whoever has a disease with the anatomy of the rose² should rejoice to see before his eyes that God has provided him medicine of a kind that confronts him merrily and that helps joyously [and] and with consolation. The same is true of the lily, of the lavender, and indeed of all things.

But what are the colors? Nothing. No more than a treat to the visual sense. The diseases might indeed resemble them in passing into their final *materia*. And so it is also with *gustus* [taste] as a part of the anatomy that has no other meaning than to correspond to its kind. From

¹ On P.'s use of "anatomy" and its contemporary critics, see Weeks, 31-32, 122, 102, 190.

² See Grimm, **Rose**: "rose" can also refer to afflictions of bleeding wounds, menstruation, or inflammation, and to St. Anthony's fire. The dual reference to the disease and its macrocosmic medication is significant.

zu seins gleichen zukommen: Darauß nuhn volgt/ aller gliedern im leib außtheilung solches *Gustus*/ auff das sueß zu seinen suessen kumm/ bitters zu seinen^a bitteren: Wie die *Gradus* der suessi/ seuri/ bitteri/ herbi/ inhalten. Wer ist der/ der da suchen wolt der Lebern ihr artzney in der *Gentiana*, *Agarico*, *Coloquint*? Kein Artzt: Wer der Gallen ihr artzney in *Manna*, *Melle*, *Zuccaro*, *Polypodio*? Kein Artzt: Gleich gehördt zu seinem gleichen: Jedoch/ in der Ordnung der Anatomey/ nicht Kalts wider Heiß/ nicht Heiß wider Kalts/ sondern in der linien der Anatomey. Es weer ein wilde Ordnung/ so wir wolten im widerspiel vnser Heyl suchen: Gleich als ein Kind/ das vmb Brodt schreiet gegen seim Vatter/ der gibt ihm nit Schlangen für Brot. Solten wir Gott haben/ vnd er hat vns beschaffen/ vnnd gibt vns vnser begern/ vnnd nicht Schlangen dafür: Das ist/ es wer ein vbeli artzney/ Bitterwurtzn für Zucker zugeben. Darumb wie dem Kindt sein begern geben wirdt/ vnnd kein Gifft/ also da auch: Der Gallen ihr begern/ dem Herten das sein/ der Lebern das ihr. Daß soll ein Seul sein/ dorauff der | 90 | Artzt stehn soll/ zugeben in der Anatomey einem jedlichen ding das ihm zu voreiniget ist. Dann das Brodt so das kindt isset/ hat sein Anatomey/ isset sein eigen leib: Also auch ein jedliche artzney/ die Anatomey soll haben ihrer kranckheit: Der die Anatomey nit erkennt/ dem geht es hart vnd schwer zu/ so er der frümbkeit nachgeht vnd jhr einfalt: Ring ist es aber bey dem/ des frümbkeit klein ist/ dehn schand vnd laster nit khümmert: Das sindt die Feindt des Liechts der Natur.

and salty which are in the earth and any “subject” but explicable only in the human being: “im leib sind 4 **gustus**, also auch in der erden: seuri, süsse, bitteri, selzi. ...die 4 gustus sind volkomen in eim itlichen subiect, aber in keim sind sie zu ergründen dan alein im menschen.” Given the parallels of microcosm and macrocosm, the four tastes in the body must correspond to four in the earth. What follows is a reduction of the humors to the tastes. (S 1:211-12)

^a Sudhoff (63): “süß zu seinem süßen kum, bitters zu seinem bitteren.”

this follows the distribution of taste to all parts of the body, so that sweet goes to sweet, bitter to the bitter, in the manner adherent in the degrees of the sweet, sour, bitter, and dry. Who is it that would seek the medicine of the liver in *gentiana*, *agaricum*, *colocynth*?¹ Not a physician. Who would prescribe for the gall-bladder its medicine as *manna*, *mella*, *zuccarum* [or], *polypodium*?² Not a physician. [For] like pertains to its like. Yet in the order of anatomy nothing cold [works] against hot, but rather [it follows] in the line of the anatomy. It would be a wild order indeed in which we would seek our cure (**vnser Heyl**) in what is contrary: [it would be] as if a child were to cry out to its father for bread; [for] the father would not give it snakes in place of bread.³ Should we not have [a] God, and [one who] has created us and gives us what we desire and not snakes instead. That is to say: it would be a bitter medicine indeed to give out bitterroot⁴ in place of sugar. Therefore, just as a child is given what it needs and not a poison, so also [it will be] given to you—to the gall what it needs, to the heart its own, to the liver what pertains to it. This should be one pillar upon which the | 90 | physician stands: to give in [accordance with] the anatomy to each thing that which is united to it. For the bread that the child eats has its anatomy, [the child] eats its own body.⁵ Thus also each medicine should have the anatomy of its disease. Whoever does not recognize the anatomy will have a hard and difficult time in trying to attain piety and its simplicity. But simplicity is of no account to whoever has little piety and is not concerned with shame and iniquity: such are the enemies of the light of nature.

¹ Medicinal herbs that do not resemble the liver, though they are cited by Pliny: **gentian** (25:71), **agaric**, a species of gill fungus (16:33), **colocynth** (20:14). On agaric and colocynth, cf. H 1:137; gentian, H 2:35.

² *Manna* was understood not only as the food sent by God to the Jews, but as a natural sweet product (see H 2:29); *mella* is a mixture of honey and water; *zuccarum* is sugar and *polypodium* a medicinal fern cited by Brunfels' *Kreüterbuch* by its German name *Engelsüß*, but by P. by the Graeco-Latin designation found in Pliny and Dioscorides.

³ P.'s thought paraphrases Jesus (Lk 11:11: "Is there anyone among you who, if your child asks for a fish, will give a **snake** instead of a fish?"), by replacing "fish" with "**bread**" (as in Mt 6:11, "Give us this day our daily bread," etc.)

⁴ See Grimm, **Bitterwurz** is "Lewisia," English "bitterroot"; Bitterwurz is "Sabatia" (Nikolov); again this is *Gentiana lutea*, used for bitter tonics. What counts is bitterness as the opposite of sugar.

⁵ Here P. confirms the notion that like is good for like by using the term **leib** (the body of the child) which is virtually the same as **laib**, the "loaf" of bread: thus, the "body" as loaf is good for the "body" of the child.

Secht an das Aug im Kopff/ wie wunderbarlich das gemacht sey/ wie der Mittel Corpus sein Anatomey so seltzamm in die Bildnuß gesetzt hatt/ vnd ihm geben sein *Gustum*: Auß der Bildnuß vnnnd *Gustu* geht die erkanthnuß seiner artzney. Nuhn merckend auff die Anatomey seiner zufallenden kranckheiten: *Cataract/ Macula, Albugo, Scotomia &c.* worumb das? So du nuhn hast die augen *Simplicia/* so sihe auff sie/ das du in ihnen findest den *Speciem^a Morbi* in seiner Anatomey. Als ein Exempel: Die kranckheiten nemen sich auß der Transmutation: Nuhn transmutir dieselbigen Augen Anatomyen/ vnd in derselbigen Transmutation so sich die Anatomey des *Gustus* vnd der Bildnuß: Weniger aber der Bildnuß/ mehr des^b *Gustus*: Vnd so du hast ein Concordantz deren dingen zusammen/ welcher Blinder^c wollt Brodt heischen von Gott/ dem für Brodt Gifft geben würdt?^d Darumb so biß in der Anatomey erfahren vnd gegründet/ so gibst nit Stein für Brodt. Dann das mustu wissen/ das du der Vatter der kranckheiten bist/ nit ihr Doctor/ dorumb so speiß sie wie ein vatter sein kindt: Vnd wie ein vatter seim kindt beschaffen ist/ dasselbig zuerhalten nach seiner Notturfft/ vnd ihme das geben/ das es selbst ist: Also der Artzt auch gegen seim krancken. Vnd wie du da verstehst ein Exempel/ also sollen auch alle Exempel sein/ in andern krancken fürzunehmen: Was transmutirt wirdt/ das transmutier auch/ vnd hab auff das acht/ das gesundt die Anatomyen zusammen Concordiert werden: Vnnnd darnach so die kranckheiten einfallen/ so hab acht/ das du dieselbigen in beider Trasmutation vergleichest. Also sollen die Recept gesetzt werden/ vnd Componiert/ vnd nit mit langen Tyriakischen *Recipe*, vnd *Syrupis*, vnd dergleichen/ in denen kein *Anatomia* ist/ allein *Phantasia*.

^a Sudhoff (64): “species.”

^b Sudhoff (64): “der.”

^c Sudhoff (64): “blint.”

^d Sudhoff (64): “wird?”

Consider the eye in the head: how wonderfully it has been fashioned; how the middle *corpus* has cast its anatomy so remarkably into the image and given it its *gustus*. From the image and *gustus* proceeds a recognition of its medicine. Take note now of the anatomy of the diseases affecting it: cataract, *macula*, *albugo*, *scotomia*,¹ etc. Why is that so? Now that you have perceived the eyes [as] *simplicia*, consider them so that you will find in them the *species morbi* in its anatomy. Here is an example: diseases arise from transmutation; [so] now transmute these same eyes' anatomies and in this same transmutation consider the anatomy of *gustus* and of image (**Biltniß**), but less of image, [and] more of *gustus*. And as soon as you have a concordance of things [which belong] together—what blind person would expect to ask God for bread and receive poison in place of bread?² Therefore, if you are experienced and sound in anatomy, you will not give out stones in place of bread. For you must realize that you are [as] the father of the diseases, not their doctor. Therefore, feed them as a father feeds his child. And just as a father is created for his child, in order to maintain it in accordance with its needs and to give to it what it itself is, so also the physician relates to his sick patient. And just as you understand the one example, so should all examples be [understood] in taking up other sick [patients]. What is transmuted you should transmute as well; and take heed that the anatomies are brought together in healthy concordance. And as the diseases occur, see to it that you compare the two in [regard to] the transmutation of both. Thus should the recipes be set and composed and not [issued] with long theriacal³ remedies and syrups and the like in which there is no *anatomia*, [but] instead only *phantasia*.

¹ *Macula*, a mark, spot, or blemish (OLD); *albugo*, a white or opaque spot on the eye; *scotomia*, dizziness, vertigo, or perhaps darkness.

² Ps 69:21 expresses a similar lamentation: "They [enemies] gave me **poison** for food."

³ Refers to **theriac**, "a compound of vipers' flesh and other ingredients ... supposedly a universal antidote to poison as well as a remedy for diseases caused by an excess of melancholy and phlegm" (Siraisi 118). On the relevance of a contemporaneous obsession with theriac to P.'s critique of the Galenic degrees and his elevation of astral causation, see Donald Beecher, "Ficino, Theriaca and the Stars," in *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His philosophy, His Legacy*, ed. Michael J. B. Allen and Valery Reese with Martin Davies (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 243-56. See also LMA, "Theriak": in production and quality control, Nuremberg in this period held a position comparable to Venice.

| 91 | Ob ich nuhn nit billich mich abwürff von dem Proceß der herererbeten^a *Recipe*/ wie sie dann lauten ? Freylich billich vnd wohl: Vnd aber das viel Tugenden vnnnd Krafft sindt in solchen ettlichen Recepten/ darinn dann wirckung vnnnd ettlichs theils der gesundtheit (wiewol gefehrlich) erfunden werden: So ist es doch auß dem/ das ohngeferdt ein Anatomey getroffen wirdt/ oder ein Principal von einem gerechten Artzte eingeflicket/ das ihn ihre Thorheit verdeckt vnd blendt/ vnd dasselbig Principal verleurt sein ehr/ vnd die zugeflickten nemmens an sich: Das ist die Meisterschafft solcher leuthen. Wie wuest irret der/ des grundt mossig ist/ der alle tag vnderstützen muß/ damit er sein Ertichten grundt erhalt: Nemblich die Stützen sindt voller Sophisterien/ vnd Blandimenten/ liebs koßlen/^b vnd viel hinzu: Haben mehrer art vnd mehrerley geberdt an ihnen/ dann die Narren/ deren doch ein vnzal ist.

Last das ein Frag sein/ ob Wein vnd Oel der wunden gutt sey? Als *Christus* vom verwundten redt in *Iericho*:^c Nemblich/ du kanst nit nein sprechen/ Es muß ja sein/ nit ein Figur/ nit ein gleichnuß/ nit ein schwanck/ nit ein Poß: So es nun also ist/ vnd ist ein artzney/ so must^d ihr Ewer eigen Thorheit bekennen/ dann ihr können nix auß dem heylen/ das dann der Samaritaner geheylt hat. Vnnnd ob gleich die Historien nit geschehen were/ so hat *Christus* kein vnrechte^e artzney angezeigt/ der die warheit ist/ sondern ein Anatomey/ vnnnd ein *Arcanum*: Dann weit sey von uns/ das *Christus* unrecht die *Simplicia* der Natur genent hab. Dieweil nuhn das ein *Arcanum* ist/ zun wunden/ so secht an euch/ was euch brest/ oder was euch abgang. Da muß es hin/ das Oel vnd wein genugsam sey/ sonst ist kein grundt in der artzney. Darumb secht auff die bereytung/ auff die krafft/ zeit vnnnd stundt/ Eigenschafft/ vnnnd was darzu dienstlich ist. Dann last du das ja sein/ das ein Korn nicht frucht gibt/ allein es werd dann in den Acker geworffen/ vnd faule: So muß das ander auch waar sein/ die wunde ist

^a Sudhoff (65): "herererbten."

^b Sudhoff (65): "sophistereien und blandimenten, liebkoslen."

^c Sudhoff (65): "Laßt das ein frag sein, ob wein und öl der wunden gut sei, als Christus vom verwunten ret in Jericho?"

^d Sudhoff (65): "müßt."

^e Sudhoff (65): "unrecht."

| 91 | Am I then departing from the procedure of the traditional remedies as they are known? Indeed I am, [and] rightly so: and if it can be said that there are in some such formulas many virtues and powers in which are found some healthy effects (dangerous though they may also be), this is only the case to the extent that an anatomy has roughly been matched, or that a principle has been incorporated by a proper physician, thereby masking and covering their foolishness; and the principle is then deprived of its honor, and the ones thus patched and covered take it for themselves. That is the specialty of such people. How abysmally does he err whose ground is slippery, who must stumble and fall every day, in order to maintain his concocted principle. Indeed, his supports are rife with sophistries and blandishments, seductions and much else besides; [this kind] has more than one type and numerous manners, for there are a great many such fools.

Let us consider the question whether wine and oil are good for wounds, as Christ said¹ of the wounded man at Jericho? In fact, you cannot say no. The answer has to be yes: [it is] not a figure, not an allegory, not a joke, not a silly story.² [And] if it is thus a [true] medication, then you must recognize your own foolishness; for you are unable to cure with those things that the Samaritan used for healing. And even if this story should not have happened, Christ, who is the truth [itself], has not revealed a false medication, but rather an anatomy and an *arcanum*. For far be it from us to suppose that Christ was wrong in mentioning the *simplicia* of nature. Inasmuch as it is an *arcanum* for wounds, consider then what is wrong or lacking with you. It must be so that oil and wine is [sic!] sufficient: otherwise there would be no foundation in medicine. Therefore, take heed of the preparation, of the [innate] powers, of time and hour, of properties, and of whatever else is of service for the purpose. For indeed, accept it as the true grain that will not bear fruit unless it is thrown into the field and rots.³ Therefore

¹ Lk 10:34. “[The good Samaritan] bandaged his **wounds**, having poured **oil and wine** on them.”

² In citing this cure, P. affirms both the power of the *simplicia* and the literal sense of Scripture.

³ Jn 12:24 [Jesus]: “unless a **grain** of wheat falls into the earth and dies, it remains just a single grain; but if it dies, it bears much fruit.”

der Acker/ das Oel vnnd Wein der Sahmen/ Nuhn rath was die Frucht
sey. | 92 |

the other thing must be true as well.¹ The wound is the field, the oil and wine the seed—now guess what the fruit should be! | 92 |

¹ Having mentioned preparation, P. is evidently referring to the alchemical processes such as calcination, distillation, coagulation, or solution, commonly symbolized by death or execution (cf. “Beheading,” DAI).

CAPVT SEXTVM.

Nvhn geben die ding an tag augenscheinlich die *Artes*/ so sie zerlegen vnnnd zertheilen den lebendigen leib/ der nit^a *Microcosmus* ist: Das ist/ im leben soll die Erfahrtheit geschehen. Nuhn ist aber das waar: Im leben zuerfahren/ was im mittel Corpus ist/ ist zerbrechen des einigen/ vnd füren in ein anders. Das auff das leben baw nix/ daß/ so das Erst ist: Auff das ander gang/ im selbigen such/ dasselbig leben kompt von Künsten/ nit zu dienst der Seel/ das ist/ es ist nit jhr Herberig/ in disem leben. In disem leben werden die künst gefunden/ vnd der grundt so fürgehalten wirdt. Den secht an die Schwachheit des Ersten lebens: So sie soll gohn in die wirkung seiner Arcanen/ so muß das Erst leben sterben: Den^b nichts ist in jhm/ das dem menschen dienstlich sey. Die Roß^c ist groß im ersten leben/ vnnnd wol gezierdt mit jhrem geschmack: Dieweil sie den hat vnnnd behalt/ dieweil ist sie kein artzney nicht: Sie muß faulen/ vnd im selbigen sterben/ vnd New geboren werden: Als dann so redt von den krefften der artzney/ [dann]^d so administrirt. Dann so der Mage nichts vngefeulet lest/ das zu einem menschen werden soll/ so wirt auch nichts vngefault bleiben/ das zu einer artzney werden soll. Darumb so acht nichts auff das Erst leben/ such auch nit in jhm: All sein Complex vnd was es ist/ zergeht/ vnd bleibt nicht: Was nicht bleibt/ was nit in die New geburt geht/ das ist dem Artzt nicht vnderworffen. All sein arbeit soll sein/ das sie in die New geburt gang: Da entspringen die rechten *Sulphur*/ *M.*^e vnd Saltz/ in den dann alle heimlichkeit ligen/ vnd grundt/ werck vnd *Cura*. So nuhn das ander leben da ist/ so ist da die *Prima Materia* sichtlich/ deren *Vltimam*^f du sichst/ so das erst leben des Mittel Corpus abfahrt:

^a Sudhoff (66): “nun.”

^b Sudhoff (66): “dan” instead of “den” at the beginning of this and the preceding sentence.

^c The virtues of the **rose** refer here as much to its requisite death and transformation as to the particular and unique medicinal properties it possesses. In *Liber de Resurrectione et Corporum Glorificatione*, the rose exemplifies the resurrection of the seed which must die in order to blossom: “nun bleibt sein corpus in der erden und verfault ... aber das daraus wechst, ist glorifizirt....also muß aufersteen ein ros us unserm leib was ist nun der mensch, als allein ein somen?” (G 1:304; cf. H 1:297). The rose is a valuable *materia medica*, as in a “Descriptio in dolore capitis” that calls for “Rosarum rubearum...vel aqua rosarum; ubique applicentur omnia calida in capite.” An alternate prescription uses corals. (S 5:257).

^d Sudhoff (66) omits this bracketed word.

^e Sudhoff (67): “mercurus” [sic].

^f Sudhoff (67): “ultima.”

CAPUT SEXTUM

The *artes* bring things to light and make them observable when they dissect and divide up the living body, which is not [the] *microcosmus*: by this I mean that the [true medical] experience should be acquired in the sphere of the living. The following must be accepted as true: to research what lies in the sphere of life in the intermediate *corpus* amounts to destruction of the unitary and its transformation into something else. Do not [try to] base [your knowledge] on the life that is first. Look instead to the second; seek in it; for [the first] life stems from the arts and is not directed toward the soul, not the refuge of the soul in this life. In that [first] life the arts are found, and the foundation that is thus put forward. For take note of the debility of the prior condition of [a prehuman] life (**des Ersten lebens**):¹ if it is to reveal the power of its arcane forces, the prior condition of life must pass away. For nothing resides within it [as such] that serves to sustain the human being. The rose² is magnificent in its first life; and it is adorned by its taste. But as long as it maintains the latter, it is not [yet] a medication. It must rot, and die as such, and be reborn: Only then can you speak of administering its medicinal powers.³ For just as the stomach leaves nothing unrotted that should become the human being, so nothing may remain unrotted that is to become medication. For this reason, pay no heed to the prior condition: do not seek in it. Its entire composition and what it has been passes away and does not remain. What does not remain, [and] what does not enter into the New Birth, does not lie within the domain of the physician. His entire effort should be directed toward that which does enter into the New Birth. For thus arise the true *sulphur*, *m[ercury]* and salt, in which all hidden powers reside and the [true] ground, [and] effects (**werck**), and *cura*. As soon as this other life has emerged, that *prima materia* has become visible of which you will see the *ultima* as soon as the Middle Corpus has

¹ Aschner is undoubtedly correct in resolving the unclear references of these sentences by emphasizing that dissection or vivisection fail to disclose the hidden mechanism of life in reducing the body to its preanimate condition. Yet P. also intimates that the arts, in penetrating beyond the soul-engendering mystery of human birth, can indeed reveal soulless preanimate life qualities or forces (**des Ersten Lebens**).

² See LMA, **Rosen**: the “queen of flowers” in its varieties lent itself to multiple medical uses (cf. H 1:89).

³ Evoking Jn 12:24, P. continues a previous alchemical-biblical allusion to transformation by destruction.

Nach welchem mittel leben/ das New leben angefangen soll werden/ welches keim Todt vnderworffen ist/ als allein dem Endt/ in dem alle ding zergendt. Vnd dieweil der Todt der zerbrüchligkeit einfält/ so ist kein New leben da.

Nuhn im menschen müssen die ding vorbetracht sein/ vnd darauff gegründet werden. Dann inn außlegung vnnnd zerlegung/ Eins Mitteln Corpus/ befinden sich die *Primae* | 93 | *materiae*: der nuhn dieselbigen erkennt auß dem newen Leben/ der weist sein *Subiectum*, vnd desselbigen lebens. Zwey sind der *Subiecta*: Eins ist der Kranck/ der wird in kein new Leben geführt/ das Mittel bleibt jhm: das ander ist die Artzney/ dieselbig erhalt das Mittel leben/ durch sein New leben: Also auß der vrsachen/ stehndt im Newen leben die *Arcana*, vnd im Ersten nit/ oder Mitteln. Das ist auch wol vnd recht/ die Anatomey *Microcosmi* zwyffach zuzuchen: Ein ist *Localis*, die ander *Materialis*. *Localis* ist/ daß der mensch an jhm selbst zerlegt wirt/ darbey gesehen werd/ was Bein/ Fleisch/ Geäder/ etc. sey/ vnnnd wo es ligt/ aber das ist das wenigst: Die ander ist mehr/ vnnnd ist die/ das da ein New leben eingeführt werd im Menschen/ nach dem ersten Mittel leben/ in die Transmutation/ darinn befunden wird was Blut ist/ welcherley *Sulphur*, *Mercurius* oder Saltz: Also auch was das Hertz ist/ welcherley *Sulphur*, welcherley Saltz/ vnnnd welcherley *Mercurius*: vnd also mit dem Hirn/ vnd was da ist im gantzen Leib. Das ist nuhn die recht Anatomey: Also ist der grund des Anfangs: also sol der Artzt geboren werden. Aber diß^a Geburt ist hertt zuverstehn/ vnnnd ein hertte red denen/ so auß jhr Fantasy nicht weichen wöllen/ die jhren Köpffen vertrauen/ vnd nicht dem weg der Warheit. Allein es sey dann das wir in kunst leben/ erzogen werden/ wer will vnß sunst vertrauen vnnnd glauben? Das ist findung *primae materiae*, das ist auch die *materia*, die vns die kranchheit anzeigt: dieselbige^b müssen wir erkennen/ so mögen wir die Transmutirt Anathomey auch erkennen.

^a Sudhoff (67): “dise.”

^b Sudhoff (68): “dieselbig.”

departed. After its middle life, the New Life should begin which is subject to no death other than [that of] the end in which all things vanish. And for as long as death enters in as a destructibility, no New Life is present.¹

The relevant things must be examined in the human being and based accordingly. For it is by interpretation and analysis of a Middle Corpus that the *primae* | 93 | *materiae* are ascertained: whoever recognizes these from the vantage of the [aforementioned] new life knows his *subjectum* and its life. There are two *subjecta*. One is the patient, who is not brought to the new life; the middle one is for him; the second is medicine, which sustains the Middle Life by means of its New Life. This happens because the *arcana* have their place in the New Life, not in the First or Middle ones. It is also well and proper to seek the anatomy of the *microcosmus* in a twofold manner. The one is *localis* and the other *materialis*. *Localis* has to do with when the human being per se is dissected, so that it can be seen what bone, flesh, the veins, and so on are and where they are located, though this is the less important matter. The second manner² is more weighty and has to do with when the New Life is introduced into the human being following the prior Middle Life, by entering into the transmutation, whereby it is ascertained what blood is, of what sort of *sulphur*, *mercurius*, or salt; or what the heart is: what sort of *sulphur*, what sort of salt, and what sort of *mercurius*; and so on with the brain, and everything else in the entire body. This is the true anatomy: this is the basis upon which to proceed. Out of this the physician is born. But his birth is hard to understand; and a tough lesson for those who cannot depart from their fancies, who trust their own heads and not the path of truth. Unless we live the life of [the true] art and are brought up in it, who would then trust and believe us? That is nothing less than the discovery of *prima materia* which is the *materia* that reveals disease to us. If we want to know it, we must know the transmuted anatomy as well.

¹ Combining somber simplicity with unclear references, this passage makes two points: (1) Dissection of the body reveals nothing about human life per se; (2) but alchemical transformations embodied in digestive processes do reveal the vital transmutations from preanimate to animate and from transient to eternal life.

² For the second or third “anatomies” (the material and pathogenic), substituting “chemistry” for “anatomy” might avoid confusion and assist the intended distinction; but P. is deliberate in choosing “anatomy.”

Nuhn volget auff das noch ein Anathomey/ dieselbige ist der Kranckheiten/ wie offtmals gemeldt ist: dieselbig ist nicht noht hie zuerzehlen. Also sind drey Anathomey/ so im Menschen sollen gehalten werden: *Localis*, die Erst/ die da zeigt dz bild deß Menschen/ sein proportz vnd wesen/ vnd was jhm angehangt:^a Die ander beweist den lebendigen *Sulphur*, den laufenden *Mercurium*, das rässe *Sal*, in eim jedlichen Gliedt: vnd die dritte/ vnderweiß/ wie ein newe Anathomey der Todt herein führt/ das ist *Mortis Anatomia*, mit was arth vnnd bildnuß er kompt. Dann das ist des liechts der Natur anzeigen/ dz der Todt in so vielerley gestalt kompt/ so vilerley *Species* auß | 94 | den Elementen gehnd: So vielerley *corruptiones*, so viellerley auch tödt: vnd wie ein jedtliche Corruption ein anders^b gebierdt/ dasselbig gebahren ist hie an dem orth die Anatomey: dann sie kompt auch mannigfaltig/ biß wir all einander nach sterben/ vnd durch sie verzeert^c werden. Nun vber die alle/ so ist auch ein gleichmessige *Scientia* in der Anatomey der Artzney: vnd vber das alles/ also steht das Firmament/ also die Erden/ also dz Wasser/ also der Lufft: vnd so die Anatomey dahin gebracht wirdt im Newen leben/ daß das Firmament da erscheint/ vnd alle *Astra*, so ist es gerecht. Dann *Saturnus* muß sein *Saturnum* geben/ der *Mars* sein *Martem*: vnd dieweil das nit geschicht/ so ist die kunst der Artzney nit erfunden. Dann wie der Baum wachst auß dem Saamen/ vnd wie dz Kraut wachst auß dem Samen: also muß auch wachsen herfür im Newen leben das jenig/ so vnsichtbar fürgehalten wird/ vnd^d doch da ist. Dahin muß es gebracht werden/ das sichtig werd. Dann soll das Liecht der Natur ein Liecht sein/ so muß mans^e sehen/ vnnd muß nit dunckel sein noch finster: Es muß sein/ das wir vnser Augen dadurch brauchen mögen/ darzu wirs brauchen sollen. Dann sie werden nit anderst/ dann wie sie sind: so müssen sie aber anderst sehen dann der Bawer/ darzu muß jhm zünden das Liecht der Natur.

Darumb auß krafft der Anatomey/ so im Liecht der Natur grundt/^f billich die kranckheit geheissen werden/ dem Liecht nach/

^a Sudhoff (68): "anhangt."

^b Sudhoff (68): "anderst."

^c Sudhoff (68): "zerzert."

^d Sudhoff (68): "nud."

^e Sudhoff (68): "man."

^f Sudhoff (69): "gegrünt."

There follows then still another anatomy, which is that of the diseases, which I have often cited before: I need not do so again here. Thus there are three “anatomies” which are maintained in the human being: *localis*, first of all, which presents the image, proportion, and nature of the human being and everything pertinent thereto. The second betokens the vital *sulphur*, the active *mercurius*, [and] the enlivening¹ salt in each and every organ. And the third anatomy teaches how death leads to a new anatomy, which is *anatomia mortis*: it teaches us of the nature and appearance with which it approaches. For the light of nature reveals that death comes in as many figures as there are *species* of | 94 | elements: there are as many deaths as there are many *corruptiones*; and the way in which each corruption gives rise to a different one is anatomy in this sense; for it presents itself in many ways, until all of us have met our death one after the other and been consumed by it. But regarding all of them there is a common *scientia* in the anatomy of medicine; and above this in turn is the firmament, the earth, water, and air. It is when the anatomy can be so arranged in the New Life so that the firmament appears and all the *astra* that it is just right. *Saturnus* must yield its own *saturnus*, [and] *Mars* its *mars*: until that happens one cannot speak of the art of medicine. For just as the tree grows from its seed; and just as the plant grows from the seed, so, too, that which appears invisible, yet is present, must also sprout forth in the New Life. It must be brought to the point of becoming visible. For if the light of nature is indeed a true light, one must be able to see things and not be in the dark about them. It is necessary that we should apply our eyes to the purpose for which they are intended. For they will not become different from what they are. Yet they must see differently than the way in which a peasant sees. To that end they must be ignited by the light of nature.

This is why by the authority of an anatomy founded upon the light of nature, it is proper that the diseases are designated in accordance with the light and not in accordance with the darkness,² which is to

¹ Here, the qualities attributed to the three—**lebendig, laufend, resch**—hint less at distinction than at three expressions for the animating power of life itself (cf. Grimm, **resch**).

² The extension of the metaphor of the light of knowledge to an opposing **darkness** of error that has a dialectical relationship with the light is characteristic for a style and expression common in P.’s works (see H 1:201-02). This also characterizes a letter to Luther that has been attributed to P. (see Hartmut Rudolph, “Einige Ge-

vnd nit der Finsternuß: Das ist/ das ein Ceder Anatomey/^a Cedrische kranckheit geb. Darauf dann volgt in beschreibung der Kranckheiten/ Eissen kranckheiten/ nach der Astronomie Martialisch kranckheiten. Dann also wird ein jedliche kranckheit benempt/ verstendig/ vnd nach der kunst. Irrig/ vnd auch vnergründt heist *Febris*, *Febris*: diser nammen kompt von der hitz deß Fiebers/ vnd sein hitz ist nur ein zeichen der kranckheit/ vnd nit die *materia*, noch vrsach: vnd der namm soll gehn von der *materia* vnd eigenschafft/ vnd wesen der rechten Substanz: Als Nessel/ ist recht *Vrtica*,^b sie brennt: aber besser/ *Sal Vrinae*,^c dann sie haben ein^d Anatomey. Darumb *Febris* ein solcher namm ist/ der seins Meisters thorheit anzeigt: dann es ist *Morbus Nitri*, *Sulphuris incensi*: darumb erschütt es den Leib/ darumb | 95 | fröret es/ darumb gibt es *Interuallum*.^e Diß vnd andere nammen findst du in jren Capiteln. Vnd dergleichen *Apoplexia* sein eigen nammen außweist mit seins Meisters weißheit/ das nicht *Apoplexia* heissen sol/ nach Artzneyischem grund/ sondern *Mercurius Cachimialis Sublimatus*: Dann also ist sein *materia*, vrsach/ vnd *materia peccans*. Die zeichen sind allein dahin zunemmen/ das durch sie das *Corpus*/ Substantz/ erkennt werden. Der nun die zeichen falsch einführt vnd vrsach/ der jrret in der gantzen Practick/ vnd was jm noht ist. Dann viel sind *Corpora*, vnd jhr *Species*, die da heiß geben/ die da kalt geben: darumb der namm *Febris* falsch ist: aber *Nitreus* nicht: zu dem/ *Febris* auß dem grundt der *Humorum* geht/ darauf er dann nit gahn soll. Wiewol billich die Nammen geben werden auß der kunst

^a This reference to the anatomy or pathology corresponding to **cedar** might be thought of either in terms of the suggestive form of the tree or the process it is thought to embody. Favorable to the latter interpretation is a citation in *Philosophia de Generationibus et Fructibus Quatuor Elementorum* in a discussion “De cedro, balsamo et cupresso”: “im balsamo ist ein weißer sulphur, der resolvirt sich gleich dem botin durch hülf <der influenz>. in cedro und cupresso ist er nicht, aber er dilutirt sich in die stamm und este und wachst mit samt dem holtz...” (S 13:64).

^b In accordance with the microcosmic-macrocosmic correspondence of like to like, the inflaming property of nettles (*urtica*) matches the burning of some diseases: “nun zu diser theorik haben acht auf die brennenden kreuter, das müglich ist durch *urticam*, *flammulam* etc. ein solch wiltfeuer in ein schenkel zu bringen, auch durch die *cantharides*, auch durch die realgar, arsenik und andere” (S 6:276).

^c *Sal urinae* is a term used in the analysis of urinary ailments (“De urina non sana”) in the Basel notes on urinary diagnosis (S 4:606).

^d Sudhoff (69): “ein.”

^e In transcribed Basel notes on urine, the term is found in a list of favorable and unfavorable prognoses: “*Intervalli* [are defined:] id est, non statim critizat, nec secundum regulam dictam” (S 4:569). It is thus an example of time or timing as medical symptom (cf. 10:534).

say that a cedar anatomy results in [what is properly called] a cedar disease. From this it follows in the characterization of diseases that [there are] iron diseases, which in accordance with [that same concept of] anatomy are Martial diseases.¹ In this manner every disease is designated, comprehensible, [and] in accordance with the [true] art. It is an error to refer to *febris* as *febris* [fever]: this name derives from the heatedness of fever: its heat is only a sign of the disease, not its *materia*, nor its cause: for the name should proceed from the *materia*, property, and nature of the true substance. For example nettles is properly known as *urtica* [nettles]: it burns; but it would be better to speak of *sal urinae*, for they have the same anatomy. For this reason, *febris* is the sort of designation that exposes the foolishness of the teacher; for in reality it is *morbus nitri*,² *sulphuris incensi*: this is why it shakes the body; [and] this is why it | 95 | chills: because it results in *intervallum*. These and other names you will find in their respective chapters. The same is true of *apoplexia*: its proper name demonstrates the wisdom of its teacher in that it should not be called *apoplexia* in accordance with its medical basis, but rather *mercurius cachimialis*³ *sublimatus*. For this is its *materia*, cause, and *materia peccans*. The signs are to be so construed so that by them *corpus* [and] substance are recognized. Whoever contextualizes the signs and their causes incorrectly, errs in the entire area of practice and in that which is necessary. For there are many *corpora* and their *species* that yield what is hot and what is cold: for this reason the designation *febris* is incorrect, but [the designation] *nitreus* is not. There is the additional problem that *febris* is conceived on the basis of the *humores*, from which it should not be derived. Rather it is correct that the designations should

sichtspunkte zum Thema P. und Luther,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 72 (1981): 34-54.

¹ This presupposes the identification of Mars with iron as its corresponding metal.

² The etymology of “*niter*” is long, complex, and contradictory, with particularly ambivalent references to *sal petrae* (saltpeter); for an overview see LMA, “**Nitrum**” and “Salpeter”; cf. Goltz 165-71; H 1:288, note.

³ Zedler’s definition of *cachymia* is of interest here because it makes direct reference to P. This was a term used by P. to denote an imperfect metallic body, an “immature” *minera*, neither salt nor metal, arising from the three metallic principles. The *cachimiae* can be divided into three classes: 1. sulphurous, which include marcasites and cobalts; 2. mercurial, such as auripigment and arsenic; 3. saltlike, including all sorts of talk.

der Heylung: alß *Caducus*, *Viridellus morbus*: dann derselbig *species Caduci* wirt vom *Viridello* Curirt. So aber das nit also beschicht mit solcher gewissen vnderscheidt/ so wiß daß ein Irrsal ist: dann die vnderscheid behalt sein Anatomy.

Nit laß dich kümmern/ daß dir dein Bawren augen das nit fürhalten: Dann vrsach: das Mittel *Corpus* das verblindt die gemelten augen. Aber darumb so ist die *Scientia* da/ darinn der Artzt stehn soll/ die öffnet jm mehr/ als dem Bawren. Dann so er nit mehr sehen will oder können wil dann der Bawer/ so ist er nicht berüfft zu einem Artzt/ noch darzu beschaffen: der Bawer ist nit darzu beschaffen/ der Artzt aber: das macht die *Scientia* die der Artzt wissen sol. Dann der Artzt ist der/ der da öffnet die wunderwerck Gottes/ mennglichen: So er nun darumb da ist/ so muß er sie gebrauchen/ recht/ nit vnrecht/ warhafftig/ nit falsch. Denn wz ist im Meer/ dz der^a Artzt sol verborgen sein? Nichts: Was ist im Meer/ dz er nit sol öffnen? Nichts: Er solls herfür bringen. Vnd nit allein im Meer/ in der Erden/ im Lufft/ im Firmament/ dz ist/ im Fewr: Auff dz mennglich sehend die werck Gottes/ warumb sie da sind/ wz sie bedeütten/ nemlich als in die kranckheiten. Dieweil aber die ding nit eröffnet werden/ so ist es ein zeichen/ dz noch kein verstand da ist/ der da sein sol. Was ist aber die vrsach/ daß so ein grosse thorheit vnd so klein Kunst in der Profession ist/ vnd will doch vil vnd hoch sein: Daß sie nicht allein ist/ sondern auch in mehrer Professz auch solche blindheit vnd augenfehl. Dann wie wir nit wissen den *Cetum*,^b | 96 | das *Monstrum marinum*: Also weiß auch die ander Profession nit/ was dz Thier *Apocalypsis* ist/ was *Babylon* ist: Sind gleiche blindheit/ so doch nit sein sollen. Vnd wie die blindheit eines Artzts in solchen dingen des Krancken todt ist: also ist auch bemelte blindheit der Seel todt. Wunderbarlich redt *Christus*, seltzam ding/ seltzam ist auch die Artzney: Wie eins/ also auch das

^a Sudhoff (70): “dem.”

^b On the medical relevance of a knowledge of monsters and marvels, see H 2:92, note.

proceed from the art of healing: for example, *caducus* [is to be called] *viridellus morbus*; for the same *species caduci* is cured by *viridellus*.¹ If this sort of naming is not carried out with such a clear distinction; a fundamental error will result. For the distinction sustains its anatomy.

Don't worry about it if your peasant eyes cannot recognize that. The cause for it is that the eyes of the Middle *Corpus* are blind to it. But this is why we have *scientia*, in which the physician should be grounded: it reveals more to him than to the peasant. For if he does not wish to see more and be capable of more than the peasant, then he has no vocation to be a physician. The peasant is not made for such things but the physician is. This is because of the *scientia* which should be understood by the physician. For the physician is the one who reveals the miraculous works of God to the many. Since this is his role, he must also make use of them properly, not improperly and unjustly, in truth and not in falsehood. For what is there in the seas that should be concealed to the physician? Nothing. What is there in the seas that should not be revealed by him? Nothing. He is called to summon it forth. Not only in the seas: in the earth, in the air, in the firmament, which is [the element] fire. It is the physician's calling so that many will observe the manifold works of God, the reason for their being [and] what they signify, that they are indicators of the diseases. If it does not come about that these things are revealed, this is a sign that that understanding which is necessary is not yet present. What can be the reason for there being so much foolishness and so little art in the medical profession which should be exalted and count for much. Nor in it alone, but in other professions there prevails such blindness and lack of insight. For just as we know nothing of the *cetus*² | 96 |, the *monstrum marinum*: similarly, the other profession knows nothing of the Beast of the Apocalypse, [nor] what Babylon is: it is the same kind of blindness in either case that is not supposed to be. And just as the blindness of the physician is the death of the patient; the other form of blindness is the death of the soul. Wondrous things are spoken by Christ,³ strange things, and strange is medicine as well. As the one, so

¹ *Viridis*, green; *viride alumen* is a form of *Vitriol* (Zedler).

² *Cetus* can mean large sea animal, sea monster, or whale (OLD); cf. Vulgate Gen 1:21; Mt 12:40.

³ Of the "strange things spoken by Christ," the present context presumably refers to Jesus' words in Mt 12:40: "For just as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the sea monster, so for three days and three nights the Son of Man will be in the heart of the earth." These words anticipate not only the death and resurrection of

ander soll vnd muß ergründt werden. Dann die zwo Profess^a werden sich nicht von einander scheiden: dieweil der Leib der Seel^b hauß ist/ so hangt eins am andern/ vnd öffnet je eins das ander.

^a Sudhoff (70): “profession.”

^b Sudhoff (70): “der selen.”

the other must be instituted as well. For these two professions will not be distinct from one another: inasmuch as the body is the dwelling of the soul, the one is dependent upon the other; and the one reveals the other.

the Savior but also the 42-month reign in Rev 13 of the apocalyptic “beast from the sea,” with its ten horns and seven heads and its attributes of the four animals based on Dan 7:1-7. The reference is rife with dark allusions, from the sea as the symbol of primal chaos (to be superseded by the apocalyptically transparent sea in Rev 4:6), to Roman oppression of the saints, to the figural condemnation of false authority, to the anticipation of an all-encompassing revelation of truth in nature as well as history. The conflicts of the early Reformation may also have loaded these images with contemporary allusions.

CAPVT SEPTIMVM.

Nuhn weiter ist zuverstehn/ dieweil bißher die Anathomey/ vnd das New leben/ mit sampt der *Scientia*^a fürgehalten wirdt/ in allen Substantzen zubetrachten vnd zusuchen: das nit ohn vrsach beschehen ist/ dann es ist der grund der Artzney. So ist nuhn weiter von nöhten/ das alle vnser Inwendig gepresten so wir haben/ mit den Eussern gewendt werden: Also/ was wir sind/ das ist auch das Eusser: vnnd ob das nit also gebildet ist/ so ist der Saam da/ das *Corpus*, vnd in vns wirdts gebildet/ zu dem das es ist. Wie ein Saam/ der ist sein Baum/ aber in der Erden geschichts: dann der Magen der Erden ist der Schnitzer darzu/ der das darauß macht sichtiglich/ das es vnsichtlich ist: darauff dann alle Kranckheiten jhr bildtnuß haben: also auch ein solche bildnuß/ jhr verordnete von Gott Artzney. Dann wirdt die Lung kranck/ so hat sie jhr Artzney/ die sich bildet in jhr Anathomey/ wie dieselbig kranckheit ist. Darauff nuhn so wissent ein beyspiel von der Nahrung/ das also lautt.

Alles das vnser Nahrung ist/ dasselbig ist das/ das wir sind: also essen wir vns selbst/ also ists auch die Artzney: Mit der vnderscheid/ nach inhalt seiner kranckheit: vnnd was mit der gesundtheit abgeht/ dasselbig erstatt dasselbig Glied/ in seinem Glied. Solchs laß dich nit befrembden: dann vrsachen/ ein Baum der auff dem feld stehet/ were sein^b Nahrung nit/ er wer kein Baum. Was ist die Nahrung? Ist nit ein mestung oder füllung/ sondern ein Form erstattung: Was ist der Hunger? | 97 | Ein fürhalter deß Todts zukunfft in abgang der glider. Dann die form ist geschnitzlet in^c Mutter leib durch Gott selbst. Dise schnitzlung bleibt in der form des Bildts: Aber sie zergeht vnd stirbt/ ohn hinzusetzung der Eussern form: der nicht isset/ der wachst nit/ der nitt isset/ der bleibt nit.

^a On *scientia*, see H 1:69, note.

^b Sudhoff (71): “seine.”

^c Sudhoff (71): “im.”

CAPUT SEPTIMUM

Let us proceed on, after having regarded anatomy and the New Life, as well as *scientia*—after these things have been considered and sought out in all substances—let us remember that this has not been done idly, for it is the very foundation of medicine. The next thing that we need to consider is that all our inner maladies are to be overcome by means of the external [things]: for what we are the external [world] also is. And if the latter is not configured (**gebildet**) in the same way, at least the seed is there, the *corpus*, and in us it is formed into that which it is. It is like a seed that is a tree, but this only comes about in the earth. For the stomach of the earth is the carving artisan (**Schnitzer**) needed to make of it visibly what it (already) is invisibly. In this sense, all diseases also have their configurations (**bildtneuß**); and equally in possession of a configuration is the medication ordained for them by God. Thus, if the lung becomes ill it has its [particular] medication corresponding to the illness. Therefore consider an example of nourishment, as follows.

Everything that is our nourishment is that which we ourselves are: thus, we eat ourselves; and it is the same with medication. There are differences only in accordance with the content of a disease; what is missing from the health[y body] is [to be] restored by the same organ, within its [own] organ.¹ Do not be put off by this. Just reflect upon a tree in the field: if it had no nourishment, it would not be a tree. What is nourishment? It is not the same as a fattening or filling, but rather a form of restitution.² What then is hunger? | 97 | [It is] a warning sign of the approach of death through the diminution of the organs. For the [human] form is carved in the maternal body by God himself. This configuration remains in the form of the image: but it passes away and dies unless it receives supplementation from the external form: whoever does not eat, does not grow; whoever does not eat does not remain.

¹ The simplicity of the contextualizing thought (we can only be nourished by substances in the external world that are somehow identical to our human substance) is the key to the unclear references that follow: the macrocosmic organ is what restores health to the identical ailing microcosmic organ so that “lung” in external nature heals human lungs.

² See Grimm, **erstatten**: equivalent to *restituere* or *reddere*, the term came into its own in P.’s time.

So nuhn der wachsendt auß der Speiß wechst/ vnnnd der Formmacher ist bey jhm/ der sein form aufftreibt/ so er form hatt/ vnd ohn die kan ers nit: darauß dann folgt/ daß die Nahrung/ des geschnitzleten Bildts form in jhr hatt/ in die sie geht vnd wechst/ vnd aufftreibt. Der Regen hat in jm den Baum/ vnd der *Liquor terrae*:^a der Regen ist das^b Tranck/ *Liquor terrae* sein Speiß/ durch die wechst er. Nun wz wechst da? Nichts anderst/ dann so viel der Baum zunimpt in seym wachsen/ so viel wird vom Regen vnd *Liquore terrae*, holtz vnd rinden/ etc. Der Formirer ist im Saamen/ das holtz/ rinden/ etc. ist im *Liquore* vnd im Regen: derselbig Schmid im Saamen kan auß den zweyen dingen Holtz machen. Also mit den Kreüttern: der Saam ist nichts: Er hat allein den anfang/ in der die Form ist vnd der Schmid/ Natur vnnnd Eigenschafft: weiter so es soll auffgehn so gibt der Regen/ dz Taw/ etc. vnd *Liquor*, dz Krautt darumb in denselbigen/ Stengel/ Bletter/ Blumen/ etc. sind.

Also ist ein jedliche Form eusserlich in der Narung in allem auffwachsen/ vnd so wir die nicht haben/ so wachsen wir nimmer auff/ sondern wir sterben in verlassener Form. Also so wir nuh außgewachsen haben/ so müssen wir die form erhalten/ daß nit abgang. Dann in vns ist ein wesen zu gleicher weiß wie ein Fewr: dasselbig wesen verzert vns vnser form vnd bild hinweg: So wir nichts hinzutheten vnd nit mehreten die Form vnser Leib/ so stürbs in verlassener Bildtnuß. Darumb/ so müssen wir vns selbst essen/ auff das wir nit sterben auß gebresten der Form: drumb so essen wir vnser Finger/ vnsern Leib/ Blut/ Fleisch/ Füß/ Hirn/ Hertz/ etc. das ist/ ein jedlicher bisse den wir essen/ derselbige hatt in jhm all vnser Glider/ was der gantze Mensch begreift vnd in jhm verfast. Ein Irrsal ist eingefallen/ der da anzeigt/ daß die Glider/ der Leib/ etc. Narung haben müssen: Aber damit stehnd sie still/ warumb sie Narung haben müssen oder warzu? Sie haben nit verstanden/ was im Menschen | 98 | die Narung ist/ vnd warzu sie wirdt/ vnd wer sie darzu macht: darumb

^a In the nine books *De Natura Rerum*, the “vita rerum naturalium” is enumerated: it is “**liquor terrae**” in herbs, roots, or fruit; “resina” in wood; “liquor mumiae” in the bones; “spiritus salis” in flesh and blood; color in gemstones; and “spiritus ferri” in the magnet, etc. The list is long and instructive (S 11:331-32).

^b Sudhoff (72): “der.”

Insofar as anyone who grows only grows from the nutrient—and [insofar as] the crafter of form is present and can catalyze the form only to the degree that [the form] is [already] present in the catalyst—it follows that the nourishment contains the form of the crafted image within itself: in it the nourishment proceeds, grows, and catalyzes. Thus, the rain contains the tree within it, and so does the *liquor terrae*: the rain is the drink, the *liquor terrae* its nourishment by means of which [the tree] grows. Now what is it that grows in this case? It is nothing other than the rain and *liquor terrae* becoming wood, bark, etc., to the very degree that the tree grows.¹ That same giver of form resides in the seed: the wood, bark, etc. are in the *liquor* and in the rain. Its own smith within the seed can make these two things into wood. And so it is with herbs, too: the seed is nothing in itself: it contains nothing but the beginning in which form and the smith, nature and [its] properties, reside. If things are to proceed beyond this point, it is the rain, the dew, etc., the *liquor*, the plant, which becomes the stalk, the leaves, the flowers, etc., of the same.

Thus each and every form exists externally in the nutriment within all growth, and if we do not have it, we do not grow. Instead, we die in our forsaken form. And to the extent that we have grown forth, we must have received the form, so that [our physical being was] not diminished. For within us there is an essence (**wesen**)² that is like a fire: this essence consumes our form and image: If we did not receive anything in supplement, and thus did not augment the form of our bodies, it would die out as a forsaken image. For this reason, we must eat ourselves, so that we will not die on account of the fragility of the form: for this reason, we [can be said to] eat our finger, our body, blood, flesh, feet, brain, heart, etc., which is to say that every bite we take contains within itself all of our organs and members, everything the human being encompasses and constitutes in itself. An error is exposed when we say that the organs, the body, etc. must have nourishment, but if they are unchanged, what and to which purpose do they need it? Those who say this have not grasped what it is that constitutes the human being's | 98 | nourishment, and what it comes to and who

¹ In this sentence P. seems close to postulating a mathematical equivalence of added growth mass to the mass of the nutrients; but his thought immediately turns to his paradigm of a creator crafting an image.

² See above, H 1:78, though translated here as essence, **Wesen** conveys the sense of substance, entity, or nature, as well.

so nimpt der Schmid nix an zu dem Bild/ dann was jhm darzu gut ist/ das ist/ daß das holtz ist: das ander wirfft er wider durch den Stul auß/ das Bild bleibt allein.

Das ist dergleichen auch zuermessen: In allen dingen ist die Nahrung/ allein der Form halben. So der Sommer herkompt/ so ist die zeit deß hungers in Beumen/ alsdann wöllen sie Laub/ Blust/ Frücht/ etc. geben: Was wirdt darauß/ so sie die Form derselbigen nit eusserlich an sich nemmen? In jhnen haben sies nicht: dann hetten sies in jhnen/ so geben sies abgehawen gleich so wol als in der Erden. Darumb stehnd sie in der Erden/ das dieselbige Form in sie komb vnnd geschmidt werd/ darzu sein eigenschafft ist/ vnd sein Meister/ das ist/ sein *donum*.^a Der Mensch bedarff desselbigen nichts/ dann er gibt sein frucht nit der massen wie ein Baum: Er ist in den Früchten ein andere Creatur. Damit so wissent/ Alle ding die da leben/ von wegen jhrer Form behaltung/ hinzehrung derselbigen/ den hunger haben vnd den durst/ auff daß sie in jhm erstatten die bildtnuß. Zu gleicher weiß wie jr sehent/ daß das schmeer/ feiste/ etc. zunimpt von der Narung: wo das nit geben wird/ so gehet das theil der bildniß hinweg: Also ein anders auch. Wiewol die art ist/ so es zu den Hauptgliedern geht/ dz der Todt schnell da ist: dann das Leben bleibt nit/ in brechlicher inwendiger bildtnuß gemeines Leibs.^b Also wachsen auß dem Menschen die Menschen: das ist/ die Narung ist der Mensch/ vnd gibt wider den Menschen/ das ist/ bildtnuß desselbigen: Also essen wir vns selbst. Vnd wo wir also vns selbst nit essen/ so verschwindt vnser Leib/ vnser *Corpus*, vnser Mittel leben/ vnd was in vns ist. Aber also sind zween Menschen/ sichtig vnnd vnsichtig. Der sichtig ist zweifach/ Nemlich/ nach dem Leib/ vnd nach der Seel: der vnsichtig ist einfach/ nemlich nach dem Leib/^c vnd gibt sein Exempel also. Ein Holtz/ das vor vns ligt/ darauß mag der Schnitzer schnitzlen ein Bild/ so er daruon thut/ das nit darzu gehört: Also ist in dem Holtz ein Bild/

^a In *Labyrinthus*, the “kunst inventrix” is found “in allen speciebus der astronomei und der *donorum* etc.” (S 11:206). In *De Ordine Doni*, the term *donum* refers to the endowments and callings imparted by God to human beings (G 2:51ff.) Nature and society are both configured as corporate totalities in which the gifts and powers of each are necessary for the whole: “Gott hat uns gaben geben auf erden und kräft derselbigen, die ein iedlicher gebrauchen mag und soll, nicht ihm selber, sonder dem andern als sich selbst” (51).

^b Sudhoff (73) introduces a paragraph break after “Leibs.”

^c Sudhoff (73) omits these words: “vnd nach der Seel: der vnsichtig ist einfach/ nemlich nach dem Leib.”

makes it into that [which it becomes]. This is why the [inner] smith takes nothing for the image except that which is good for crafting it, that is, that which is wood: everything else he casts out by way of the stool; only the image [as such] remains.

The same thing can be confirmed everywhere: In all things there is nourishment; it is merely a matter of the form. When summer arrives, it is the time of hunger for trees; they want to yield leaves, blossoms, fruits, etc. What would come of all this if they were not able to take the forms of these things from external sources? They do not have it in themselves. For if they did, they would yield as much when they have been cut down as when they are planted in the earth. They stand planted in the earth in order that the same form should enter into them and be crafted, [a form that has] its property and its master, which is to say its *donum*. The human being has no need of those things, for he does not yield fruit in the way that the tree does. In the fruits he yields, he is a different creature. So from this you should recognize that all things that live have their hunger and thirst on account of the retention [and] consumption of their form, [that is] in order that they should restore the image (**bildtnuß**). In the same way you can see that fat and other such tissue increases with nourishment. When this does not happen, then a part of the image disappears, then another as well. Though its nature is still there, when it gets to the main organs, death soon arrives; for life will not abide as a fragile inner image of the common body. So it is that the human beings grow from the human being: this is to say that the nourishment is the human being, and yields back the human being, i.e., the image of the same. Thus we eat ourselves. And if it were not the case that we eat ourselves, then our body, our *corpus*, our Middle Life, and whatever is within us would disappear. For this reason, there are two human beings: visible and invisible. The visible [human being] is twofold: that is, in accordance with the body and in accordance with the soul. The invisible [human being] is simple, that is, in accordance with the body [only], and can be considered by the following analogy. [Take] a piece of wood that lies before us. From it can be crafted an image (**Bild**) by the craftsman (**Schnitzer**) who takes from it that which does not accrue to it.¹ This is to say that in the

¹ What the craftsman-carver removes is of course the wood that conceals the image latent in the material.

dz jm erstlich nit gleich sahe. Also ist die Narung der^a Menschen/ vnd aber im Leib gehet es in sein gliedmaß: Nit das es bleibt an einer Portz/ sondern es wird am kunstreichsten gemacht: dann da schnitzlet der | 99 | Obriste Meister/ der macht ein Menschen/ das ist/ theilt die Glidtmäß auß/ so weit der Mensch ist. So wir nuhn wissen/ das wir vns selbst essen/ trincken: Ein jedtlicher Baum sich selbst: Ein jedtliche Creatur die da lebet: So sollen wir nuhn auch weiter wissen/ was vns hierauß entstehe/ betreffend die Artzney/ wie hernach volgen wirdt.

Wiewol wir nit Bein essen/ Geäder/ Ligamenten/ vnd selten Hirn/ Hertz/ Kröß/ etc. auch nit schmeer: So verstehndt/ das Bein nit Bein macht/ noch Hirn/ Hirn/ sondern ein jedlicher Bisse ist dasselbig alles: Ist die Form do vnsichtbar/ so ist auch das gebein da. Das Brodt ist Blut/ wer sieht es? Es ist schmeer/ wer sieht es? wer greiff es? Es ist speck/ niemandts greiffts noch sights/ es wirdts aber: So gut ist der Meister im Magen. Der auß Schwefel kan Eysen machen/ das Schwefel ist: der ist täglich auch do/ vnd schmidt dem Menschen das jenig/ darzu er jn gebildet hatt. Also kan er auch auß Saltz den Diemanten machen/ auß *Mercurio* Goldt: so kan er dz auch: Ihm ligt mehr am Menschen/ dann an den dingen/ drumb so schmidt er jm/ was jm nott ist: Trag du nur zu/ vnd gib^b jm sein zeug/ laß jn scheiden/ formiren/ wie alle ding sein sollen/ der halt die maß/ zahl/ gewicht/ proportz/ lenge/ vnd alles.

Darauff nuhn so wissent/ das ein jedliche Creatur zwuyfach ist: die ein/ auß dem *Spermate*, die ander auß der Narung. Der *Sperma* ist ein Sam: so bald er nun da ligt/ so sucht er die Narung: Er ist ein Creatur selbst/ die Narung auch ein: Er hatt die freyheit der Form des menschen: als das er isset das zu einem Menschen wird/ vnd dz Menschen glider darauß werden. Darumb so ist der Mensch in verzeerung der Form gesetzt/ durch den Todt/ dz macht die vrsach des Samens:

^a Sudhoff (73): “des.”

^b Sudhoff (74): “gib.”

[piece of] wood there is an image which is not initially apparent. So it is with the nourishment of the human being, which in the body passes into its bodily parts. It is not the case that it retains its own proportions; rather it is fashioned in the most artful way imaginable; for here the crafting is done by the | 99 | Highest Master Craftsman of them all: he makes a human being proportioning its parts in every human aspect. So now that it has become evident that we eat and drink ourselves, as does every tree and every living creature, the next object for investigation concerns the implications this has for medicine. These will be taken up as follows.

It is not the case that we eat [in particular] bones, blood vessels, ligaments, much less brain, heart, innards, etc., nor even fat: this is to say that the bone [we eat] does not become our bone, the brain [we eat] does not turn into [our] brain. Rather, in each bite [eaten by us] all of these things are contained. If the form is invisibly present, our bones are present in the same way. Bread is blood. Who sees it that way? It is fat. But who sees this? Who touches it? It is fatty tissue: no one grasps or sees it. Yet that is what it turns into. This is how masterful the craftsman in the stomach is. The same one who makes out of sulphur iron, which is sulphur: he is present every day, fashioning in the human being those things in the image of which he formed (**gebildet**) him. In the same way that he can craft diamonds out of salt and gold out of *mercurius*, he can do this as well. For the human being is more important to him than all things. For this reason, he crafts within him what is needed. You need only supply him, giving him what is needed; then let him separate [and] form [all] things as they require. He will maintain measure, number, weight, proportion, length, and everything else.

Therefore, let it be understood that each and every creature is twofold: the one comes from the *sperma*, [and] the other from the nourishment. The *sperma* is a seed: as soon as it is present, it seeks nourishment. It is a creature in itself: so is the nourishment. It [the seed] has the birthright (**freyheit**)¹ of the human form, so that what it eats turns into human being and results in human tissue and organs. For this reason, the human being is constituted in a condition in which the [human] form is consumed, [ultimately] by death. This is caused by

¹ See Grimm, **Freiheit** (8): “freedom” implies inherited *privilegium*, not arbitrary voluntarism (cf. H 2:6; 1:281).

denselbigen todt muß er erhalten in dem/ das die Nahrung thut/ vnd vermag. Also ist es nit genug/ das der Mensch auß seiner Mutter geboren ist/ sondern gleich so wol auß der Nahrung. Was menschlich lebens art antrifft/ Seel halben/ das it gesündert von der Nahrung: dann dieselbig lebens Eigenschafft kompt mit der Seel/ nicht mit dem Leib: das mitt dem Leib kompt/ Sitten halben/ kompt vom Menschen her in seiner Weißheit: Hie aber was da ist von der Nahrung/ ist der Leib/ darbey nicht |100| gemeldt wird weder Tugend/ Zorn/ Frombkeit/ oder Schalckheit: Was der Leib ist/ das weist der Artzt wol. Der den Leib auch schmidt in Mutter Leib/ der schmidt jn auch im Magen: dann also erhalt dieser Schmid sein arbeit vnd werck auff/ für vnd für/ das nit anders gemacht ist/ dann teglich daran zu flicken vnd zu pletzen/ das ist zu erhalten die Form/ die all tag jetzt do/ dann do abnimpt/ zergeht vnd bricht/ zertrennt in den oder den weg: wie dann mit gsundem Leib/ vnd krancken Leib mannigfaltig bezeugt wirdt: Dann gesundtheit will gleich so wol gehalten werden in wärschafft/ als kranckheit.

Also damit vnd wir erkennen/ das wir zwen Leib^a dermassen haben/ vnnd sind doch ein Leib/ aber zwyfach geschaffen/ im Saamen vnd in der Narung: vnd dz der Narung Leib/ gleich der leib ist/ so dann der Sperma Leib ist (wiewol er jm vorgeht:)^b Auß der vrsachen sollen wir vns erkennen/ das wir/ so bald wir kommen auß Mutter Leib vnd auch in Mutter Leib/ der gnaden Gottes vnd seiner barmhertzigkeit leben/ vnd den Leib weiter nit auß der Mutter/ sondern auß der Narung haben. Dann ein Leib haben wir nach gerechtigkeit/ auß Vatter vnd Mutter: das aber derselbig nit sterb vnd abgang/ so endtpfahen wir jhn auß gnaden/ durch bitt gegen Gott/ in dem so wir bitten/ Das teglich Brodt gib vns heütt: dz alß viel ist/ Gib vns heütt vnsern teglichen Leib: dann der Leib auß der Mutter nähert sich in die stund deß Todts. Darumb so bitten wir vmb das teglich: dasselbig ist das teglich/ das vns den Leib gibt. Also haben wir zween Leib/ der

^a This is a precursor expression of a complex anthropology encompassing the image and breath of God (the soul) and two mortal human bodies, one elemental and the other astral, articulated in the later *Astronomia Magna*: “so seind im menschen **zwen leib**, einer aus den elementen, der ander aus dem gestirn” (S 12:18).

^b Sudhoff (75) omits the parentheses.

the seed: this death must be maintained by that which is effected and capacitated by nourishment. Therefore, it is not enough that the human being is born from a mother; he is born from nourishment as well. As for the true human nature [which means] with respect to the soul: this is separate from nourishment; for the property of that [true] human life goes with the soul. What goes with the body in terms of character (**Sitten**)¹ comes from the human being in his wisdom. But what is there because of the nourishment is the body (whereby we are not | 100 | saying anything about virtue, anger, piety, [or] foolishness). The physician knows well what the body is. The one who crafted the body in the body of the mother crafts it in the stomach as well. For the smith keeps up his labor and production constantly by doing nothing else but patch and repair and maintain the form that everyday declines in one place or another, passing away and breaking, coming apart in this way or that, as we can see in so many ways with the sick or the ailing body. For health must be sustained in its goodness (**wärschafft**),² just as must disease.

So we must therefore recognize from this that we have two bodies in a sense, and yet are only a single body, yet again created in a two-fold manner: in the seed and in the nourishment; moreover, that the body of nourishment is the same as that body which is the body of the sperma (though the latter precedes the former): For this reason, we should recognize about ourselves that, as soon as we depart from the body of our mother, and indeed even within her maternal body, we live by the grace and mercy of God, and no longer have our body from our mother, but rather from [our] nourishment. For we have one body in accordance with justice, from father and mother; but in order that this same body should not perish and depart, we receive it from grace, by appealing to God, inasmuch as we pray daily: “Give us today our daily bread,”³ which is as much as to say: “Give us today our daily body”; for the body [that we have] from our mother is nourished to the hour of death. For this reason, we ask for what is [given] daily; by this I mean that we are given our body “daily.” Thus, we have two bodies,

¹ See Grimm, **Sitte**, (II7a and b): “im weiteren sinne von art, eigentümlichkeit, eigenschaft” (hence nature or character). The wise discipline of adhering to a *regimen sanitatis* or its equivalent is distinct both from the religious nature of the soul and from the chemical contribution of digested nourishment.

² See Grimm, **Wärschafft** (II 2, a): gute Beschaffenheit (good condition, flawlessness).

³ From the Lord’s Prayer, Mt 6:11.

Gerechtigkeit/ vnd der Barmhertzigkeit: vnd also zwo Medicin/ der Gerechtigkeit^a vnd der Barmhertzigkeit: das ist/ vber beide Leib sind wir berüfft/ das vns auß Vatter vnd Mutter angefallen ist: [vnd] das vns auß der Speiß anfellt.

Darauff so werden wir von *Christo* gelehrt zu bitten vmb das teglich Brodt/ als sprech er: Ewer Leib ist nichts/ den jhr von der Mutter habt/ Er wer heütt/ gestern/ ferniger zeit/ todt gewesen: das Brodt ist ewer Leib nun fürhin: vnnd drumb so betrachten/ dz jr nimmer auß der Gerechtigkeit leben/ von Vatter vnd Mutter/ sondern auß dem Leib der Barmhertzigkeit: Auff das so bitten ewern Himmlischen Vatter vmb das tegliche | 101 | Brodt/ das ist/ vmb ewern leib/ so gibt er Euch den leib/ das ist/ den leib der Barmhertzigkeit. In dem leben wir fürhin/ vnd haben nix vom leib der gerechtigkeit/ als allein den anfang vnserer Menschwerdung. Darumb so essen wir vns selbst/ auß gnaden vnd barmhertzigkeit. Dann das soll der mensch in jhm erkennen: Wiewol er auß Mutterleib kommen ist/ Er ist darumb nimmer der Mutter Sohn/ noch seins Vatters/ sondern deß Sohn/ der jhm die Narung gibt. Darumb ist vnser Vatter im Himmel: nicht allein nach der gerechtigkeit die Er in Adam gelegt hat/ vnd in seine Kinder/ Sondern Er ist teglich vnser Vatter/ so wir des leiblichen tödtlichen Vatters leib verlieren. Dann nit mehr haben

^a P. treats of justice in *Liber de Justitia* (probably early, or of the Salzburg period): Closer to Luther, he denies that there is any justice in fulfilling the laws (these are “allein ein ordnung des leibs”); for justice is love and faith: “aber die lieb, so du hast, und der glaub, so du hast, die machen dich selig und nit die gehorsamkeit der gebott” (G 2:153). Mercy is only implicitly understood on the basis of love. The pairing of *justitia* and *misericordia* is characteristic of the terms of psalms in P.’s commentaries (eg. G 4:189, etc.).

one of justice and one of mercy; and thus, too, there are two kinds of medicine, one of justice and one of mercy.¹ This means that we are summoned with regard to both bodies: the one that has accrued to us from father and mother; <and> the one that accrues to us from nourishment.

For this reason we are instructed by *Christus* to ask for our daily bread, as if he were saying: “As nothing is the body that you have from your mother: it would have been dead today, yesterday, long ago. The bread is your body from now on; and for this reason you should consider that you no longer live in accordance with justice from your father and mother, but rather from the body of mercy. This is why you ask your Heavenly Father for your daily | 101 | bread, which is your body; and [why] he gives you the body, which is the body of mercy.” In the latter we will live from then on, and no longer have anything of the body of justice except for the beginning of our becoming human. Therefore, we eat ourselves from grace and mercy.² For the human being should know the following about himself: though he came out of his mother’s body, he is no longer the son of his mother, nor of his father, but rather the son of him who gives him his nourishment. For this reason is our Father in heaven: not simply in accordance with the justice that he invested in Adam and the children of Adam; rather, he is our Father every day, to the extent that we lose the body of our physical, mortal father. For we no longer have any-

¹ P. is evoking the biblical-Pauline theme of **justice** and **mercy** sounded in Rom 1:17. This antithesis was made famous by Luther in terms of righteousness through faith. In P.’s evocation, mercy balances justice as in the “*Nolite iudicare*” of Luke 6:36-37. The verbatim citation of the Lord’s Prayer (“Give us this day our daily bread...”) brings to mind a faith in the daily sustaining mercy of God. This physical refreshment by the power of mercy, as opposed to mercy in a discrete judgment, upholds P.’s views against the charge of an incoherent transference of a Christian paradigm to a universal description of physical birth and health. Rom 1:20 (“Ever since the creation of the world his eternal power and divine nature, invisible though they are, have been understood and seen through the things he has made”) offers a framework for equating the natural with the theological. Moreover, it must be remembered, to P. the bread of mercy is both a common nutrition and the Communion bread instituted as a sacrament embodying Jesus’ body at the Last Supper.

² The reference is both physiological and theological. Though literally absurd, the notion of “eating oneself” extends the attendant mystical theologization of human physicality. The body of Christ which is present *physically* in the host, *mystically* encompasses the Church and all its members. Chemistry thus leases from theology a realm of invisible transforming powers in order to transcend the immanent and seemingly static interactions of the four humors.

wir vom tödtlichen Vatter dann den Samen/ das ander alles vom Himmlischen Vatter/ des sindt wir/ den bitten wir vmb vnsern leib/ wie erzelt ist/ vnd nit vmb den leib der gerechtigkeit: So der leib der gnaden nit wer/ dieser stürb in der Ersten stundt. Darumb secht/ was der leib sey: Wir essen vns selbst/ aber nit auß der gerechtigkeit/ sondern auß gnaden vnd Bitt.

thing more of our mortal father than the seed: everything else [is] from the Celestial Father, to whom we belong, [and] from whom we ask for our body, in the way that has been stated, not for the body of justice. If it were not for the body of grace, the former would die in the very first hour. So behold what the body is: we eat ourselves, but not from justice, but instead from grace and prayer.

CAPVT OCTAVVM.

Darumb sollen wir nuhn sehen/ wer wir seindt/ so wir nuhn fürhin nimmer leben auß Mutter leib/ sondern auß dem leib des Brots/ durch barmhertzigkeit/ vnnnd nit gerechtigkeit erbitten müssen: Auff welchs *Iohannes Baptista*^a gesagt hatt/ da er meldt von den Juden/ das Gott möchte auß den steinen dem Abraham kinder erwecken: Was ist dz anders geredt/ als auß Stein/ Brodt machen/ wie auß der Erden? Welchs Brodt den leib Abrahams kindern gebe/ die sich als dann erkennen würden auß dem leib zu leben der gnaden: Darumb so haben wir den leib des brodts der Narung. Das ich darumb erzehl/ auff das ich weiter müge einführen mein fürnehmen/ wie der mensch sein Anatomy außwendig hab/ vnd das sie der Artzt wissen soll: Vnnnd das sein *Scientia* also soll gründen/ dordurch wir kommen auff den grundt der dreyen Substantzen/ was dieselbigen seiendt: Vnd also auß diesem leib volget hernach das *Regimen* vnd *Diaeta*^b das weitter ein vrsach sein wirdt zubeschreiben die kranckheiten der Fülle/ | 102 | vnd vnordentlicher maß/ vnd vnzimlicher Speiß/ so vnserm leib nicht zustoht. Wiewol das ist/ das vnser magen/ was wir jhm geben/ dasselbig in vns oder zu vns verwandelt: So laut aber das Bith auff Brodt/ vnd weiter auch/ das vns alle ding rein seind/ vnnnd vnderworffen: Jedoch je neher dem Brodt/ je gesünder der leib/ vnd in allen dingen Maaß.

^a Relevant to the health and diet enjoyed by John the Baptist is his diet of “locustas und mel silvestre”: the latter is associated not only with wild honey but with manna and tereniabin (S 2:197-98; G 1:140; cf. H 2:71, note).

^b The Hippocratic understanding of *regimen* and *diaeta* is discussed in P.’s commentary on the aphorisms of Hippocrates (S 4:506, 511, 535). In his Basel notes on the *tartarus* diseases, the use of *regimen* by the ancients is criticized (S 5:43), and in even harsher terms in the “*Antimedicus*” (“ein lautere geucherei”—S 5:434). The most focused critique of *regimen* is conveyed by his most effusively Christian medical work, the *Spital-Buch*, of which the third tractate states: “sol nun also die heilung sein und ist also in kreften der arzney verordnet, aus was ursachen wolt sich dan ein arzet in das regiment legen, dieweil die arzney heilet” (S 7:401). A draft on surgery contrasts a medicine of the *tria prima* with an inapplicable use of “*diaeta* oder regimen” (S 10:520).

CAPUT OCTAVUM

For this reason we should consider now who we are, given that we no longer live from the maternal body, but rather from the body of the bread, since we live by asking for mercy and not by justice. About this *Johannes Baptista* said in speaking of the Jews that God could awaken the children of Abraham from the stones:¹ What else can this mean but to make bread from stones, which is to say from earth. Bread that endows the body of the children of Abraham so that they would recognize that they are living from the body of grace. This is why we have the body of the bread for nourishment. I say this in order that I can give further introduction to my demonstration of how the human being has an external anatomy,² one about which the physician should be informed. Moreover, the *scientia* of the physician should be grounded in that which we are now about to discuss and explain the nature of: the ground of the three substances and what they entail. From this body will follow the [discussion of] *regimen* and *diaeta*,³ which will also give us cause to describe illnesses of fullness, | 102 | inordinate measure, and unfitting nutrition, inappropriate for our body.⁴ Though it is the case that our stomach transforms what we give it, so to speak, into us, nevertheless as the supplication for bread implies, [and] as do the statements that for us all things are pure and subject to [our dominion], [it is also true that] the nearer the bread, the healthier the body, and in all things moderation.⁵

¹ John the Baptist (Mt 3:9): “Do not presume to say to yourselves, ‘We have Abraham as our ancestor’; for I tell you, **God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham.**”

² As to the context of the comestible human being that has been posited as existing in nature outside the physical body as such, the “**external anatomy**” is here equated to the macrocosm.

³ Both these terms refer to a type of medical treatise known as the “*Regimen sanitatis*” or “*Diaeta*.” See “Regimina sanitatis,” LMA; cf. Pedro Gil Sotres, “The Regimens of Health,” in WMT, 291-318; Mikkeli, *Hygiene*; and Manfred Peter Koch, *Das “Erfurter Kartäuserregimen”*: *Studien zur diätischen Literatur des Mittelalters, Analecta Cartusiana* 141 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1997).

⁴ The medieval and Renaissance genre of the *Regimen sanitatis* is an appropriate context for these topics.

⁵ P. supplements the authority of the Lord’s Prayer with further biblical allusions to a thought expressed in Tit 1:15 (“To the pure **all things are pure**”), taken in the sense of Mt 12 as criticism of Jewish dietary law; and to the **dominion over all plants and animals** accorded by God to Adam in Gen 1:28-9. The thrust of these allusions is then qualified by what appears to be a folk proverb (“**the nearer the bread, the healthier**”

Also erneuern vnd erjüngern wir vns/ vnd nach dem vnnd wir vns den Sahmen der Narung seen/ demnach haben wir jhn: Vnd haben noch auß dem leib der gerechtigkeit auch ein kranckheit. Wiewol die gerechtigkeit nit kranckheit gibt/ also auch dz Brodt/ darumb wir bitten/ auch kein kranckheit giebt: Wie dann *Iohannes Baptista* vnnd andere mehr/ ohn kranckheit auß dieser vrsachn gelebt haben. Aber/ wie im Brodt die Geyli gebraucht wirdt: Also auch wirt sie gebraucht in der gab der gerechtigkeit: Also das in beyden theilen die vnmaß/ die vnordnung gebraucht wirdt/ auß welcher hernach volgen kranckheiten vnnd dergleichen: Welche wir nit hetten/ so wir dem gesatz/ vnd dem Bith nachgingen. Also entpfahen wir kranckheit^a von Mutter leib: Vnnd das wir müssen zum andern mahl gebohren werden/ endtpfahen wir zum andern mall dieselbigen kranckheiten auch: Das ist/ durch das tegliche Brodt. Darumb so wir sollen grundtlich vom Regiment reden vnnd schreiben/ so mögen wir kein ander Regiment vnd Diæt setzen/ dann bleiben im gesatz der gerechtigkeit/ vnnd in der speiß/ darumb wir bitten: Do noch für vnd für alle gesundtheit in erhalten werden/ vnnd bewahrdt für allen kranckheiten. So wir aber das Regiment nit halten/ so werden wir auch nit behalten vnsern gesunden leib. Dieweil aber Gott der ist/ der göttig ist/ vnd solch vbertretung seins selbst gegebenen Regiments ordnung nit halten/ ansicht: Darumb den Artzt beschaffen/ der gleich dermassen ist/ als/ da *Christus* sprach zu seinen Jüngern: Vergebendt die Sündt/ so offt der Sünder seuffzet: Also da auch/ so offt die kranckheit kompt/ dieselbig zu heylen. Durch krafft

^a Sudhoff (77): "krankheiten."

Thus we renew and rejuvenate ourselves; and in accordance with how we sow the seed of nourishment, this is how we have it.¹ Moreover, from the body of justice we also have one disease (though justice does not yield disease, nor does the bread for which we ask yield it: *Johannes Baptista* and others as well lived without any disease from such a cause). Yet just as that which is rich (**Geyli**)² is used in bread, it is also customary in the gift of justice: that is to say, in both [bodies] immoderation and disorder are common, out of which arise diseases and the like. We would not have these if we maintained the law and behaved in accordance with the supplication. Thus we receive disease from the maternal body. And insofar as we must be born again, we will receive the same diseases all over again: that is, through the daily bread. Accordingly, if we are to speak and write thoroughly of the regimen, we would be able to posit no other regimen and diet than that of remaining within the law of justice and adhering to the food for which we ask, since all possible health is maintained for them and they are preserved from any illnesses. But since we do not adhere to the regimen, we do not maintain our healthy body.³ Yet since God is thus merciful and inspects the transgression of not adhering to the regimen that he has given, the physician has been created, just as *Christus* spoke to his disciples: “Forgive the sin as often as the sinner sighs [i.e., repents].”⁴ It is the same in this case: as often as the disease

the body”) and a reference to the classical principle of **moderation in all things**. The preventive medicine of the dietary *regimen* and the interventionist medicine rooted in alchemical transformation and digestion are thus made to correlate with the Reformation-era opposition between law and the transforming grace that is said to fulfill the law and explain it.

¹ The key to this thought is found in biblical passages such as Gal 6:7 (“you reap whatever you sow”).

² See Grimm, **Geile** (1, 3, 4a and b): this term could refer to lewd levity, the testicles, or soil fertility.

³ Nothing in his work would suggest that P. has Jewish dietary law in mind, but the popular *regimina sanitatis* were analogous as sets of rules that interwove medical, dietary, and theological advice. This was especially the case when they were meant to guide monastic conduct. The “Erfurt Carthusian Regimen” (no later than 1450) linked diseases to the fall from grace into sin; it characterized medicine as a gift from God and elaborated on the relationships of microcosm to macrocosm (Koch 10f.; cf. “*Regimina*,” LMA).

⁴ This is a proverbialized version of Luke 17:4: “And if the same person sins against you seven times a day, and turns back to you seven times and says, ‘I repent,’ **you must forgive**” (In Luther’s version: “Vnd wenn er sieben mal des tages an dir

des gebots^a heilen die krancken ein jedliche sucht/ reinigen die aussetzigen. Also ist die artzney beschaffen/ vnnd der Artzt mit jhr/ den leib zubewahren/ durch des macht/ der auch die Seel im leib bewahret. | 103 |

Darumb ist es groß/ zubesitzen das Ampt der artzney/ vnd nit so leicht als ettliche vermeinen. Denn zugleich weiß wie *Christus* den Aposteln befohlen hatt: Gehet hin/ Reinigen die Aussetzigen/ die Lahmen machend geradt/ die Blinden gesehend vnnd dergleichen: Diese ding all treffen auch den Artzt/ als wohl als den Apostel. Der nuhn des Aussatzs vnwissendt ist zuheylen/ der versteht die macht der artzney nicht: Der die Lahmen nit geradt macht/ ist vnbillich ein Artzt/ vnd dergleichen: Also mit andern dingen allen: So wissend/ das Gott den Artzt nicht gesetzt hatt von wegen allein des Pfnüsels/ Hauptweh/ Ayssen/ Zahnweh: Sondern von wegen des Aussatzs/ Gehen todts/ Fallendt sucht/ vnnd dergleichen/ nichts außgenommen. Mügen wir das nicht thun/ so gebrist vns der kunst vnnd der weißheit/ so da sein soll/ vnnd Gottes Trew geht nichts ab. All artzney ist auff Erden/ aber die sindt nicht da/ die sie schneiden sollen: Das ist/ gewachsen sindt sie in die Erndt/ aber die Schnitter sindt nicht kommen. So die Schnitter da sein werden der rechten artzney/ ohn Einlauffende/ gefelschte Sophisterey/ so werden wir die Aussetzigen rein machen/ die Blinden gesehend vnnd dergleichen. Dann die krafft ist all in der Erden vnd wechst: Aber die hoffart der Sophisterey last die *Mysteria* der Natur nicht herfür kommen vnnd jhr *Magnalia*.^b Sie schetzen die

^a Sudhoff (78): “gebets” (cf. Anmerkung, p. 669). See vis-à-vis the source of the “gebot” or commandment.

^b See vis-à-vis, cf. H 2:15, note: *Magnalia* and *mysteria* are the divine aspects of forces operating in all things in nature and of the soul and its powers which have likewise been introduced by God directly into the human being, as is explained in *De vera Influentia Rerum*: “das got die selbigen krefft und tugent in die natur gossen hat, wie die sêl in menschen, und das die krefft der sêl nicht ungleich sind, alein das sie on anfang bei got gewesen sind. ...also sind die **magnalia** gottes und seine **mysteria** groß und wunderbarlich zu erkennen” (S 14:221). More banally, the “Uslegung der latinischen synonyma” states: “Magnalia sind die werk gottes” (S 9:658).

comes, it is to be healed. By virtue of the commandment, to heal the sick of every sort of affliction, to purify the leprous.¹ This is the nature of medicine, and of the physician too; they are for preserving the body by the power of him who preserves the soul within the body. | 103 |

For this reason it is a great matter to possess the office of medicine and not so easy as some suppose. For it is the same as when *Christus* commanded the apostles: “Go forth, purify the lepers, heal the lame, make the blind seeing, and so forth”—all these things concern the physician as much as the apostle. Whoever lacks the knowledge to heal leprosy does not understand the power of medicine. Whoever cannot heal the lame is not to be called a physician, and so on. And so it goes with other things as well: let it be known that God did not institute the physician simply on account of sniffles, headache, ouches (**Ayssen**),² [and] toothache; but rather on account of leprosy, sudden death (**Gehen todts**),³ [and] epilepsy, and that sort of thing, nothing being excluded. If we are not able to do that, then the art and wisdom we should possess are wanting; the faithfulness of God is not [however] diminished. All medicine is on earth; but they are not yet there who should harvest it: this is to say that it has grown to the point of being harvested; but the reapers have not come.⁴ When the harvesters of the true medicine have arrived without the interloping, falsified sophistry [of the current medicine], then we will be able to heal the lepers, make the blind seeing, and do other things of this sort. For the power is entirely in the earth and it grows; however, the sinful pride of sophistry does not allow the *mysteria* of nature to come forth with its

sündigen würde/ vnd sieben mal des tages widerkeme zu dir/ vnd spreche/ Es rewet mich/ So soltu jm vergeben”).

¹ In asserting the apostolic nature of medicine, P. echoes Jesus’ mission sermon in Mt 10:1, 8 (“Then Jesus summoned his twelve disciples and gave them authority ... **to cure every disease and every sickness**. ... Cure the sick, raise the dead, **cleanse the lepers**, cast out demons”).

² Though not found in Grimm, **Ayssen** is intended here as a dismissive term for minor aches and pains.

³ **Gäh**, “sudden,” points to a catastrophic arrival of death, perilous also in terms of the salvation of the soul. Note also that leprosy and epilepsy are spectacular examples of Jesus’ healing mission.

⁴ The preceding sentence and the two that follow conflate the parable of the good wheat and the weeds in Mt 13 with a literal foregrounding of the healing powers of the herbs that should also grow in the ground (Sir 38:4) and of the apocalyptically optimistic expectation of an age of miraculous apostolic healing.

artzney wie sie leuth sindt/ deren *Scientiae* vnnd Frömbkeit viel auff ein Quintlin geht. Sie verantworten jhr Thorheit mit dem/ *Iste morbus est incurabilis*: Da sie nicht allein jhr thorheit mit anzeigen/ sondern auch die lügnerey. Dann Gott hat nie kein kranckheit lassen kommen/ der er nicht jhr artzney beschaffen hatt. Aber vnsser vnwissenheit pflegt solcher händel: Vergessen das vns Gott den leib mittheilt/ all tag teglich/ vnd solt die kranckheit nit mittheilen zu heylen zu seiner genanten stundt? Auff die keiner nie gedacht hat: Aber mechtig streüst sich der widertheyl.

Wiewol hierin viel zumelden weer/ nemblich das Gott wil so wol kranck leuth auff erden haben als die gesunden/ vnd etwann von eines wegen ein gantz Legion krencket: So hat er doch all mahl mit seinen gnaden die artzney mitgetheilt/ vnd gesagt/ die krancken dörffen des Artzts. Nuhn so sie seiner | 104 | dörffen/ so ist es von deß wegen/ das er sie soll gesundt machen: Wo das nit beschicht/ was wollen sie seiner? Sie bedorffen des/ der sie gesundt mache/ vnnd [nit]^a laß ligen/ vnnd mit jhn küntzle: Das bezeugt das wir alles sollen heilen können/ was da kranck ist/ Aussatz/ vnd Blinden vnd Lahmen etc. dann sie sindt alle kranck vnnd dörffen eines Artzts. Nuhn aber wiewol das ist? das der/ der sein augen zu spielen braucht/ falscherey etc. der darff jhr fürwahr nit: Der sein zungen zu vppigen lestern braucht/ der darff jhr auch nichts: Ob Gott ein solchen endtsetzte des gliedts/ vnd er spreche/ jch bin kranck/ ich darff eines Artzts zu meinen augen: So ist wol ein frag da in der Schul/ er dürff jhr nicht: Also auch der Hurer der beinen nicht. Diese ding aber stehnd bei Gott/ nit beim menschen. Etwas ist dran/ vnd geht nicht feel auß/ es werdt der Artzt entschuldiget/ nit allein in Eim/ sondern in allen kranckheiten/ so da

^a Sudhoff (79) has “bedörffen” and omits square brackets for “nit.”

magnalia.¹ Instead, they esteem medicine like the people [who practice it], whose *scientiae* and piety can be summed up in a smidgen. They rationalize their foolishness with their “*Iste morbus est incurabilis*” [“this disease is incurable”], by which they reveal not only their foolishness but also their mendacity. For God has never allowed a disease to come forth for which he did not also create its medicine. But our ignorance lends itself to this sort of business. We forget that God grants to us our body always and daily—should he not also accord the disease to be healed at its appointed time? No one thinks of that; but powerfully those who are against it dig in their heels (**streüst sich**).²

Nevertheless, it remains to be said in this regard that God wants there to be sick people on earth as there are healthy ones; and that on account of one an entire legion may be made ill. For this reason, he has always granted us the grace of medicine and said that the sick are in need of a physician.³ And since they are | 104 | in need, it is on account of him who will heal them. If that should not happen, of what good is he to them? They are in need of him who makes them well and does <not> leave them lying there and does not perform tricks with them. This bears witness that we should be able to heal all that are sick, leprosy and blindness and lameness, etc., for they are all sick and in need of a physician. But now, would it not be the case that someone who uses his eyes for gambling, forgery, and the like would have no such need; whoever would use his tongue for lewd blasphemy would have no need? If God were to deprive such a one of the use of his member, and that person were to say, “I am sick. I need a physician for my eyes”—the question might be raised in the [medical] school whether he deserves it, just as one could ask whether a [lamed] lascivious person needs his legs. However, these matters are entrusted to God, not to the human being. Something is to be said for it, and it is not in error that the physician is excused not only in one, but in all

¹ In the Vulgate, “*magnalia (Dei)*” abbreviates and generalizes the wondrous works of God in a way that lends itself to extending the unique and awe-inspiring miracle to common powers at work in nature. The tendency is evident when one compares Dt 10:21 (“*magnalia et terribilia*”) or 2 Sam 7:21 and Sam 7:23 (“*omnia magnalia*” ... “*magnalia et horribilia*”) to the “*magnalia*” in Sir 17:8, 18:5, 42:21. Similarly, Sirach’s encomium to physicians elevates God’s creation of “medicines out of the earth” (Sir 38:4), and the medicinal skills given humans in order that God may be “glorified in his marvelous works” (Sir 38:6).

² See Grimm, **sträuszen**: “sträuben (sich).”

³ Cf. Mt 9:12 (Jesus): “Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick.”

hindern ein arges: Sie werden auch seliger geachtet/ dann die gesunden bösen. Dann die Gott liebt/ die strafft er: Aber so heimlich/ das es keim Artzt im wissen ist.

Nuhn aber das der heimlichkeit vnd der grossen Trew Gottes nit vergessen werdt/ so wissend/ wie groß von Gott die artzney beschaffen ist: Also dz sie nit allein gesund macht die krankheiten so ich bißher meldt vnd gemeldt hab: Sondern auch die auß der Geburth kommen/ als die gebohrnen Blinden/ Lahmen/ vnd dergleichen. So es auff denselben grundt nit kompt/ so gepresten noch viel bletter in der artzney. Wiewol viel bletter erfüllt sind/ aber mit vnnutzem geschwetz: So ist doch nit bewegt worden/ das da solt ohnbewegt nit fürgelauffen sein. Dann so wir die seltzamen wunderwerck der Natur ansehen/ das so seltzam Geburt beschehen: Der Lew todt geboren wirdt vnd das leben durch das geschrei erlangt/ das mehr ist dann ein gesicht zuerlangen: Nemlich nit allein der Lew solchs hat/ sondern auch anders mehr/ daruon wir nichts wissen noch erfahren haben. Darumb vns die Natur fürbildet/ wie viel vns abgeht in der heimlichkeit der Natur. Darumb wir vmbillich juch schreyen mit vnserm Hüettlin: Dann wir sindt fürwaar nit vber den gattern/ vber den wir meinen gesprungen sein. Es ist der tag des Jubilirens/ *dies miseriae & amara valde*: Dann | 105 | da ist noch kein anfang/ ich geschweig der Natur heimlichkeit: Vnd der dz sagt/ der muß verspott werden. Noch ist es allein ein geplerr/ alle die bücher darauff jr euch weisend vnd zeugen: Das beweisen ewere werck/ das jhr vnd ewer Lehrer nichts sollen: Ihr

diseases, when something wicked hinders [the success of his medicine]. For they [those who are good people but sick] are held in more [godly] esteem, than healthy evil people. For God punishes those He loves.¹ But so mysteriously that no physician could know about it.

But now in order that the mystery and great faithfulness of God should not be forgotten, let it be known how magnificently God has created medicine. Not only that it heals the diseases that I have spoken of and reported heretofore; but also those who are born blind, lame, or with some other defect. If [medicine] could not occupy this ground, many pages would be lacking in medicine. Though many pages are now filled with useless chatter, those matters are left untouched that are essential for motivating students before their completion of study. For we only need to consider the strange wondrous works of creation: for example, that the lion is born dead and is aroused to life by its roaring;² [and] that more than one manner of seeing [this] can be attained. Not only is the lion this way; there is more to it besides that we have not yet come to understand or learn of. So it is that nature gives us visible examples of how much remains unknown to us in the mystery of nature. For this reason we have no business shouting for joy with our little hats.³ For we certainly have not yet crossed that barrier which we claim to have leaped. It is that day of jubilation, *dies miseriae et amara valde*.⁴ For there is | 105 | not yet a beginning, not to speak of the mystery of nature. And whoever says so must be disdained. Until now there has been nothing but carrying on [in] all those books which you point to and call to witness. Your works indicate as much: you and your teachers will not accomplish a thing. You claim

¹ A proverbialized version of Prov 13:24 (“Those who spare the rod hate their children, but **those who love them are diligent to discipline them**”).

² See LCK, **Löwe**: the myth of the lioness that gives birth to stillborn cubs that are only aroused to life on their third day by the roaring of the lion is a symbol of the Resurrection of Christ familiar in medieval art. P. is drawing on the medieval bestiary, which was dominated by Christian allegory even when it borrowed pagan sources or became absorbed in folk tradition. The lion is a scriptural symbol for both Christ and the devil. In the present context, this implicates both the healing of birth defects and the allegorical extension of rebirth through Christ.

³ A reference to the **headgear** worn by professors of medicine.

⁴ This alludes to the medieval hymn of the Final Judgment “*Dies Irae*,” ascribed to the Franciscan Tommaso da Celano (d. 1401) but which only began to appear in hymnals around P.’s time after spreading from Italy to Germany. A retarding factor was the apparent unseemliness of a hymn of **jubilation** in solemn masses for the dead. See “*Dies Irae*,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995).

nemmen den Schlüssel der weißheit/ das ist der *Scientiae*, vnd geht selbst auch nit in dieselbigen.

Also soll es gefast werden das so zu einem Artzt gehört/ wie fürgehalten ist in allen Capiteln einander nach/ vnd die Natur wol ergründett. Dann sie ist nit offenbar in jhren heimlichkeiten/ vnd gar wenig. Es war ein wunderbarlich ding/ verkehren des volcks/ so doch nur ein *Adam* war am ersten/ auß dem wir alle kommen/ vnd doch nit gleich: Was war hierin die vrsach? Allein die heimlichkeit der Natur/ die auch die Riesen^a gemacht hat/ die auch 500. 600. 800. 900. jhar dz alter geben hat. Die wüsten zusagen/ die in solchem gelebt haben/ vnd sein genossen/ die zu denselbigen zeiten die Erkandtnuß gehabt haben semlicher heimlichkeiten. Dann das vmbsonst im Apfel gestanden ist/ der in *Ebron* verboten ward Adam/ gutts vnd böß/ mag nicht sein: Sondern es ist ein groß anzeigen/ dz noch viel mehr in der Natur ist/ dann das allein/ das wir wissen: Freylich ohngezweifelt groß *Scientiae, Sapientiae, Prudentiae*. Dann nit allein in eim Apffel das gewesen ist/ sondern in vielen mehr/ in andern dingen/ als dann noch viel selzams erfunden wirdt/ das nit gutt wer/ zueröffnen. Es sey dann sach/ dz verboten sei worden durch Gott/ die krafft nit außzulassen. Dann ist giffit auff Erden/ darin der todt ist: So ist auch auff Erden/ daß das leben macht. Ist das so krankheit macht/ so ist auch das/ so gesundt macht. Aber fürwaar/ es ist nach solchen dingen kleine nachforschung/ vnd bemühung: Es verderbt die gemein Profession im

^a The **Riesen** are of significance because, though much like human beings, neither they nor the elemental spirits are among the children of Adam. Mysterious in their emergence and disappearance, they may have come into being because the miraculous creative powers of God could leave nothing vacant: “dan got hat nichts wöllen lër lassen stên, sonder wunderbarlich verborgne lender mit andern menschen angefüllt”; like the elemental spirits they have no soul, though God has allowed them to marry humans who do (S 12:469). The tract devoted to the “gigantes” in the *Liber de Nymphis* even goes so far as to declare that those who deny the giants also deny Christ. Moreover, the creation of the giants and other *inanimata* adds weight to the power of God to create alternate humanoids, as evinced by the words of John the Baptist as understood by P., “das got aus den steinen würde menschen erwecken” (S 14:147; cf. H 1:101; Mt 3:9). The giants, though not Christ-like, are as good and powerful as humans and therefore bear testimony to divine omnipotence.

for yourselves the key to wisdom, to *scientia*, and [yet] do not enter into [them] yourselves.

Let that be the summary of what is required to constitute a physician, as has been demonstrated in all these chapters, one after the other; and with nature having been put on the proper foundation. For it is not [yet] manifest in its mystery, indeed hardly at all. It was a truly remarkable thing, this changing about (**verkehren**)¹ of [all] people, even though there was only the one Adam in the beginning from whom we all descend, without all of us being the same. What was the cause of this? Nothing other than the mystery of nature, which made the giants, [and] which also yielded life spans of 500, 600, 800, 900 years.² They would be able to tell of such things who lived in and enjoyed such an age, and who, from those times, had knowledge of all sorts of mysteries. For it is hardly possible that in that apple which was forbidden to Adam in Hebron good and evil stood for no reason; rather, it is a powerful indication that far more lies concealed in nature than only what we know of. Indeed, doubtlessly [there are] great [matters of] *scientia*, *sapientia*, [or] *prudencia*.³ For it was not only in one apple, but in many more, and in other things besides, for many strange things are to be found which it would not be good to disclose. Unless the point should have been that it was forbidden by God not to let those powers emerge. For just as there is poison in the earth in which death resides, so, too, there is that which brings life. Just as there is that which causes illness, there is that which causes health. But, most certainly there has been little research into such matters and little effort directed toward them. It would ruin the common profession of

¹ See Grimm, **verkehren** (4, 6): to transform into something else; to transform magically.

² For an explanation of what **giants** had to do with patriarchal longevity, see "Gigant," RLAC: Augustine founded or bolstered the association on which P.'s allusion rests by placing the biblical references to a prior time of giants in the context of the ancient notion of the *mundus senescens* and of classical myths of giants. Like P., Augustine thought the biblical ages attained by patriarchs (Gen 5) and classical or biblical reports of giants bore one another out. Thus the life of the world gradually unfolds all its wondrous varieties. For a study of Rabelais' gigantology and its revealing historical-theological background, see Walter Stephens, *Giants: In Those Days* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980).

³ Perhaps to counteract the implication that he has forbidden knowledge in mind, P. evokes three of the "Gifts of the Holy Spirit": **knowledge, wisdom, prudence** (NCA).

Seich besehen: Das macht das faull küchengeldt/ darin sie sich benü-
gen lassen/ kunst halben: So jhn dann der Seich so viel außtregt/ was
wollen sie dan weither fleiß ankeren: Sie suchen doch allein den
pfennig. | 106 |

examining illness. This is because of the kitchen tips¹ that suffice for them when it comes to art. When illness is so lucrative, why bother with any further application? All they are after is the penny. | 106 |

¹ See Grimm, **Küchengeld**: tip or money for running a kitchen, a double jab at apothecaries' concoctions.

LIBER SECVNDVS.

CAPVT PRIMVM.

So ich nun sagen soll von der dreien zusammen setzen in ein *Corpus*/ wie dieselbigen zusammen khommen: Dorinn nemmen euch ein solch Exempel. Ein jedlicher Sahn ist ein dreyfacher Sahn: Das ist/ ein Sahn in dem die drey Substantzen sindt vnnd wachsen: Vnnd wie also nur ein Sahn da ist vnd erscheindt/ also erscheinend^a die drey nur einerlei sein. Nuhn ist ein jedlich ding im Sahmen vereinigt/ vnnd nicht zertheilt/ sondern ein zusammen fügung einer einigkeit. Als in einer Nussen/ darin ist Holtz/ darinn sindt rinden vnnd die wurtzen: Das sindt drey widerwertige ding/ vnnd aber bey einander in einem Sahmen. Also der mensch auch/ der ist nur ein Sahmen anfenglich/ des schalen oder schelffen die *Sperma* ist: Den Sahmen hat nie kein mensch gesehen seiner kleine vnnd subtili halben. Nuhn wachsen auß dem Sahmen die menschen: So nuhn also das wachsen angeht/ so wachsen die drey ding auff/ ein jedlichs in seiner Natur vormischt vnd voreinigt^b zu einem *Corpus*/ nit zu dreyen: Als ein mensch der wechst in die gebeyn/ fleisch/ blutt: Wiewol dreyerlei/ aber nur ein gewechs: Also geben die drey ein *Corpus*/ vnd sindt selbst vnsichtig im selbigen. Also wachsen die drey Substantzen auff in der einigkeit/ vermischet/ biß auff sein zeit/ so still zusammen: Als ein baum der wechst am ersten in ein Marck/ dasselbig marck ist drey Substantzen: Doch so gehendts in Ein *Corpus*: Das ist/ drey Substantzen/ vnd aber nur ein holtz. Vnd das darin die drey Substantzen sindt/ das beweist die kunst/ die Natur/ vnd der Todt/ da ein jedlichs ding zertheilt vnd zerlegt [wirdt] besonder/ wie ein jedlichs sein soll. Also wissen den anfang der dingen/ das sie ineinander wachsen/ vnnd ein ding seindt/ vnnd ein jedlichs sein Ampt hatt/ den *Corpus* vollkommen zumachen.

| 107 |

Nuhn wissent auch hierin/ was eines jedlichen Ampt sey. Auß dem *Sulphure* wechst der *Corpus*. Das ist/ der gantz leib ist ein *Sulphur*/

^a Sudhoff (82): "erscheinen."

^b Sudhoff (82): "vermischt und vereinigt."

LIBER SECUNDUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

Now I need to refer to the constitution of the three in a single *corpus*, to explain how these join together. Consider the matter in terms of this example. Every seed is threefold: a seed in which the three substances reside and grow. And just as only one seed is present and manifest, the three appear to be only one. Everything within the seed is united and not separate but rather a composed unity. Thus in a nut are found wood, as well as shell and root.¹ These are three opposing² things which are nonetheless together in one seed. It is no different with the human being that begins as a seed of which the shell or outer skin (**schelffen**)³ is the sperm. On account of its tininess and subtlety no human being has ever seen the seed. Yet human beings grow from the seed. When their growth begins, the three things grow, whereby each in its nature is mixed and united to grow into a single corpus and not as three. Thus a human being grows to become bones, flesh, [and] blood. Though these are three, they are only one organism. Thus the three make up a single *corpus* and are invisibl[y united] in it. In this way, the three substances grow in unity, mixed together, thus calmly conjoined until their time. In the same way, a tree grows first into pith (**ein Marck**).⁴ This pith consists of three substances, yet they appear as a single *corpus*. That is to say, three substances, but only one wood[en object]. Yet the fact that there are indeed three substances present is proven by art, by nature, and by death, insofar as [in these cases] each of the three things <is> separated and taken out in particular, as each should appear. From this, we need to consider the beginnings of things: how they grow in one another and are as a single thing; and how each has its function (**Ampt**), in order to make the *corpus* complete. | 107 |

Now we should also consider what is the function of each. From the *sulphur* the corpus grows, which is to say that the body as a whole

¹ Precise identification of the three is made difficult by the vague references to nut and seed and by the possible meaning of **Rinde** as either bark, shell, or a softer layer below the hard outer one (see Grimm, "Rinde" 3). Decisive for P. is that any growth, process, or combustion reveals a dynamic unity of three.

² See Grimm, **Wiederwärtig** (3): *contrarius, oppositus, adversus*.

³ See Grimm, **Schelfe** (used particularly for the peel of fruit).

⁴ **Mark** clearly intends the tender shoot that resembles the pithy inner part of the tree in texture.

vnnd ist also ein subtiler *Sulphur*/ das jhn das fewr hinnimpt/ vnd verzeerd/ wirdt ohn sichtigkeit. Nuhn sindt der *Sulphura* viel: Das Blut ein anderer *Sulphur*/ das fleisch ein anderer/ die heuptglieder ein ander *Sulphur*/ das marck ein ander/ vnnd also fort: Vnnd aber es ist *Sulphur Volatile*: Die gebein/ wie jhr dann auch mancherlei sindt/ sindt auch *Sulphura*/ aber vom *Sulphure fixo*: Vnnd in der zerlegung durch die *Scientiam*/ so erfindt sich ein jedlicher *Sulphur*/ wie derselbig ist. Nuhn ist aber die Congelation des Corpus auß dem Saltz: Das ist/ ohn das Saltz^a wer nichts greifflichs da: Dann auß dem Saltz khompt dem Diemant sein härty/ dem Eisen sein herti/ dem Bley sein weichi/ dem Alabaster sein weichy/ vnnd dergleichen. Alle Congelation/ Coagulation ist auß dem Saltz. Darumb so ist ein ander *Sal* in Beinen/ ein anders im Blut/ ein anders im Fleisch/ ein anders im Hirn vnnd dergleichen. Dann so mancherlei *Sulphura*/ so mancherlei auch *Salia*. Also ist nuhn der Dritt der *Mercurius*/ dasselbig^b ist der *Liquor*. Alle *Corpora* haben jhre *Liquores*/ darinn sie stehndt/ also/ daß das Blut ein *Liquorem* hatt/ das Fleisch/ das Gebein/ das Marck: Darumb hatt es den *Mercurium*. Also ist es Ein *Mercurius*/ der hatt so vielerlei gestalt vnnd vnderscheidung/ so vielerlei der *Sulphura* seindt/ vnnd der *Salia*. Also nuhn wie der mensch muß ein leib haben/ muß ein Compaction/ das ist/ Congelation haben/ muß ein *Liquorem* haben: Vnnd die drey seindt der mensch/ das ist nur ein *Corpus*: Darumb so wissend/ das Ein leib ist/ aber drey ding.

Also so sie nuhn zusammen kommen vnd Ein *Corpus* sindt/ vnnd doch drey: Darumb der *Sulphur* verbrenndt/ er ist nur ein *Sulphur*: Das Saltz geht in ein *Alkali*^c dann es ist fix: Der *Mercurius* in ein rauch/ dann er verbrennt nicht/ aber er weicht vom Fewr. Darumb so wissen/ das also in den dreyen aufferstehn alle zerbrechung: Als in

^a Sudhoff (83): "sal."

^b Sudhoff (83): "derselbig."

^c "Vom salz und seinen kreften" in *Herbarius* posits an important relationship of **salz** to **alkali**: the former, being of the *tria prima*, constitutes and maintains human beings and all other entities: "wo das angeborn salz im menschen nicht were, so faulet der mensch so lebendig dahin. nit allein in tieren, sonder in allen gewachsen ist salz, und nichts ist, das nit gesalzen sei von der natur, es sei von metallen, steinen, kreutern, holzen, schwammen etc. dan das probirt sich durch die alcalia, welche alle salia sind, so von allen dingen gemacht werden" (S 2:27). *Von den natürlichen Dingen* speaks of the "wasser, olea und sal alkali" as products with special powers, obtained when an herb is incinerated (S 2:96).

is a *sulphur*, and moreover it is a *sulphur*, so subtle that the fire takes it and [it] is consumed without this being seen. Now, many are the *sulphura*: Blood is one *sulphur*; flesh another; the main organs another; the marrow yet another, and on it goes. And yet there is also *sulphur volatile*. [Moreover] bones, though they are of many sorts, are also *sulphura*; but they are constituted by *sulphur fixus*. Moreover, through the analysis by means of *scientia*, each *sulphur* is discovered just as it is. Next, however, comes the congelation of corpus from the salt. This can be summed up by saying that without salt there would be nothing tangible present. For example, it is from the salt that the diamond and iron receive their hardness; lead and alabaster their softness, and so forth. Every congelation, [every] coagulation is from the salt. For this reason, there is one *sal* in bones and another in the blood, and yet another in flesh, and another still in the brain, etc. For just as there are many *sulphura*, there are also many *salia*. Finally, the third thing is *mercurius*; this is the *liquor* [liquid]. All the *corpora* have their *liquores* in which they maintain themselves. Accordingly, blood has a *liquor*, so does flesh, bone, [and] marrow. This means that it has the *mercurius*. For this reason, it can be said that there is a single *mercurius* which has as many forms and distinctions as there are *sulphura* and as there are *salia*. This is all because the human being must have a body; must possess compaction; which is the same as congelation; and must have a *liquor*. These three things are the human being, which is to say a single *corpus*. So take note that there is one body, but three things.¹

They come together and are a single *corpus*, and yet remain three. It is because the *sulphur* burns that it is clearly a *sulphur*. The salt transforms itself into an *alkali*,² for it is fixed. The *mercurius* is a [form of] smoke; for it does not burn, but instead flees from the fire. This is why we know that in the three every [assault of] corruption is

¹ Here particularly it might enhance the appeal of P.'s argument to replace **three things** with *three aspects* or *modalities of being*. But this would seriously distort the tenor of his thought, preoccupied as it is with entities that can be invisible or subtly combined, but which always have the character of discrete things.

² **Alkali**, a hydroxide of an alkali metal, the term originally applied to salts obtained from plant ashes (NCE); on the altered meaning of alkali as a more general chemical process in P., see also Goltz 236ff.

einem Baum/ dem sein *Liquor* endtgehet/ der dorret auß: Wirdt jhm sein | 108 | *Sulphur* genommen/ so ist kein Form da: Wirdt jhm sein Saltz genommen/ so ist kein Congelation do/ sondern er zerfelt von einander wie ein Faß ohn reiff. Nuhn so also diß *Corpus* wechst/ so geht es nur in ein wesen/ das ist in ein Arth/ als ein Birnbaum: Das ist souil/ der Birnbaum gibt nur einerley Biren: Vnnd also nit allein vom Birnbaum/ sondern auch von allen andern beumen. Nuhn laß^a dir inn wissen sein/ das so vielerley der Frücht sindt/ so vielerley *Species in Microcosmo*. Darauß nuhn volgt/ der ein Birn kennt/ der kennt sein Baum/ vnd seine drey Substantzen^b die seind Bierisch. Also soll auch verstanden werden mit den kranckheiten: Da sols nit anderst fürgenommen sein/ dann als so du die kranckheit sichst/ vnd sprechest/ das ist ein Birn/ das ist ein Apffel: Das ist/ so erkannt solt du sein in den dreyen Substantzen/ wie sie da stehndt/ in der kranckheit/ welcherley dieser Baum sey. Darumb so die drey ding einerley biren geben vnnd nicht dreyerlei: Vnnd haben in jhr *Vltima materia* dreyerlei Substantz: So sollen auch die kranckheiten erkannt werden/ das sie ein Sulphurisch Corpus haben/ ein Mercurialischen *liquorem*/ vnnd jhr Congelation vom Saltz: Welche drey auß den andern dreyen wachsen. Darumb die artzney so darauff dient/ muß sein ein Fewr das da verzeret/ dz ist *Ignis Essentiae*/ vnd ohn das fewr ist kein artzney. Dann zugleich weiß wie das Fewr den *Sulphur* hinnimpt vom baum/ also das weder *Sulphur* noch holtz da bleibt: Also muß auch die artzney sein ein verzerung. Vnnd nicht allein im *Sulphure*/ sondern auch in *liquore* vnnd *Sale*: Dann in kranckheiten sindt sie *Volatilia*: Vnnd ob sie fix entgegneten/ so^c sindt sie doch der artzney mechtig vnterworffen/ *Volatilia* zuwerden

Also nuhn von der Natur zureden deren dingen/ das ist/ der kranckheiten/ geht ein einiger Nahm wie dem Obst/ das mann spricht: Das ist ein Birn/ jetzt ist alles begriffen: Das ist ein Apffel/ jetzt ists auch alles begriffen: Also mit der kranckheit auch. So du ein Aussatz findest/ so sag/ das ist *Lepra*: Vnnd laß darbey bleiben: Dann da ist

^a Sudhoff (84): “so laß.”

^b Sudhoff (84): “substanz.”

^c Sudhoff (84) here omits: “sindt sie *Volatilia*: Vnnd ob sie fix entgegneten/ so... .”

resurrected (**aufferstehen**).¹ Thus it happens that a tree which is deprived of its *liquor* withers. Take away its | 108 | *sulphur* and it loses its form. Take away its salt and there is no more congelation in it. It falls apart like a barrel without hoops. When this *corpus* grows, it develops into a single organism (**wesen**) with a single nature, as for example that of a pear tree. This is as much as to say that the pear tree yields a single kind of fruit, which are pears. This is true not only of pear trees, but of all other trees as well. Therefore, you should consider that as many kinds of fruit as there are, there is the same number of *species in microcosmo*. From this it follows that whoever knows a pear, knows the tree, as well as its three substances, which are peartic.² The diseases must be understood in the same way: you should proceed in no other way than by regarding the disease and stating, as it were: “that is a pear, that is an apple.” This means that you should be equally familiar with the three substances, with regard to how they manifest themselves in the disease, [in order to ascertain] of what sort the “tree” is. This is because the three things yield only one sort of pear, and not three sorts. Moreover, in their *ultima materia* they have the three substances. The diseases should be recognized in the same way: they have a sulphurous corpus, a mercurial *liquor*, and [they have] their congelation from the salt. These three develop out of the other three. Insofar as it is a matter of their serving as medicine, there must be a fire that consumes. This is *ignis essentialis*. Without this fire, there is no medicine. For just as the fire extracts the *sulphur* from the tree so that neither *sulphur* nor wood is left: so also medication must be a consuming. [This is true] not only in the *sulphur*, but also in the *liquor* and the *sal*. For in diseases, these are *volatilia*. Even if they are encountered as fixed, medicine has a powerful capacity to make them into *volatilia*.

In speaking of nature and its three things, and accordingly also of the diseases, a single name fits, as it does with the [kind of] fruit, so that we say: “This is a pear,” and the word covers everything about it; or “This is an apple,” and the word covers everything about it. Let it be the same with diseases as well. If you find a case of leprosy, then

¹ See Grimm: the terms **Zerbrechung**, **zerbrechen**, implying corruptibility, and **aufferstehen** (Grimm: *surgere, resurgere*), implying the resurrection of the body, had clear religious connotations in themselves and with regard to one another in P.’s time.

² **Bierisch**, from pear, suggests a pointedly invented neologism, hence the awkward equivalent.

nicht zuachten sein Kelthi/ Hitz/ Drückhni/ Wermi: Dann auß denen dingen | 109 | wechst nichts *in Corporibus, in Substantiis*, das zube-trachten sey. Dann die Artzney geht in der *Lepra*, als in *Regeneratione*,^a welchs alles beschicht ohn solche betrachtung. Zugleicher weiß wie du nit solt ansehen/ die farben am Baum/ die form/ vnnd dergleichen/ so du jhn pflantzen wilt/ sondern sich allein den Samen an: die andern ding werden sich selbst geben. Dann sie sind *Vltimae materiae Substantiae*, das ist jhrs lebens: darumb ligt nichts an jnen. Also mit *Icteritia*, nenn sie nach jrem Nammen/ vnd vrtheil sie nit/ ob sie kalt oder feücht sey: Sondern sein Cur geht/ wie ein Axt die ein Baum abhawet: Oder wie ein Fewr das alle *Volatilia* verzeert. Vnd wie das Fewr ein Exempel gibt/ das alle ding verzeert/ also soll auch die Artzney sein: Nicht achten/ wo kalt/ wo warms/ sondern/ hinweg nehmen/ das ist der Arcanen Art vnd Eigenschafft. Zugleicher weiß/ wie ein ding ist/ daß das leben nimpt. Also ist auch ein ding vnd vrsach daß die kranckheit nimpt. Du brichst die Byren ab vom Baum: Nun ist der Baum ledig: Mit solchen *Nominibus, Causis*, must du abbrechen die Kranckheiten: vnd nit in der Substantz vnd Corpus der Biren ligen/ sondern im stiel/ darauff sie steht: Jetzt merck/ was die Artzney sey/ vnnd in was erkandtnuß sie stand.

Nun mercken diese *Exempla*. Du sichst/ dz der Winter vnd der Sommer abwechßlen mit einander/ vnnd wie je eins dem andern nachgeheth/ jetzt kalt/ jetzt warm: Solches versich dich auch im Leib: daß aber ein kranckheit sey/ das ist es nicht: Sie vertreiben einander selbst. Dann der Mensch ist dem Sommer vnderworffen/ auch dem Winter: vnnd so er im Winter eingespert würd/ in ein Circkel fewer/ vnd entdpfünde des Winthers nit: Noch so verbringt der Winter sein wirkung in jm/ was er mit jhm zuhandlen hat/ vnnd ein jedlicher Monat/ da hilfft kein versperren nicht: also auch der Sommer findt jhn. Warumb aber will das der Artzt nit erkennen/ vnd solche *cursus coelestes* dermassen für sich nehmen? Als hab die Natur geirret/ vnd will sie vertreiben/ das nun zu argem geht vnd nit zu guttem. Die ding sind auch kranckheiten/ wie dann der Winter dem Menschen widerwertig ist/ vnnd des Sommers hitz: Aber es sind fürwar nicht Kranck-

^a *Regeneratio* is used by P. in the positive sense of regeneration, but also negatively to denote a superfluous growth upon the body: "Regeneratio ist ein hoger [Grimm: hump, *tuber*, *gibbus*, or *struma*], wan der leib gewachsen ist, possibile est, ut fiat secunda regeneratio et est pura superfluitas regenerationis" (S 4:363).

say: “This is *lepra*.” And let it go at that. For it is not a matter of its coldness, heat, dryness, warmth. For from those | 109 | nothing grows *in corporibus, in substantiis*, that needs to be taken into consideration. For the medication has its sphere of action in *lepra* as such, that is, *in regeneratione*, which acts entirely without consideration of those other factors. In the same way, you should disregard the colors of a tree, its form, and so on, when you are out to plant it; but instead should concentrate on the seed. The other matters will follow of themselves. For they are *ultima materiae substantiae* [substances of the final matter], with respect to their life, so in consequence nothing depends on them. And so it is with *icteritia* [jaundice]: call it what it is, and don’t pursue judgments about its being cold or damp. Its cure will proceed in the way that an axe fells a tree—or like a fire that consumes all the *volatilia*. And just as the fire is exemplary for the way all things are consumed, medicine should follow in kind. Do not worry about where it is cold, nor warm, but rather—eliminate [it]: it is in the nature and property of the arcane powers to do so. In the same way that there is something that eliminates life [itself]: similarly, there is a cause and substance that can eliminate the disease. Break off the pears from the tree: the tree is then empty of fruit. With comparable *nomina* [and] *causae*, you must break off the diseases; not doing so in the substance and corpus of the pears either, but rather the very stem upon which they depend. From that you can see what medicine is and what sort of knowledge it implicates.

Next consider these *exempla*: You can notice how winter and summer take turns, and how each follows the other, first cold, then warm. Observe the same thing in the body. But that a disease is involved in this must by no means be the case. They chase each other away by themselves. For the human being is subject to the summer and also to the winter; and indeed, even if he were secluded during the winter within a circle of fire, still the winter would work within him its effect that is its function to bring about, as does every month besides. No seclusion can prevent that. Summer would find him as well. Why is it that the physicians do not want to recognize that and pay appropriate attention to such *cursus coelestes* [which constitute summer and winter]? As if nature had somehow made a mistake and wanted to dispel something that worked to ill effect rather than to good. These things are also [like] diseases, [acting] in the same way as the winter [has an effect], contrary to the human being, as [does] the heat of the summer. But these things are certainly not diseases. More-

heiten. Also lauffen auch | 110 | Stern für/ so kalt vnnd warm machen/ mit jhren *Interpolatis diebus*: Also in *Febribus* vnnd dergleichen: was ist dasselbig aber? als allein ein vrsach vom Himmel/ die solchs bewegt? vnd der Artzt hatt dem *Microcosmo* zugelegt/ auß seiner Natur/ vnd den Himmel nie betracht/ darumb sie verschossen haben. So ist dz auch wahr/ daß sich viel begibt/ das der Mensch in ein hitz fällt: Sie ist nit auß jhm: sie ist als die Sonn/ dieweil sie Regirt/ dieweil ist sie heiß: vnnd ist aber dem/ der sie leidt/ nicht eingeboren/ sondern ein *Accidens*: Der die Sonn wendet/ der wendet auch die schaden. Darauff gehört/ so ein solche Himmlische hitz angeht/ ein verstand: daß die Borealischen Lüfft verstopft sind/ die sollen auffge-
than werden/ so wird das Temperament wider/ wie es sein soll.

Darumb von der hitz des Menschen wissent/ von wannen sie komm: In jhm sind alle *Coelestia*, *Terrestria*, *Vndosa*, vnd *Aerea*. Nuhn so die ding alle in gleicher waag vereiniget sind/ so ist es im leib weder kalt noch warm. Nuhn aber so muß ein hitz da sein/ mehr dann dise ist/ die nimpt sich auß dem Magen/ derselbig wermbt den leib. Vom Magen wissent/ das es ein mechtige hitz ist/ die so trefflich seüdt vnnd kocht/ fürwar dem eussern fewr nit weit vngleich. Nun ist er aber nit allein derselbig: Sondern ein jedlich Glied hatt solchen Magen auch/ in jhm selbst.^a Drumb so ist in eim jedlichen Glied das fewr/ vnnd ist *Ignis Digestionis*: auß dem kompt der Leib die tegliche hitz/ vnd nit auß den Elementen/ so im Leib sind/ oder dergleichen: das ist die fürgehend hitz/ die *Digestio* gibt: vnd je mehr *Digestio* zu arbeiten hat/ je mehr die hitz auffsteigt/ vnd je weniger/ je kelter der Mensch. Diese hitz gibt vrsachen der Farben/ das ist/ sie treibts herfür/ die darinn ligt/ vnd bewegt den *Mercurium*, das er blühet. Wer will aber nach diser blüe sagen: der ist ein *Sanguineus*, dieweil sie *Ignis digestionis* herfür treibt. Also werden andere *colores* auch herfür trieben von teglicher hitz/ die da in der Jugendt anders seindt/ im Mittel alter anderst/ im Alten alter anderst: Aber/ es sind *Complexio-*

^a The treatise on *tartarus* diseases expands on this view that digestion occurs in each organ of the body.

over, | 110 | stars also issue forth and effect warmth by means of their *interpolati diei*.¹ Thus, with regard to *febres* and whatever is of its kind; [we ask] what precisely is it? What else but a cause [proceeding] from the heavens that stimulates such things? And yet the physicians [heretofore] has ascribed it to the *microcosmus*, as proceeding from its nature, and have disregarded the heavens for which reason they missed the mark. Moreover, it is also the case that much can go into causing a human being to become hot. This does not arise from within him. It is rather just as with the sun [which], when it rules over us indeed causes heat, and yet [the heat] is not inherent in him who suffers from it, but rather an *accidens*. Whoever reduces the sun's effect, reduces the harm as well. For this reason, the following sort of understanding of this is required when a celestial heat of this kind starts up: the Borealic airs are blocked, they should be opened up so that the temperature shall again become as it should be.

For this reason, consider with regard to the heat of the human being whence it comes. Within it are all *coelestia, terrestria, undosa, and aerea*. Now when all things are united in equilibrium, the body is afflicted neither by warmth nor by cold. But there must certainly be more than this sort of heat which proceeds from the stomach, which is the organ that warms the body. Take into account that the stomach is a powerful source of heat, which boils and cooks [things] most excellently and is not unlike the external fire. But this is not where it ends: each and every organ has a kind of stomach within it as well. For this reason fire resides in every organ, which is *ignis digestionis*: from this there proceeds the common heat of the body and not from the elements that are in the body, nor from any such thing. The *digestio* gives off the advancing heat; and the more the *digestio* has to work, the more the heat rises; and [conversely] the less [digestion], the colder is the human being. This heat is what causes the colors, which is to say, it makes them come forth, since they lie within, and it activates the *mercurius* so that it blossoms. But who should want say of this blossoming: this person is a *sangineus*, inasmuch as it is [actually] the *ignis digestionis* that makes it come out? Other *colores* are also made to come forth in the same way by the daily heat; they are different in youth, in the intermediate age, and in old age. But what of the *com-*

¹ Interpolated or altered days. The OLD defines *interpolo-*, *ari*: 2. to alter, as *duorum siderum (sc. solis et lunae) occursum, quo -ari dies solet*. Seneca *Nat.* 1.17.3; MLLM, *interpolare*: interrupt.

nes. Das darauff gesagt möcht werden/ die Jugendt ist *Sanguinea*, das Mittel alter *Cholera*, *Phlegma*, *Melanchol.* etc. die solchs reden/ vergessen *caloris digestionis*, vnd der materien der dreyen | 111 | Substantzen in jhrem fürtreffen. Dann ein jedlicher Baum hat sein sondere *Flores*, also auch der Mensch: vnd dise *Flores* heissen sie *Complexiones*: daß ein jrender *Canon* ist.

Darumb so wissend in den dingen/ daß auch also in der Natur ist der wachsenden dingen in der Welt: darumb nit *Gradus* sind/ sondern *Species*: Es soll sich Speciren/ nit Gradiren. Dann alle ding so eusserlich sind/ behalten den *Gradum* nit/ den *Platearius*^a geschriben hat/ vnd andere *Herbarij*, so es in den Magen kompt: Was du nicht bereit hast/ das bereit der Magen zu/ (so ers vermag) vnnd bricht all solche kelte/ werme vnd dergleichen/ vnd sucht das *Arcanum* herfür: dann die ding sterben im Magen alle ab: vnd was abstirbt/ das soll der Artzt nit für sich nemmen: Vnd so der Magen dasselbig nit bricht/ so ist ein zeichen seiner schweche vnd krankheit: Jetzt ist die Artzney nit am besten/ dann es mag nit faulen im Magen: so muß sie aber faulen. Das aber ettlich Artzney in der Pestilentz mit hitz eingeben werden/ als gewürtz/ vnd dergleichen/ vnd sie faulen nicht/ so wirckens nichts: so müssens faulen: Darumb die nicht genesen auß der Artzney/ deren Magen hatt nicht gefeület: Auff das denn volgt/ je schneller in die feülung/ je schneller die gesundtheit: die ding so die feülung hindern/ hindern die gesundtheit. Es ist ein böser Schweiß/ der außgetrieben wirdt in der zeit/ durch vngefeülte Artzney: Er gehet nit zum Leben. Darauff zu wissen ist/ das solche ding/ so nach *Complexionibus* vnnd

^a Regarding herbal medicine, P. refers to **Platearius**, usually in conjunction with Plinius and Dioscorides, with an air of knowledge and discrimination (S 4:25, 93, 95).

plexiones? When people say things such as youth is *sanguinea*, the intermediate age is *cholera* [or] *phlegma*, *melancholia*, or what have you, [then] statements of that kind forget about the *calor digestionis* and the material of the three | 111 | substances in all their importance. For just as each and every tree has its particular *flores*, so too does the human being, and to call these things *complexiones* is an errant *canon*.¹

So let it be known with respect to these matters that there are similar growing things in external nature. This is why there are not *gradus*, but rather *species*:² what happens is that things are made specific, not graduated. For all those things that are external do not retain the *gradus* when they come into the stomach, as in the account of Platearius³ or other *herbarii*. What you have not processed is then processed by the stomach (insofar as it is able), which shatters everything of the warm and the cold, and seeks out the *arcanum*. For all things perish in the stomach, and what perishes should not be the matter for the physician. To the extent that the stomach does not succeed in breaking [down] such things, this is a sign indicating its weakness and illness. Under these circumstances, medication will not be most effective; for things are not [then] rotting in the stomach as they must. Some physicians have responded with the hot, namely spices and that sort of thing, in the case of pestilence: If they do not rot, they do not have an effect. For they must rot. For this reason, they do not recover from any medication that the stomach has not succeeded in rendering foul. Moreover, it follows from this that the quicker the process of turning foul, the sooner the [return to] health. Those things that prevent the rotting, prevent the [return to] health. It is therefore a bad thing that sweating should be forced away in this time by means of non-fouling medication. It does not happen for the benefit of life. For these reasons it should be clear that those things that are carried out in

¹ Here, P. goes beyond his usual diatribes against Galen and Avicenna to allude to the latter's *Canon*. For background regarding the importance of Avicenna in this period, see ARI 12 (cf. Intro 10, note 13).

² P. here gives voice to his belief in the primacy of qualitative over quantitative distinctions.

³ See LMA, **Platearius**: the name of a physician family from the medical School of Salerno. Giovanni Platearius exercised an influence as the reputed author of a *Practica brevis* (printed in Ferrara 1488 and Venice 1497), possibly alluded to here. Matthei is erroneously credited with an influential writing on drugs. One of their writings is understood here as typical of the whole tradition of herbal books.

Gradibus fürgenommen werden/ im Leib nix zu schaffen haben: dann im Leib sind weder kalt noch warm Kranckheiten in der wurtzen: Wider wen solte dann kalt oder warm Artzney fechten? Es muß die Byrn im Stiel abgebrochen werden/ vnd vom Baum gefellt.

accordance with [the theory] of *complexiones* and *gradus* are not appropriate for the body: for in the body neither cold nor warm is a root of diseases. With what should cold or warm medicine do combat? The pear has to be broken off from the stem and fall from the tree.

CAPVT SECVNDVM.

Darumb so sind die Arcanen nit alte ding/ sondern Newe ding: Nit alte geburt/ sondern newgeburt.^a Die alten geburt sind die wesen vnd form/ wie sie in der Welt stehndt. Vnnd zu gleicher weiß wie vns die form solcher ding nichts nützt/ sondern sie muß zerbrochen werden/ vnd ein new darauß werden/ sonst ist sie nichts nutz: Also muß auch da sein ein verlieren | 112 | aller alter Eigenschafft/ kelte vnd werme. Das ist/ Es sey dann sach/ das *Solatrum*^b sein kelte velier/ so wird sie kein Artzney sein: dergleichen/ es sey dann sach/ das *Anacardi*^c sein hitz verliet/ sonst wirdt sit kein Artzney sein. Das ist in der Summ/ Es sey dann sach/ das alle alte arth absterbe/ vnd in die Newgeburt geführt werd/ sonst werden kein Artzney da sein: diß absterben ist ein anfang der zerlegung deß bösen vom gutten. Also bleibt die letzt Artzney/ das ist/ die newgeborne Artzney/ ohn alle Complexion vnd dergleichen/ ein lediges *Arcanum*. Warumb sagen die jrrigen/ du solt den *gradum* nicht zu hoch brauchen: das ist/ was du mit dem ersten thun magst/ das solt du nit thun durch den dritten oder vierdten: Auß vrsachen aber/ der Magen mag sie nit feülen/ er ist jhn zu schwach/ sonst wer es nach jhrem anzeigen billich/ als ein Grad je mehr kelter/ je besser/ dann je weniger das *Dosis*. Zu dem das da ein grosser Irrsall ist/ das man sagen soll/ es ist das/ höher in der kelte dann das: so doch nur ein Grad der keltin ist. Billicher sprechen sie: das Kraut wiget nuhr ein loth

^a Sudhoff (88): “neu geburt” here and in the subsequent sentence, “neu geborne arznei.”

^b The Basel *De Gradibus* lists **Solatrum** with Rosa, Anthera, Nenuphar, Camomilla, Hypericon, Viola, and Centaurea among the “simplicia” (S 4:23); their cold degree corresponds to their origin from earth (S 4:20, 9). *Solatrum* plays a role in cures for gangrene (S 4:211), headache (S 5:311), and other ailments (S 4:299).

^c *Anacardus* and *Piper* occur in prescriptions recorded in student notes of P.’s *De Gradibus*; they are used together in a “cura guttae” (S 4:102) and a prescription “De repercussionibus cicatrisantibus” (108). The former is combined with “theriaca mandragorata aut aurea alexandrina confecta” against worms (S 5:214), and a liquor of the two together enters into a treatment in cases of “apoplexia et paralyssi consumpta, id est, post paroxysmum” (S 5:248). In treating wounds, both are found in a formula for “Zittern” (S 5:368).

CAPUT SECUNDUM

Accordingly, the arcane powers are not old entities but rather new ones: they are not the old birth but rather the new birth.¹ The old birth are the essences and forms as they are found in the world. In the same way that the form of such things is of no value for our purposes—for it must be broken and something new emerge from it; otherwise it is of no use to us—so, too, there must be a loss | 112 | of all old properties, [such as] cold and warm. Unless, for example, *solatrum*² loses its coolness, it will not become a medication. Likewise, unless *anacardi*³ loses its heat, it cannot be turned into a medication. That is true in general: unless it happens that the old nature dies off and is brought into the new birth, there can be no medication: for this dying off is the beginning of the separation of the evil from the good. Accordingly, the ultimate medication, which is to say the reborn medication, is left without anything like a complexion: [it is] a free *arcanum*. Why is it that those who err say that one should not make use of a *gradum* that is too high, i.e., what you can do with the first [degree], you should not practice with the third or the fourth? It is rather for the reason that the stomach may not cause [them] to foul; it is too weak for them; otherwise, following their sense, it would be appropriate to say that each degree colder would be that much better, for the *dosis* [could then remain smaller]. Moreover, there is a general error in claiming that the one thing is higher in terms of coldness than the other. For there is only one coldness in terms of degree.⁴ It would be more appropriate to say: this herb weighs half an ounce (**ein loth**)⁵ of cold, but

¹ The language of “**the new birth**” is identical with the religious language of “re-birth”; the usage of “new born” is the same as “reborn.”

² See Grimm: *solatrum* was the same as *solanum* (“Nachtschatten”); Grimm offers interesting German citations (cf. Marzell; Brunfels 195). *Solanum* is “the plant nightshade, *solanum nigrum* and allied species” (OLD). Pliny (27:132) notes: “*Solanum* according to Cornelius Celsus is called *στρογγύον* by the Greeks. It has repressive and cooling properties.” Some species are poisonous.

³ Wahrig defines **Anakarde** (from Greek *ana* + *kardia* “heart”) as “Nierenbaum” (cashew tree). Marzell characterizes the family of the *Anacardiaceae* (Nikolov: “Sumachgewächse” or English “Sumac family”) as poisonous. Zedler explains the extraction of fluid from the nut of *Anacardium* or *Anacardus officinalis* and gives, citing Mesue, its medicinal uses for head ailments, including stroke, laming, and poor memory.

⁴ The difficult train of thought that follows rejects the quantitative classification by degree, ultimately in favor of a classification in accordance with unique virtues.

⁵ Wahrig defines the archaic unit of weight, “das **Loth**,” as about “1/30 Pfund.”

keltin/ das aber hat 4. loth kelte/ so jedtweders ein gleichs gewicht genommen würd: darauff dann volgen würd/^a Nimb der keltin wie du sie findest/ 1 quintlin/^b gibts in der hitz: So sie aber müssen sondere Kreütter haben: nit *Portulacam*, sondern *Nenufar*,^c nit *Chamomillam*, sondern *Piper*: das beweists/ daß^d sie nicht hitz oder keltin suchen/ sondern sie suchen die *Arcana*: vermeinen aber der *gradus* seys. So sie wisten/ das nur ein kelte/ ein hitz/ ein feuchte/ ein tröckne wer/ so stündens ab auß dem fürnehmen. So aber sich befinden möcht/ das zweyerley/ dreyerley kalt wesen werend/ heiß wesen werend/ naß wesen/ trocken wesen/ so müst ichs^e nachgeben.

Diß alles ist so viel geredt/ das ein grosser Irrsal hierinn *de Gradibus* gehalten ist worden/ vnd die *Complexiones Rerum* nit recht verstanden/ daß alles ein ding sey in den vieren: Haben vier *Humores* gesetzt/ so es doch nuhr allein *Liquor Mercurij* ist/ deß nicht allein vier wesen sind/ sondern viel hundert arth/ eigenschafft/ eröffnung vnd dergleichen: vnd Er aber ist nit allein die vrsach/ sondern die andern zwey mit jhm. Dann ein jedliche Kranckheit steht selb dritt^f in jhrer Composition: | 113 | welchs aber die andern zwey vrsacht/ das steht in seinen sondern Capitulen. Dann also entspringen die kranckheiten/ wie *Lucifer* im Himmel/ auß jr eigen hoffart/ die dann alle

^a Sudhoff (88): “wird: ...”

^b Sudhoff (88): “I quintlin.”

^c *Portulaca* and *nenufar* are among the herbs “frigidae naturae” in *De Gradibus* (S 4:20-21). The former is discussed in the “*Scholia et observationes in Poëmata Macri*”: “Non est herba humida, sed bene frigida cum resolutione...”; it “ist der edlest salat” (S 3:412). The latter plays a curative role “In tertia specie pestis, id est ex terra” (S 5:87) and in treating “wunden der nieren,” kidney ailments (S 5:454) and complications of wounds (S 6:95). However, *Vom Ursprung und Herkommen der Franzosen. 8 Bücher* (1529) contrasts the alchemical separation and transformation of the “arcana” favorably with the retrograde use of pepper for “feuer” and “nenufar und rosen” for cold (S 7:275). In search of a cure for syphilis, P. notes that it is not the element but rather an inherent “salz” that results in its moistness (247). On its use for “mania,” cf. H 1:86, note.

^d Sudhoff (89): “das beweist, das.”

^e Sudhoff (89): “ich.”

^f Sudhoff (89): “selbdrit.”

that one has only two ounces (**4. loth**) of cold, to the degree that anything is [to be] taken in terms of equal weight. From this it ought to follow that you would take the coldness as you find it, one fourth part of a half ounce (**j. quintlin**)¹ of coldness; and then you would give it to the heat. For this, you would need distinct herbs: not *portulaca*,² but rather *nenufar*,³ not *chamomilla*,⁴ but rather *piper*.⁵ This goes to show that they do not seek heat or cold; rather they are after the *arcana*; but they [mistakenly] believe that it is a matter of the *gradus*. If they were sure that there is only one coldness, heat, moistness, dryness, they would quit pursuing this. But if it were to become apparent that two or three kinds of cold or hot entities endure, as well as moist entities and dry entities, then I would want to pursue this further.⁶

All of this is as much as to say that an enormous error has obtained in the matter of [the medical practice] *de gradibus*; and that the *complexiones rerum* have not been properly understood [with reference to the fact] that all things are as if one in the four [elements]. Those in error have posited four *humores* where in reality there is only *liquor mercurii*, of which there are not simply four kinds (**wesen**) but many hundred natures, properties, manifestations, and so on. Nor is it the sole cause, but rather the other two⁷ along with it. For every disease stands threefold in its composition: | 113 | However, that which causes the other two is found in their respective chapters. For it happens that they arise like *Lucifer* in the heavens out of their own upstart pride,

¹ See Grimm, **Quintlein**. The preceding “j.” is a Roman numeral I.

² German **Portulak** is English Portulacca or Purslane (Nikolov; cf. LMA: “Portulak”) of the Portulacaceae family of herbs and small shrubs; the European variety is sometimes used as potherbs and greens (NCE).

³ **Nenufar**, see H 1:86.

⁴ **Chamomile** (Greek: “ground-apple”), name for various related plants of the Compositae family, it has an apple-like aroma; oil from the wild variant was used medicinally, as a tonic (NCE; cf. LMA: “Kamille”).

⁵ **Piper**, Latin for pepper (on its medieval uses, see LMA: “Pfeffer”).

⁶ This difficult but significant passage must be interpreted as an argument against the more quantifiable view of heat and cold as consisting of degrees that can cancel one another out. Instead, what is called hot or cold in medicine consists of the arcane properties embodied in diverse herbal species that cannot cancel one another (as chamomile versus pepper). The absurdity to which the false view leads is intentionally heightened when P. speaks of the degree of hot/cold in terms of the weight of the respective herbs. Those who use hot or cold herbs are, without knowing it, actually in search of the arcane powers they contain.

⁷ The “**other two**” are *sul* and *sulphur*; with *mercurius*, they generate variety, unlike the static elements.

Bella intestina macht: So sich der *Mercurius* erhebt seins Liquors/ der dann groß ist/ vnd wunderbarlich: dann Gott hat jhn vber alle wunder auß geschaffen. So er nuhn auffsteigt vnd bleibt nit in seiner staffeln: das ist jetzt ein anfang der Discordantz. Also auch mit dem *Sulphure* vnd *Sale*: dann so das *Sal* sich erhöcht/ vnnnd bsondert sich/ was ist es als allein ein fressendts ding? wo sein hoffart ligt/ da nagt sie vnd frißt: Auß diesem fressen vnd nagen/ da entspringen die *Vlcerationes*, *Cancer*, *Cancrena etc.*^a So das *Sal* blieb in seinen staffeln/ der mensch würdt nimmer mehr^b geöffnet an seim Leib. So der *Sulphur* geht in sein hoffart/ so zerschmelzt er den Leib/ wie der Schnee an der Sonnen. Vnd der *Mercurius* wird so hoch in seiner subtilitet/ daß er zu hoch steigt/ vnnnd dardurch den Gehen Todt macht/ auß zuvil subtili/ die vber sein stafflen ist. Dann also ist es geordnet in der vernunft/ daß sie soll in jhren stafflen bleiben ohn hoffart: Also auch ohn hoffart die Natur in jhrem Ampt. Aber so vilerley sind der Köpff vnd der Sinn/ daß sie mit gwalt brechen die stafflen. Nun/ es soll aber nichts ewigs bleiben in den Creaturen des fleischs: drumb so müssen sie also zertrennt werden/ durch jhr vielfaltig gaben/ tugenden vnnnd krefften/ so sie haben. Also wie ein Reich dz sich selbst zerbricht: Also zerbricht sich auch diß gesundheit. Darinn zuwissen ist/ das je ein ding als gut ist als das ander: der Carfunckel nix besser dann der Dufftstein: die Tann nix erger gegen dem Cupressen:^c das beweist das liecht der Natur. Der Goldt vber Silber getheüret^d hat/ der hatts auß dem Geitz gethan: dann dem Silber ist gleich so hoch sein *donum*

^a The context having to do with the corrosive effect of “salt” and the sequence of terms suggest the three are to be understood in relation to a more general pathology of “**ulcerationes**,” “offene scheden,” and “löcher” (see especially the treatises in S 6). The three are taken up in this connection in *Drei Bücher der Wundarznei, Bertheonei* (1528): “Vom krebs oder **cancro**” (S 6:126-27), “Vom beinfresser, genant S. Johans buß, S. Küris buß, auf latein **gangraena**” (127ff.), and, more inclusively, “solche ulcera” (128ff.).

^b Sudhoff (89): “nimmermer.”

^c *Von den natürlichen Wassern* speculated on the virtues in metals, gems, and woods including cypress that can be processed with retention of their innate virtue: “ir wissent, das in **cupresso** ein kleine kraft ligt, aber da ist ein groß corpus. nun auf das folgt, das die putrefactio den corpus feulet, aber die tugent nicht. auf das folgt, das die tugent vom corpus mag gescheiden werden, und in sein compaction gebracht” (S 2:304).

^d Sudhoff (90): “getüret.”

which then causes all *bella intestina*¹ when the *mercurius* rises up in its *liquor*, which then is truly great as well as marvelous. For God created it beyond all marvels. When it rises up and does not remain in its proper degree, that is the beginning of discordance.² And so it is, too, with *sulphur* and *sal*: For if the *sal* should be heightened and separate itself, what is it then other than a corrosive thing? Where its upstart pride lies, there it devours and eats away. Out of this devouring and eating arise *ulcerationes*, *cancer*, *cancrena*, etc. If instead of this the *sal* remained in its degree (**Staffeln**),³ the human being would never again have an open wound [of the kind implied above] in his body. If *sulphur* enters its state of upstart pride, then it melts the body the way snow is melted by the sun. And *mercurius* can ascend so much in its subtilization that it climbs too high and thereby causes sudden death from too much subtilization, which surpasses its degree. For things are ordered in such a way in reason that they should remain in their proper station without upstart pride. So, too, nature [must remain] without upstart pride in its proper function. Yet there are so many kinds of minds and thoughts that they break the degrees by force. Now, as it happens, nothing eternal should abide in the creatures of flesh: this is why they must be made to disintegrate through the many gifts, virtues, and forces that they possess. Thus [it is] like a realm divided against itself:⁴ in this same way health also disintegrates. From this it is to be concluded that each and every thing is as good as the next: the carbuncle is no better than the tofa stone,⁵ the pine tree no worse than the cypress. This is proven by the light of nature. Whoever has prized gold above silver has done so out of greed; for the *donum* given to silver is as high as that given to gold. Therefore, this [i.e., prizing of

¹ *Bella intestina*, here the internal or intestinal wars result as the analog (and remote effect!) of Lucifer's pride which is conceived here typically as a rising up and perhaps overflowing of mercurial qualities.

² The language or transgression is rooted in the sense that a violation of the proper order in nature leads as much to sin as to sickness, both being consequences of a primal fall from grace. The provenance of these in **discord** is an originally medieval notion still evident in Jacob Boehme's account of human illness and Lucifer's pride as the same transgression of proper degree (see *Aurora* 1:21; 16:79), or in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (1, 3), in Ulysses' praise of "degree" without which "plagues" and "portents" ensue.

³ See Grimm, **Staffel**: *gradus*, but also proper station.

⁴ Again, Mk 3:24 (see H 1:77, 80).

⁵ See above, **Du[f]ftstein**: Duckstein, a sponge-like stone (H 2:11, cf. Grimm, Zedler).

geben als dem Goldt:^a drumb nicht auß der Weyßheit der Natur das beschehen ist/ sondern auß zeitlichem verstand.

Also so nuhn der Todt sieht die zertrennung des Reichs/ so faltt er ein: zugleich weiß als ein Reich das zergehn will/ das kompt in ein frembde hand. Also so die drey Substantzen sich scheiden in der Einigkeit/ so sitzt der Todt wie ein Nachbawr da/ vnd falt ein so lang mit seiner geschicklichkeit ein stund in | 114 | die ander/ von einem tag zu dem andern/ biß er je ein theil dem andern nach vberwindt/ vnd je ein Substantz der andern nach vberherschet/ vnd am letzten sich gar eintreibt/ als dann ist niemandts der jhn vertreibt. So aber solchs nit ist/ sondern er sitzt ettlichs theils da/ so ist die Artzney ein beystand der Natur/ durch die sich die Natur wider erholet. Also was das Saltz^b gefressen hatt/ das heilt die *Consolida*^c wider: vnnd was der *Sulphur* sich in die dissolution ergeben hat/ dz Restaurirt der *Crocus*^d wider: vnd was der *Mercurius* zu hoch gesubtilt hatt/ das ingrossirt das *Aurum*:^e also wird der Natur geholffen. Aber zu gleicher weiß wie ein Reich das eröbert ist/ das geschicht mit schaden den sie endtpfahen: Also auch/ das fleisch so das *Sal* hinweg gefressen hatt/ dasselbige wirdt dumm/ mag nicht wider seins schadens ergetzt werden/ wie es denn verloren hat: vnnd also mit den^f andern: Darumb desto mehr fleiß zu haben ist/ das solche *Corpora* in teglicher auffenthaltung bleiben: Leichtlich werden sie gar verderbt/ oder leichtlich schadt jhn

^a This thought seems inconsistent with P.'s high praise of *aurum* (cf. H 1:114) but may be intelligible with regard to the value of silver in medical interventions (“poni **silbern** drot,” “mit den silbern rören sol man curim intestina vulnerata”—S 5:348); and perhaps with regard to the equal subjugation of all to process.

^b Sudhoff (90): “sal.”

^c The writings on surgery and the treatment of “ulcera” discuss it as a useful material: “**consolida** heilt die wunden”—S 6:49), sometimes it appears in connection with “centaurea” (S 6:77) or as “consolida aurea” (147f.); and on one occasion of relevance here, “consolida” is among a cohort of “generaten...aus dem erdrich” which are compared with “generaten aus dem wasser,” including gold and other metals (S 6:255). It is listed in *De Gradibus* among the herbs “ex terra...in primo gradu frigida” (S 4:20).

^d The *De Gradibus* notes state, “**Crocus**, summa medicina tristitiae. tristitia, quando quis ad desperationem venit” (S 4:123). “Crocus martis” is often an ingredient in P.'s “cement” formulae (cf. S 3:75, 81, etc.).

^e *De Vita Longa* generalizes the medicinal power of gold: “Ex universis elixiris summum ac potissimum est **aurum**” (S 3:273). *Archidoxis* includes a formula for an “elixir quintae essentiae” containing measures of “quintae essentiae auri” and “croci” (S 3:193).

^f Sudhoff (91): “dem.”

gold] did not happen out of any wisdom of nature but out of a worldly understanding.

Hence, as soon as death recognizes the disintegration of the kingdom, it goes on the attack. For just as with a kingdom which is at the point of passing away, it falls into foreign hands. And thus, as soon as the three substances fall out of their [former] unity, death sits there like a neighbor and sallies in with its agility from one hour to | 114 | the next, from one day to the next, until finally it has conquered one part after the other, and come to prevail over one substance after the other, and finally takes it for himself when there is no one to fend him off any more. But if it is not quite like this and he only sits in some part, then medicine is a reinforcement of nature through which nature can return to itself. So for example what the salt has consumed can be healed by *consolida*.¹ And that which *sulphur* has submitted to itself in the dissolution is restored by *crocus*.² And that which *mercurius* has rendered too subtle is returned to its proper density by *aurum*.³ In this way nature is assisted. However, just as a kingdom that has been conquered does not come out of it without receiving harm, in the same way the flesh that has been eaten away by the *sal* becomes stale⁴ and does not allow for being relieved of this damage or compensated for what it has lost; and similarly with the other cases of this kind. This is why all the more application is needed so that these *corpora* should remain in daily maintenance. It is easy for them to become very cor-

¹ See *Consolida* (MLW): *symphytum*, a medicinal plant especially used for bone injuries and fractures; in German “Beinwell,” English “woundwort” (Nikolov; cf. CPNH, Marzell: *consolida* or *symphyton* was a medicinal resource from Pliny to Hildegard of Bingen, Platearius, and Brunfels).

² See LMA: “*Crocus Martis*”: “Mars-Iron,” or “yellow iron rust,” the Latin equivalent of the Arabic color designation “Safran” (yellow-red). As saffron, the designation for a herbal-medical material of the Middle Ages, made from the dried stigmas of the *Crocus sativus*; *Crocus Veneris* (of copper) was widely used in chemical medicine.

³ This is *aurum potabile*, potable gold (see LMA, DAI: “*Aurum potabile*”).

⁴ See Grimm, *dumm* (8): abgestumpft, verdorben, unkräftig, a usage shared with Luther and the Gospels.

der rauh lufft. Dann also hat vns damit begabet Gott/ dz wir die Artzney gehabt haben/ von anfang biß jetzt/ vnd biß in das end der Welt/ mit solchen^a gewalt/ krafft/ vnd macht/ als er geben hatt seinen Aposteln/ gesundt zumachen die kranckheiten: ^b welchs gesund machen auß krafft des Gebotts geht. Darumb so ist dem Artzt das^c gebotten/ wie den Aposteln gebotten ward: So er nun vnder dem Gebott lebt/ vnnd darein verbunden ist/ so muß er je dem Gebott nach gehn/ vnd den rechten grund lehren vnnd erkennen. Aber es gibt viel Ehebrecher: das ist/ viel treten auß dem Gebott/ haltens ring/ leicht. Aber wem vergleich ichs? dem Spruch *Christi, Natio praua & adultera*:^d daß sie wöllen zeichen sehen/ vnd aber selbst nix thun: darumb wird jhnen kein zeichen geben/ dann das zeichen *Ionae*,^e der im Fisch lag: Also suchens/ sollen sie auch in der Erden suchen/ wie die Juden die aufferstehung im Walfisch.

Also mannigfaltig ist die kunst/ vnd so gewiß sind die drey Substantzen/ die *S.M.* vnd *SS.* daß sie sich beweisen in die 4. *generationes*: das ist/ daß sie in die artt der 4. Mütter vnd Elementen gebracht werden. Das ist/ auß den 4. Elementen wachsen alle ding:^f auß der Erden das Kraut vnnd Holtz vnd | 115 | dasselbig ding: auß dem wasser die Metallen/ vnd stein/ vnnd jhr *Mineralia*: Auß dem Lufft der Taw/ der *Tereniabin*: auß dem Fewr der Donner/ Straal/ Schnee/

^a Sudhoff (91): “solchem.”

^b Sudhoff (91): “kranken.”

^c Sudhoff (91): “alles.”

^d Not only breach of chastity or marital fidelity but mixing of the specific “seed” of a metal is **adulterous**. The seven metals may combine male with female (P.’s examples are gold with silver or iron with steel): “Also gibt sich auch, das sich die metallen adulteriren. nemlich alein golt und silber vermischent sich in die ander metallen, aus ursachen, das sie zum subtilisten seind”; thus zink is “eines andern samens, doch aber vil metallen adulterim in im” (*De Mineralibus*, S 3:58).

^e Note that the antisemitic figure is a foreground; the background of an attack on professional incompetence is also linked to the figure of **Jonah** as a representative of what *Astronomia Magna* calls “incertae scientiae oder propheceien” (S 12:345).

^f The growth of all things organic and inorganic from the four “**Mütter vnd Elementen**” is referenced on the one hand to the speculations of *De Mineralibus* (S 3:31f.) and the system of *De Gradibus* encompassing herbs and including **tereniabin** (S 4:7ff., 33), all indexed to the degrees and qualities of the elements; and on the other hand to the *Philosophia de Generationibus et Fructibus Quatuor Elementorum* and *De Meteoribus*, where the fruits of the elements of the earth and sky include **grandines** (S 13:180f.). The interpenetration of the terrestrial and celestial contexts appears confusing in no small part because it deliberately confounds the hierarchical worldview of elements inherited by P. and maintained by others in his time.

rupted or easy for them to become damaged from the raw air. For God has endowed us with medicine from the very beginning until now, and even to the very end of the world—with such powers, forces, and strength, even as he gave to the apostles to restore illnesses to health, a restoration to health which proceeds from the power of his commandment. Therefore, [God’s] commandment is directed to the physician, just as it was directed to the apostles. Since he does live under the commandment and is bound by it, he must carry it out, and recognize and teach the true ground [of medicine]. But there are many adulterers, which is to say that many depart the commandment, think little of it, and treat it lightly. And to whom should they be compared? It follows the pronouncement of *Christus: Natio prava et adultera*¹—which was said on account of the fact that they expected to see signs, and yet themselves were incapable of performing anything. This is why no sign will be given to them, except for the sign of *Jona[h]* who lay in the belly of the fish. Thus should they seek, as the Jews [seek] the resurrection in the whale.²

So manifold is the art, and so reliable the three substances, [which are] the S., M., and SS., that prove themselves in regard to the four *generationes*, that they are brought into the nature of the four mothers and elements. That is to say, out of the four elements all things grow: out of the earth herbs and wood and | 115 | these things; out of the water the metals and the stones and their *mineralia*; out of the air of the dew, the *tereniabin*;³ out of the fire the thunder, lightning, snow, and

¹ In this characteristic allusion to the Vulgate, P. refers to Mt 12:39 and 16:4: “*generatio mala et adultera signum quaerit*” (cf. Mk 8:38). The allusion is extended (see the following note).

² Referring to Jonah 1:17, the “sign” given to the Jews is that of Jonah’s lying in the belly of **the whale** for three days and three nights, which early Christian tradition compared to the resurrection (in Mt 12:38-41, the comparison is linked to the preceding reference to the evil and adulterous “generation”—to P., *natio!*).

³ **Tereniabin**, see Zedler: “Manna.” Tereniabin is explained as the Arabic name for a kind of edible tree sap purportedly known to Hippocrates as “cedar honey” and also believed to have been the “wild honey” that nourished John the Baptist in Mt 3:4 (cf. H 2:29, 2:41, 1:89).

vnd Regen. Diß befilich ich nuhn der Metheoric/ so auß dem liecht der Natur gemacht ist. Also nun weiter: der *Microcosmus*, so er in sein zertheilung gefürt vnd gebracht wird/ so wird auß jhm die *Terra*, die so wunderbarlich ist/ daß sie gebierdt die frucht der Erden/ in schneller zeit/ was hinein geseet wird. Das ist die bereytung von der der Artzt wissen soll. Also auch wirdt auß diesem Corpus das ander *Elementum Aquae*: dieweil *Aqua* ein Mutter ist der Mineralien/ darumb so conficirt der *Spagyryus* auß jhr den Rubinen.^a Also gibt die bereytung das dritt *Elementum Ignis*, darauß *grandines*^b gezogen werden. Vnnd das vierdt *Elementum Aereum*: das ist/ in verschloßnem glaß felt jm selbst ein Taw von seim auffsteigenden Geist. Von dieser Generation haben viel angefangen/ aber verzagt: Es will je nichts sollen/ das ein Saw im Rüben acker sey. So ist nun also auch ein ander Transmutation nach dieser/ die do all *genera Sulphurea* gibt/ vnd *Mercurialia* vnd *Salia*: wie sich dann der Microcosmischen Welt gebürt zuerzeigen: darinn vil gelegen sind/ im Menschen zusuchen sein gesundtheit/ sein *Aquam vitae*,^c sein *Lapidem Philosophorum*, sein *Arcanum*, sein *Balsamum*, sein *Aurum potabile*,^d vnd dergleichen: vnd ist recht/ dann die ding sind alle da: Sind auch in der eussern

^a The background for these associations is formulated in *De Gradibus*: “Ex industria spagirica quatuor gradus eodem modo cum quatuor elementis proveniunt” (S 4:32); and:... qua es aqua tertium gradum, ut ex...gemmis...saphiro, smaragdo, granato, topazio, **rubino**, hyacintho, amethysto, corallis” (34).

^b See note above; cf. S 4:20, “Quae ex igne proveniunt, quartum gradum caloris affectant. Fulgur con. cal./ **Grando** cal./ Aethna omnis”; on the relevance to the pathology of the stone, see S 5:115f.: “De usnea, grandine et lapide in vesica” (cf. 125ff.).

^c In a psychically conditioned lameness, the “spiritus vitae” is restored by the subtlety of “**aquae vitae**” which, “durch ire subtile mitfüren alle tugent durch den ganzen leib und sie meren” (S 2:474, cf. 472); Sudhoff (92): “aqua vitae.”

^d References to the spagyric provenience of the **lapis philosophorum** are found in *De Vita Longa* and *De Gradibus*: the former, in associating it with the longevities of Adam and Methusaleh who presumably knew the adept arts, suggests that in the microcosm it is that which prolongs life (S 3:258; cf. 4:27, 33). In *De Natura Rerum*, the Hermetic context predominates (S 11:318); the transformation of the baser and less pure metals into the purer and more perfect ones cannot be effected without it or a tincture (“on ein tinctur oder den lapidem philosophorum”—S 11:357). Though classed by Sudhoff among the “*spuria*,” the *Manuale de lapide philosophico medicinali* develops similar thoughts. The self-perpetuating power of fire over wood is compared to the power of the “lapis philosophorum” or “balsamus perpetuus” over the human body, “wie es nun ein glegenheit mit dem holz hat, darinnen das feur operirt und sein wirkung erzeugt, also gehet es auch mit dem lapide philosophorum oder **balsamo** perpetuo in corpore humano zu” (S 14:423). On *aurum potabile*, see Intro 38-39, note 32.

rain. All of this has its place in the meteorology that proceeds from the light of nature. So let us consider further: the *microcosmus*, when it is taken and introduced into its disintegration, turns into *terra*, which is so marvelous that it yields the fruits of the earth in the shortest time, whatever is sown into it. That is the preparation¹ about which the physician should be informed. Moreover, out of this corpus the second *elementum aquae* results. Inasmuch as *aqua* is a mother of the minerals, the *spagyris* confiscates from it rubies.² In the same way, the preparation gives us the third *elementum ignis*, out of which the *grandines*³ are drawn. And the fourth *elementum aereum*: that is when inside a sealed glass container a dew precipitates itself out of its rising spirit [i.e., of the element air]. With this generation many have made attempts but failed: nothing wants to come of it when a sow is [at work] in the carrot patch. Accordingly, there is yet another transmutation after this one which yields all the *genera sulphurea*, as well as the *mercuralia* and *salia*, its demonstration is of value to the microcosmic world; for from it many applications are to be sought in the human being: his health, his *aqua vitae*, his *lapis philosophorum*, his *arcanum*, his *balsamum*, his *aurum potabile*,⁴ and other things of this kind. And it is correct to speak of it this way, for all these things are present, and present as well in the external world; and just as we have

¹ Here and elsewhere, “**preparation**” is used to refer to the practice of processing in the alchemical art; “**whatever is sown into it**” may include corpses sown into earth (see notes on “*mumia*”: H 2:68; 1:290ff.).

² In the Middle Ages, **rubies** worn by the virtuous warded off harm, counteracting poisons or evil vapors.

³ P.’s **grandines** are “hailstones” (cf. *vis-à-vis*).

⁴ The higher alchemy of the three extends and surpasses the alchemy of the four elements and yields all the things enumerated: they have in common their wondrous healing or transforming powers ranging from the *balsamum* extracted from herbs (see LMA; RLAC, “Balsam”) to the *lapis philosophorum* (see DAI, “rock,” “philosopher’s stone”).

Welt: Vnd wie wirs in der eussern Welt haben/ also vergleichen sie sich der innern. Vnd da wist nicht anderst/ als allein das/ zugleich weiß kein ding ist nit so schwartz/ es hat ein weisse in jm: Nichts so weiß/ es habe ein schwertze in jm/ vnd also andere farben: drumb wie dieselbigen farben herfür gebracht werden/ also werden auch herfür gebracht die bemelten. Das Saltz ist weiß/ aber alle Farben in jhm: der *Sulphur* brennt/ drumb all Oleiteten in jm: der *Mercurius* ist ein *liquor*, drumb so hat [er] alle *humores* in jm. Vnd also von andern/ das ich dann weiter der Philosophie befilch.

Also ist der Mensch sein Artzt selbst: dann so er der Natur hilfft/ so gibt sie jm sein notturfft/ vnd gibt jm also sein Garten/ nach innhalt der gantzen Anatomey. Dann so wir am gründtlichsten allen dingen nachdencken vnd trachten/ so ist vnser eigen Natur | 116 | vnser Artzt selbst/ das ist/ sie ist die/ so in jhr hat das sie bedarff. Secht von aussen an/ mit den Wunden: wz gebrist der Wunden? nichts/ alls allein das fleisch/ das muß von innen herauß wachsen/ vnnd nit von aussen hinein: drumb so ist die Artzney der Wunden/ allein ein Defensiff/ das die Natur von aussen an kein zufäll hab/ vnd vngehindert bleibe in jhrer wirckung: Also heilt sie sich selbst/ vnd ebnet/ vnnd ordnet sich selbst: alß dann die Chirurgy außweist vnd lehret/ der erfahrenen Artzeten. Dann *Mumia* ist der Mensch selbst:^a *Mumia* ist der Balsam/ der die Wunden heilt: der *Mastix*, die *Gummi*,^b die Glett/^c etc. vermögen nit ein tropffen fleisch zugeben: Aber zu defendiren die Natur/ dz jhr fürnemen abstatt gefürdert werd. Nun also ists auch im Leib mit seinen Kranckheiten/ so sie allein defendirt

^a “*Mumia* ist der Mensch selbst”: see vis-à-vis; P.’s concept of “*mumia*” assumes innate healing powers: “das ist die gerecht und kreftigest *mumia*, der leib des menschen, der...eines unnatürlichen todes stirbt, mit gesundenem leib und one krankheiten und ehe ime darzu wehe ist” (S 13:344). Even the macabre idea that bodies killed in their prime possess “*mumia*” suggests that it is an extract of the health of the living body.

^b *Mastix* and *gummi* are ingredients of a balsam that cures “contracturen” (S 2:482), among other uses.

^c *Glet* is one of a number of substances useful in separating metal ores (S 11:363).

them in the external world, we have them in a similar way in the inner one. You should realize that this is no different than when we say that no thing is so black but that it has some whiteness within it; nothing so white, but that it has some blackness within it; and the same holds true for all other colors; and hence just at those colors are brought out, so also are the [qualities] of which I speak. Salt is white, but all colors are within it. *Sulphur* burns; therefore all other kinds of oil (**Ole-iten**)¹ are within it. *Mercurius* is a *liquor*; for this reason, <it> has all *humores* within it. And so forth, with respect to other things which is a subject for philosophy.

Accordingly, the human being is in a special sense his own physician; for whenever he aids nature, it gives him what is needed, and gives him his own garden in accordance with the content of the entire anatomy.² For when we contemplate things and concern ourselves with them in the most fundamental way, [we see that] our own nature | 116 | is a physician to itself, which is to say, it has within itself that of which it is in need. Regard the wounds externally: what are wounds in need of? Nothing but the flesh that must grow from within outwardly, and not from without inwardly. Accordingly, the medicine of wounds is no more than a defensive measure that guards nature against any accidents from without, and so that it should remain unhindered in its effect. So it heals itself and smoothes and orders its own self: this is what the surgery of the experienced physicians shows and teaches. For *mumia* is nothing other than the human being himself: *mumia* is the balsam that heals the wounds; the *mastix*, the *gummi*³ or lead oxide (**die Glett**)⁴ are not capable of contributing even a drop of flesh. But [they do serve to] defend nature so that its purpose is advanced. It is just the same in the body with its diseases: it only

¹ See Grimm: **Olität**, from Middle Latin *oleitas*.

² P. thinks *organically* (things grow) and *macrocosmically* (anatomy is revealed by the external world).

³ This sentence and the preceding one represent opposite extremes of the occult and the banal: **Mumie** (see HDA, cf. H 2:68) is associated on the one hand with the human body (the living or dead body is implied with “*mumia* is the human being himself”), and on the other with balsam, for which even **mastic** and **gum** are apposite comparisons. Med³, Bodenstein, or Dorn write of *mumia* as a commonplace. P. alternates between the factual and a mystical evocation of the invisible body and its powers (cf. H 2:68; H 1:290ff.).

⁴ See Grimm, **Glätte** (i.e., “*lithargyrum* ... lead oxide, initially fluid-foamy, that congeals to something crystalline as a byproduct in separating silver-bearing lead ore”; Grimm’s examples are drawn from P.).

wird/ so ist sie die/ die jhr selbs all kranckheiten heilt: dann sie weist/ wie sie die heilen soll: der Artzt magt nit wissen/ drumb so ist er allein einer/ der der Natur den beschirm gibt. Also sind in der Natur souil *proprietates*, als herauß in der *scientia*: sie hatts in jhr angeboren: wir habens auß der leer. Souil sind wir herausen/ das wir dz vermögen/ dz sie vermag. Das ist/ zwyfach ist die Artzney in jhrer *potentia* zu verstehen: in der Artzney der grossen Welt/ vnnd in dem Menschen. Der eine weg ist/ in Defensiuen:^a der ander ist in Curatiuen.^b Defendiren wir die Natur/ so muß sie selbs jhr *scientiam*^c gebrauchen: dann ohn *scientia* genist sie nit. Brauchen aber wir vber das defendiren die *scientiam*, so sind wir die Heyler. Dann vorhin hab ich geredt auff die gemein der Artzneyischen Breuch/ also herkommen die bey den jrigen: drumb so sind zweyerley Artzte: die jhr *scientiam* befehlen der Natur/ vnd gebrauchen allein *defensoria*: (vnd wiewol sie aber sich selbst nit verstehn) darnach sind die *Curatores*, dz sind die/ so der Natur *scientias* selbst gebrauchen. Als/ Einer hett ein Wunden: Nun sind zwen weg der heylung do/ *Defensiu* vnd *Curatiua*. Defensiu/ wie obsteht: Curatiu ist aber also dz die Wunden zu einem Magen werden/ dz ist/ dz man Artzney darein thue/ die fleisch werd. Vnd so dieselbige Artzney in die Wunden gethan wird/ so ist die Natur von innen herauß da/ vnd digerirt sie in der wunden/ vnd macht sie zu fleisch/ also dz der Mag^d die Wunden selbst ist: dann ohn den Magen mag | 117 | solchs nicht beschehen: Das wird aber in der Chirurgi erkleret. Also sollen jhr auch von allen andern^e kranckheiten verstehn/ wie die *Scientia* im Artzt sey: Vnd eine/ in der Natur *Microcosmi*.

Nuhn ist in solchen dingen zuuerstehn/ das der mensch vnd die Eussern ein vergleichen gegen einander haben/ in dem/ dz sie

^a The *Große Wundarznei* gives an example of a “**defensiv**” that consists not only of bandaging but also of herbal salves or ointments (S 10:175); the object is to heal by keeping the wound “rein und sauber” (112f.).

^b The *Kommentare zu den Aphorismen des Hippokrates* comment on the latter’s understanding of “*diaet*” as a curative in that: “Hippocrates nicht allein wil das *diaet* haben von wegen der fürung und das der leib erhalten werde, sonder er wil, das das *diaet* ein **curatif** sei” (S 4:512). “*Curatife*” may include “*wundtrenk*” in the form of “*potiones*” (S 5:455), as well as substances of alchemical characterization (S 2:218).

^c Again, P. claims for himself the art of medicine but ascribes its *scientia* to the innate powers of nature.

^d Sudhoff (93): “*der magen.*”

^e Sudhoff (94): “*chirurgi erkleret. also sollen ir auch von allen andere krankheiten.*”

needs to be defended and then [the body] is the one that heals all its own diseases.¹ For it proves how they should be healed: the physician cannot know this. This is why he is merely the one who accords protection to nature. Accordingly, there are as many *proprietas* in nature as there are outside of it in *scientia*: [nature] has them inborn; we [only] have them from doctrine. We have the capacity outside of it to be able to do what it does. The *potentia* of medicine is to be understood in a twofold sense: in the medicine of the great world and in the human being. The one way proceeds by warding off or defending; the other by curing. When we defend nature, it must use its own *scientia*. For without *scientia*, it will not heal. However, if we employ *scientia* in warding off or defending, we become the healers. Beforehand, I was addressing my comments to medical practices in general, [to] those that arise in the erring physicians. That is why I say that there are two kinds of physicians: those that entrust their *scientia* to nature and those who only employ *defensoria* (this includes some who do not understand what it is they are doing); after this come the *curatores*: those are the ones who make use of the *scientiae* of nature itself. So let us say that someone has a wound. There are two paths to healing in this case: *defensiva* and *curativa*. Defensive has been explained above. Curative, however, occurs when the wound becomes like a stomach, which is to say that one inserts medication into it and the medication becomes flesh [in the wound]. Accordingly, when a particular medication is inserted into the wound, nature acts from inside out and guides it in the wound and makes it into flesh, so that the stomach is the wound itself; for without this stomach | 117 | nothing of the kind can happen. This will be explained in [my writing on] surgery. You should likewise understand with reference to all other ailments how it is that [one] *scientia* rests with the physician and one in the nature of the *microcosmus*.

It must be understood in such matters that the human being and external things have a likeness with respect to one another in that they are compatible with one another. This implies that the human being,

¹ Despite the confusion of pronoun references this reading make the best sense in context.

einandern annehmen. Das ist/ der mensch soll das wissen/ so baldt er die Natur erkennt/ was einander annimmt/ so hat er den bericht der Anatomy. Dieweil nuhn der mensch auß dem *Limbo* gemacht ist/ vnnd der *Limbus* ist die gantze welt.^a So ist hierauff zuwissen/ dz ein jedlich ding seins gleichen annimmt. Den wo der mensch nicht dermassen gemacht wer/ auß dem gantzen kreyß/ auß allen stuckhen: So möcht er nit sein die klein welt/ so möcht er auch nicht fähig sein anzunehmen was in der grossen welt wer. Dieweil er aber auß jhr ist/ alles daß/ das er auß jhr ysset/ dasselbig ist er selbst: Dann auß jhr ist er/ darumb so wirdt ers/ vnnd es wirdt jhn: Dann der mensch ist nicht auß nichts gemacht/ er ist auß der grossen welt gemacht/ darumb steht er in derselbigen. Also auff das volget/ auß dem er gemacht ist/ auß dem muß er leben. Darumb so der anhang da ist/ wie von einem Sohn auß seinem Vatter: So ist nuhn gepürlich/ das niemandts dem Sohn billicher hilfft als der Vatter/ demselbigen gbuert vnd zimpt es. Auff solches so ist das Eussere glidts des jnnern glidts artzney/ vnnd je ein glidts nimpt das ander [an].^b Dann die groß welt hatt alle menschliche *Proportiones, Diuisiones, Partes, Membra etc.* wie der mensch: Darum so isset der mensch dieselbigen in der Speiß/ oder artzney: Vnnd sie scheiden sich allein in dem voneinander/ des mittel Corpus halben/ der Figur vnd Form: Aber in der *Scientia* ist es ein Form/ ein Figur/ vnd ein Mittel *Corpus*, betreffend den *Physicum Corpus*. Also nimpt der leib des menschen/ den leib der welt an/ wie ein Sohn das Bluth vom Vatter: Dann es ist ein Blut/ vnnd ein leib/ geschieden mit der Seel allein/ in der *Scientia* aber ohngescheiden.

Darauff so volgt nuhn/ das Himmel vnnd Erden/ Lufft vnd Wasser/ ein mensch ist/ in der *Scientia*: Vnd der mensch ist eine welt/ mit Himmel vnd Erden/ mit Lufft vnd Wasser/ | 118 | dergleichen in der *Scientia*. Also nimpt der *Saturnus Microcosmi* an/ *Saturnum Coeli*/ also nimpt *Iupiter coeli* an/ [den] *Jupiter Microcosmi*: Dann zween Himmel/ vnd ein *Coniunctio*/ die nicht geschieden sindt. Also nimpt *Melissa terrae, Melissam Microcosmi* an/ vnd *Cheiri Microcosmi*,^c den *Cheiri terrae*. Also nimpt der *Cachimia aquae*/ den *Cachimiam*

^a Here the sense of the *Limbus* lies in like accepting or healing like. The same sense is implicit in the term, though more obliquely, in the writings on *Podagra* under the headings of “Anatomia,” “Physionomia,” and “Chiromantia” (S 1:320ff., etc.).

^b Sudhoff (94) omits square brackets.

^c Sudhoff (95) omits commas after “*terrae*” and “*Microcosmi*.”

whenever he contemplates nature, should realize that each thing accepts its like: knowing this, he possesses the information of anatomy. For all in all the human being has been made from the *limbus* and the *limbus* is the entire world. From this it is clear that each thing accepts its kind. For if it were not the case that the human being is made in this way from the entire circle, from all the parts of it, he would not be the small world that is capable of accepting what is in the great world. But inasmuch as he is made of it, everything he eats that is from it, he is that very thing himself. For he is of it and for this reason he becomes it and it becomes him. For the human being has not been made out of nothing: he has been made of the great world; this is why he consists of it. From this it follows that he must live from that out of which he has been made. A corollary of this is that he is like a son of a father. It is entirely fitting that no one more properly helps a son than his father: for him this is proper and fitting. Accordingly, the external organ or limb is the medicine of the inner one: each part accepts its counterpart. For the great world possesses all the human *proportiones, divisiones, partes, membra*, etc., just like the human being. For this reason, the human being eats those in his nourishment or in his medication. They are distinct from one another in figure and form only with respect to the middle corpus. But in terms of *scientia* it is all one form, one figure, and one middle *corpus* with respect to the *physicum corpus*. Accordingly, the body of the human being accepts the body of the world, as a son accepts the blood of his father. For it is the same blood, the same body, distinct only with respect to the soul, but [for the purposes of] *scientia* undifferentiated.¹

From this it follows that heavens and earth, air and water, are a single human being in *scientia*. The human being is one world with heavens and earth, air and water | 118 | and all things of the kind in the [understanding of] *scientia*. For this reason, the *Saturnus microcosmi* accepts the *Saturnus coeli*. The *Jupiter coeli* accepts <the> *Jupiter microcosmi*. For [there are] two heavens and one *conjunctio* which are not separated. For the same reason, *melissa terrae* accepts *melissa microcosmi*; and *cheiri microcosmi cheiri terrae*.² In the same way, the

¹ The sameness of **blood** refers to “bloodline” (needless to say, not to blood types or transfusions). That the **soul** is distinct and unique accords with an orthodox Christian understanding; *scientia* is the immanent power and capacity of nature to impose order in change.

² On *melissa*, the “maternal herb,” see H 2:27; 2:40. **Keiri** is characterized by Zedler as “Geel-Veil” (also “Gelbe Nelcken,” “Rohr-Veilgen,” or “Schnee-Glöcklein”),

Microcosmi an/ vnd der *Talk Microcosmi*, den *Talk aquae* an. Vnd also der *Ros Aeris*/ den *Ros Microcosmi*^a vnd der *Tereniabin* des *Microcosmi*/ den *Tereniabin* deß luffts an. Also in solcher vereinigung sindt sie all. Also ist der Himmel vnd Erden/ vnd Lufft vnd Wasser/ nur ein ding: nicht 4. nicht zwey/ nich drey/ sondern ein ding: Wo sie nicht zusammen genommen werden/ so ist es zerteylt vnnd gestuckt. Darauff dann zuwissen ist/ So wir in der artzney das wollen zu nutz bringen/ so müssen wir wissen hierinn/ so wir wollen *medicamenta* Administriren/ das wir da Administriren die gantze Welt: das ist/ alle *Virtutes* der Himmel vnnd Erden/ des Luffts vnd des Wassers: Auß vrsachen/ so ein kranckheit im leib ist/ so müssen alle gesunden glieder wieder sie fechten: Nicht eins allein/ sondern alle. Dann Ein kranckheit ist jhr aller todt: Das merckt die Natur/ darumb so falt sie wieder die kranckheit mit aller jhrer macht/ so sie vermag. Also/ so wirt auch dein artzney müssen sein/ das sie in jhr hab/ das gantz Firmament/ der Obern vnnd der Vndern Sphären. Darumb so bedencket/ mit was gewalt die Natur sich wieder den Todt streust/ das sie zu hilff nimpt Himmel vnnd Erden vnnd all jhr kreffft vnnd tugendt. Zu gleicher weiß wie jhr sehend/ das die Seel wieder den Teuffel fechten muß/ mit allen jhren krefften/ vnnd zu hilff nehmen Gott von gantzem^b herten/ gemüth/ vnd allen krefften/ vnnd in diessen dem Teufel widerstehn. Also ist auch die Natur mit solchen sorgen beladen/ das sie alles das nimpt/ das jhr Gott geben hatt/ den Todt zuuertreiben/ also größlich scheucht sie ab dem grausamen todt/ vnnd ab dem bittern todt/ der jhr erschrecklich vor augen steht/ denn vnser^c augen nicht sehen/ noch vnser^c hende greiffen: Aber sie sicht jhn/ vnnd greiffjt jhn/ vnnd kennt jhn: Darumb so nimpt sie all Himmlische kreffft vnnd | 119 | Irrdische an sich/ dem Erschrecklichen zuwieder stehen/ dann erschrecklich ist er/ grewlich vnnd streng. So jhn der entsessen hatt/ der jhn gemacht hatt/ *Christus* am Oelberg/ das jhm blutigen schweiß außtrieben hatt/ der sein Vattern baht/ jhm den

^a The refined scheme of macrocosm and microcosm in *Elf Traktat* incorporates “tau” (i.e., *ros*): “In diser impression des undern himels durch die margariten so sie geseet werden und ir tau gehet auf und regen, so erfreut sich die sunn in ir im microcosmo...” (S 1:30).

^b Sudhoff (95): “vom ganzen.”

^c Sudhoff (96): “unsere.”

cachimia aquae accepts the *cachimia microcosmi* and the *talc microcosmi* the *talc aquae*.¹ Just as the *ros*² *aeris* takes the *ros microcosmi* and the *tereniabin* of the *microcosmus* accepts that of the air. All of them together are in this kind of union. The heavens and the earth and the air and the water are all only one thing; not four, not two, not three, but one thing. If they are not taken all together, they are severed and fragmented. It is therefore a matter of knowledge that in order to render medicine useful we have to be aware that when we administer the *medicamenta*, we administer the entire world [with them]; that is to say, all the *virtutes* of the heavens and earth, the air and water. The reason for this is that when a disease is in the body, all the healthy organs of the body have to fight against it. Not just one but all. For a disease is the death of them all. Nature is aware of this; and for this reason it sets itself against the disease with all the force it can muster. For the same reason, your medication must be like this [aspect of nature] in containing the entire firmament of the upper and lower spheres. And just think with what ferocity nature resists death and how it secures assistance from the heavens and the earth and all their powers and virtues. In just the same way, you can see how the soul must struggle against the devil with all of its powers and secures assistance from God, with all its heart, mind, and entire powers resisting the devil with them.³ Hence too, nature is burdened with such concerns that it accepts everything that God has given it in order to expel death, so massively does it ward off the frightful death and that bitter death that stands terrifyingly before its very eyes, though our eyes do not see it or our hands touch it. Yet nature sees it and grasps it and knows it. This is why [nature] takes all the celestial powers and | 119 | the earthly ones to itself in order to resist the terrifying one. For terrifying he is and violent and relentless. Since [God] has relieved [death's] siege⁴ who has made him, that is, Christ on Mount Olive, which made bloody sweat pour from his body, [Christ] who asked his

lat. *viola lutea*, or yellow violets; Zedler notes that their blossoms were used medicinally (cf. H 2:7, on the association with gold).

¹ On *cachymia*, *cadmia* (MLW), “Galmei,” a zink ore used in making brass (Grimm); and *talc*, see H 2:34.

² See OLD, *ros*: dew, but also applied in ancient times to blood and other liquids.

³ P. equates the struggle with disease with what Luther and others in the Reformation era called the “Anfechtung” or mortal attack by and existential struggle with the devil.

⁴ **Endtsetzen, entsessen** signifies “relieve(d)” in the sense of lifting a siege or relieving a fortress.

hinweg zunehmen: Billich ist es/ das die Natur darinn ein endtsetzen
hab. Dann je grösser die erkantnuß des todts/ je grösser die warnung/
behuettung/ vnnd zuflucht der artzney/ die dann der Weiß Mann sucht.

Father to take [death] away—it is only fitting that nature should offer its relief in this respect. For the greater the knowledge of death, the greater the warning, prevention, and refuge of medicine which is sought by the wise man.

CAPVT TERTIVM.

Also ist das grosse *Compositum*:^a Das ist/ die recht artzney gehet/ wie obsteht/ auß Himmel vnnnd Erden/ vnnnd auß allen Elementen vnnnd jhren Krefften: Das ist das *Compositum* darinn der Artzt lernen soll: Das ist das *Recipe*: Das sindt die *Simplicia*. Nicht in der zaal der stücken der *Simplicien*/ sondern in der *Composition*: Das do zusammen kumm der gantze Eussere Mensch. So der bey einander ist/ so sindt bey einandern all *Remedia*, *Medicamenta* vnnnd *Arcana*/ da ligen alle Kreffft. Diese kreffft mügen widerstehen den kranckheiten/ so da sindt im menschen/ so nicht da sindt/ deren *Arcana* wircken gegen den andern/ oder stand still. Zu gleicher [weiß] mercken das Exempel. Ein Holtz [das]^b da ligt in der handt des Bildtschnitzers/ der macht auß eynerlei Holtz viel hunderterlei Form/ Bildtnuß vnnnd dergleichen: Also laß dir sein/ das *Corpus* des menschen gibt viel hunderterlei kranckheiten/ vnnnd ist doch der Einig *Corpus*/ auß demselbigen werden sie all geschnitzlet. Wie nuhn die Bilder vom holtz/ eins wie das ander im fewr verbrennt wirdt/ vnd von einem fewr verzerdt: Also wissen auch ein gleiche artzney im grossen *Composito*/ die als ein fewr reiniget/ vnd verzeert das vnrein vom reinen: Also sollen die grossen *Composita* erkannt werden. Dieweil aber Parteyische artzney fürgenommen werden/ vnnnd wiewol in rechter ordnung/ jedoch aber ein sorglicher trost mit laufft.

Also in diesem grossen *Composito* steht die gantz Welt/ der Himmel vnd Erden krefften/ vnd des *Microcosmi* gantzer Mensch: Das ist/ wie die welt dorin stehet/ vnd in eim Tropffen ist. Also auch steht der mensch mit allen seinen gliedern darin/ gliedmassen/ | 120 | Natur/ Eigenschafft/ wesen/ gesundts vnd böß/ krancks vnnnd gutts: Also so er sie einnimpt/ so nimpt er ein sein *Limum* auß dem er geboren ist/ vnnnd nimpt ein sich selbst/ vnnnd voreiniget den mittel *Corpus* mit dem/ darauß er ist/ in das so jhm gebrist. Vnd diß *Compositum* steht in den andern artzneyen/ wie die Sonn vber alle gestirn.

^a The tone of reverential reassertion reformulates P.'s perennial polemic against common pharmaceutical compounds by asserting that the true *composita* are actually the *simplicia*, these being endowed by nature with all things in one. At its most expansive in *De Mineralibus*, P. avers that no less than God in nature is the source and conclusion of all *composita* and *simplicia*: "er ists alein, alles in allem, er ist rerum prima materia, er ist rerum ultima materia, er ist der alles ist (S 3:34).

^b Sudhoff (96) omits square brackets.

CAPUT TERTIUM

Thus is the great *compositum*. That is to say that the true medicine proceeds, as I have explained above, from the heavens and the earth and from all the elements and from their powers. This is the *compositum* in which the physician must become learned. This is the *recipe*. These are the *simplicia*. Not in the number of portions of *simplicia*, but rather in the composition: in it the entire external human being is conjoined. When the latter is all there, then all *remedia*, *medicamenta*, and *arcana* are conjoined. Therein lie all their powers. These powers can resist the diseases that are thus in the human being or that are not in the human being. Their *arcana* counteract the others or [they] stand still. In the same <way> take note of this example. Wood is in the hand of a carver: out of one piece of wood, he can make hundreds of different forms, images, or whatever. In the same way, keep in mind that the *corpus* of the human being yields many hundreds of different diseases; and yet it is one and the same *corpus*: out of it, all are crafted. Just as these images in wood can be burned and consumed by fire, one as well as the other, so too, you should know that a single medication in the great *compositum* purifies like a fire and consumes the impure from the pure. This is how the great *composita* should be understood. In the case that a particular medicine is preferred, even if in the proper order, nonetheless a worrisome consolation accompanies it.

Hence, in this great *compositum* the entire world is present, the heavens and the earthly powers, and the entire human being of the *microcosmos*. This is to say, it is just as the entire world can be present and reside in a single drop. So also does the entire human being with all his organs, members, | 120 | nature, properties, essences, health and evil, sick and what is good, all reside in it. When the human being takes these, he takes his own *limbus* out of which he was born, and takes in himself, and [thereby] unites the middle *corpus* with that out of which he is made, in that which ails him. And this *compositum* stands among the other medications, as the sun [excels]

Was ist die Sonn anderst dann wie der Monn? Was der Tag anderst als die Nacht? allein das sie geschieden sindt/ die Sonn zu jhrem liecht/ der Tag zu seim liecht. Also sindt Himmel vnd Erden geschieden/ alle Bluhmen/ all Wurtzen/ all Gestein vnd Berlin etc. Also muß auch der Artzt wissen/ das er dergleichen scheiden muß die artzney/ als ob er schiede voneinander die Finsternuß vnd das Liecht/ den Tag vnd die Nacht. Dann der Artzt soll sein artzney nit anderst erkennen/ dann wie der *Moyse*s sagt im Buch *Genesis*/ wie Gott der Vatter/ einandernach^a geschieden hab/ heut das/ morgen das/ vbermorgen das.^b Also müssen wir auch wissen/ das wir gleich ein solch ding vor vnsern henden haben/ als Gott: Vnd das wir die *Scientiam* haben/ zugleich weiß durch dieselbig auch scheyden/ vnnd bereiten das schwartz vom weissen/ das heytter von dem finstern/ das ist/ die artzney vom koth/ darinnen sie ligt: Dann also hatt jhn Gott beschaffen.

Was ist aber zusagen von der wirckung? Das sie auch erkleret werd: Nemlich nit anderst wil Gott das wir sie verstanden/ dann wie ein Axt so ein baum abhawet: Also will er auch das seine werck in der artzney verstanden werden: Vnnd das sie mit solcher macht vnnd krafft gangen vnd arbeiten/ wie er auff Erden gesundt gemacht hatt/ eh die stim außgieng gar auß seinem Mundt/ da warendt alle krancken gesundt. Wiewol es hierin viel zuuerstehn hett: Nemlich die groß vnwissenheit der Artzten: Nemlich auch die nit gar volkommenheit der Artzten/ vnd doch mit den Prossmen etwas beweisen: Nemlich auch die Schuld der krancken/ vnd viel vrsachen/ so heimlich bey Gott sindt/ vns nit zuentdecken/ noch wissend. Dieweil nuhn der artzney wirckung also ist/ ein solche mechtige macht/ mit allen krefft der Himmlischen vnnd jrrdischen Scharen: So ist euch allen

^a Sudhoff (97): "einander nach."

^b In the *Philosophia de Generationibus et Fructibus Quatuor Elementorum*, the presentation of the division of the primally one substance or "yliaster" in which creation proceeds by separation is based loosely on Genesis: "Wie aber nun got beschaffen hat die welt, ist also. er hats in ein corpus gemacht, anfenglich, so weit die vier element gënt. dises corpus hat er gesezt in drei stück, in mercurium, sulphur und sal.... also ist dises erst corpus yliastri ein kloz gewesen, in dem alle kreuter, alle wasser, al gemmae, al mineral, al stein, al chaos gelegen seind, die alein der höchst fabricator hinweg geschiden hat und gebildet also subtil, das das, so hinweg genomen ist worden, ein anders gewesen ist" (S 3:12-13). "Philosophie" as alchemy completes the separations that were initiated by God in creation. The author of *Von den natürlichen Bädern* is aware that his philosophy is criticized as too much subject to theology, but he defends as self-evident the importance of the "scheidung puri und impuri" (S 2:229).

above all the stars. How is the sun different from the moon? How is the day different from the night? Only insofar as they are separated: the sun in its light, [and] the day in its light. That is how the heavens and the earth are separate [or] all flowers, all roots, all stones, all pearls etc. Thus the physician must know that he must separate medication in the same way, as if he were separating darkness from light, day from night. For a physician should not think of medicine other than as Moses says in the Book of *Genesis*: how God the Father separated [things] one after the other, this today, that tomorrow, a third the day after tomorrow. We must be aware that we have that same kind of matter before our very hands as did God; and we must possess the *scientia* to separate by its means in the same way; and to process the black from the white, the clear from the dark, that is, the medication from the shit in which it lies [concealed]. For thus did God create [the physician].

What can be said of the effect? That it is also to be explained by this: God indeed wants us to understand this no differently than [as occurring in] the way that an axe chops down a tree. This is how he wants his works to be understood in medicine as well. And that they should proceed and operate with such force and energy, as [he demonstrated] when he effected health on earth: before the voice came from his mouth all the sick were healed by him. Of course this tells us many things: it tells us of the great ignorance of the physicians. It tells us indeed of the incomplete competence of the physicians, [who] nonetheless reveal something with the “crumbs from the table”:¹ namely, the obligation to the sick; and [there are] many causes that are kept so mysteriously by God and not revealed to us, nor can we know them. Inasmuch as the effect of medicine has such a great strength, with all the powers of the celestial and earthly legions [within it], all of you

¹ See Grimm: **Brosem**; presumably alludes to the healing miracle of the Canaanite woman who begs on her possessed daughter’s behalf for “crumbs” from the master’s table, Christ’s assistance, in Mt 15:27.

woll zuermessen/ dz kein Winther den Summer | 121 | frist/ noch der Summer den winter frist: das ist/ das jhr nit mügen durch das Element fewr das Element *aquae* vertreiben. Dan/ zugleich weiß wie das wasser vom fewr vnvertriben bleibt: Also bleibt das feuchte kalte/ vom warmen vnd drucknen vnvertriben. Zu dem/ das die Elementen hie nit die kranckheiten sindt/ sondern der außschuß der auß dem baum scheußt/ der zeigt an die kranckheiten. Dan also sind die *Complexiones* eingebildet/ das keine der andern weicht/ keine die ander vertreiben mag: wie der himmel nit vertreibt die Erden/ noch die Erden den himmel: Also auch im menschen. Was vber den gradt ist/ dz ist nit ein Complexion/ sondern ein *Accidens*. Wie es aber sich also ordnet/ das stehet in seinen Capiteln.

Dieweil nuhn also die gesundtheit beschrieben ist/ vnd der mensch/ vnd jhr kranckheit/ mit gemeiner *Theorica* vnd *Physica*/ dorauß alle Capitel/ so von den kranckheiten sonderlich geschrieben werden/ gezogen/ vnd gegründet auff diese gemeine Theorick: So ist nuhn weiter zuwissen/ von dem Todt vnd seinem einfallen/ was desselbigen zeit. Alle ding haben jhr zeit/ wie lang sie stehen sollen es sey zum gutten oder zum bösen: Nemlich/ die Heyligen haben jhr Zeit/ inn der zeit [sie]^a auffhören müssen auff Erden jhr leben zuführen. Also haben auch jhr zeit die bösen. Alle ding werden von Gott auff sein Termin gesetzt/ vnd den mag kein Heilig vbergehn/ er sey wie fromb/ gerecht oder wie nutz dem volck er wolle oder müge/ so die zeit kompt/ so wirt nichts angesehen/ dann auff vnd daruon. Dieser zeit endung ist der Todt/ der sitzt neben vns/ vnd wartet auff vnser *bella Intestina*/ wo er muge einbrechen. Dann er selbst weiß nicht die Stundt wann er soll angreifen/ oder wann er soll tödten: geflissen ist er aber einzufallen/ mit fleiß vnd ernst/ damit er kein Minuten vbersech/ vnnd gehorsam sey seim Herrn/ Gott im Himmel. Darumb so er von jhm selbst nit weiß die stundt vnd Minuten vnsers Endts/ so last er sich treiben von der artzney hinweg: Vnd aber tringt so genaw hinzu/ das er sich selbst dafür acht die zeit sei hie/ er soll anplatschen vnnd angreifen/ so jhm dann offtermals^b felet/ vnd jrr geht/ hinzu vnd daruon.

So nuhn alle ding schön/ gut sindt/ vnd hüpsch/ rein/ gutt | 122 | bey uns/ voller Seligkeit/ voller Heiligkeit vnnd aller gutten dingen:

^a Sudhoff (98) omits square brackets.

^b Sudhoff (99) "oftmals."

should come to realize that the winter does not | 121 | consume the summer, nor the summer the winter. By this I mean that the element of fire does not drive away the element of *aqua*. Similarly, the water remains unaffected by the fire; and likewise that which is moist and cold is not expelled by the warm and dry. Moreover, the elements are not the diseases in this analogy; instead, that which comes out of the tree indicates the diseases. For this is how the *complexiones* are formed: none of them cedes its place to the other, none can expel the other. No more than the heavens can expel the earth, nor the earth the heavens. So it is, too, in the human being. What goes beyond degree, that is no complexion but rather an *accidens*. How this is ordered [in particular] is found in its respective chapters.

Now that we have characterized health in this way, as well as the human being and the diseases, using common *theorica* and *physica*, by which all the chapters that have been written on diseases in particular, [are] referenced; and [they are] founded upon this general theory. Now that which is left to be understood concerns death and its incursion, [and] the time of the same. All things have their time, however long they stand, whether for good or for ill. So, for example, the saints have their times: the time when <they> must cease to conduct their lives on earth. The wicked have their time as well. All things are set to their term by God, and not even a saint can surpass that, be he ever so pious, just, or of service to the people: when the time comes, all there is for him is to be away and gone. This ending of time is the death that sits alongside us, and waits for our *bella intestina*,¹ so that he can invade. For he himself does not know the hour of attack or when he should kill. But he is astutely awaiting the moment with attention and seriousness in order not to pass up a moment of opportunity and to be obedient to his master, God in heaven. Since even he himself does not know the hour and minute of our end, he can be driven away by medicine. And if he is so acutely eager that he thinks the time has already come for going at it and attacking, nevertheless he is often in error and misses the mark, and has to pack up and go his way.

When everything is beautiful, good, attractive, pure, fine | 122 | for us, replete with bliss, all sanctity, and every worthy thing, then it is all

¹ See H 1:81, 113.

So ist es doch nit anderst/ dann wie ein Schatz/ der von Goldt vnd Perlin in einer Kisten ligt/ vnd der Dieb stiltz hinweg/ vnnd dem haußherrn bleibt nix. Dann da wirdt niemands verschondt/ vnd nix angesehen/ weder Nutz noch Schad/ weder Frombkeit noch bößheit/ sondern nur auff vnd hinweg/ vnd solt die gantze welt auf eim stehn/ so ist es^a nix vor Gott/ wirdt nit angesehen. Also ist vnser leben/ Ein vn sicherer schatz/ den wir schon wol verhütten/ vnd in all weg bewahren/ was wirdt da gehüdt? Es wirt im grösten auffsehen vnd in der besten wacht gestolen. Ist dz nit die best wacht/ so ein krancker da leit/ vnd fleucht zu Gott/ schreit/ hilff/ laufft zum Artzt/ hilff/ vnd in dieser hülff/ aller vnuermeynt/ stirbet Er vnd fährt von hinnen. Ist der nit wol bewart/ der ein König ist/ vnd hatt all sein macht bey jhm/ vnd streidt wieder sein feindt/ vnd hatt sich vmbolwergckt/ vnd eingegraben/ vnd mit zeug [zu]^b Roß vnd zu fuß versehen/ vnd am besten so geht ein kugeln in jhn/ so er meint er sei am sicheristen. Was ist der Todt? der ist er/ der vns das leben nimpt in viel weg. Selig ist der/ den er von dieser welt nimpt mit dem hertzen *I. Baptistae*^c der Propheten vnd der Aposteln. Darumb so sollen wir wachen vnd ein auffsehen auff jhn haben: Dann er fordert vns auff ein gericht/ da rechnung zugeben vmb vnser zeit/ vom meristen biß zum wenigsten quadranten. Er ist der Scherg/ der Büttel der fürbeuth zum Gericht Gottes: Vnd in seim fürbieten so sich scheydt Seel vnd Leib voneinander/ was ist sein Fürboth? als allein/ Gehet zum Gericht fur das angesicht Gottes/ mit benemter stund vnd tag/ nemlich den tag des Ellendts/ in dem sich Himmel vnd Erden erbiedmen werden/ vnd erheben/ auff den tag/ da die hörner werden auffwecken den fürgebottenen/ todten vnd gestorbenen. Er ist auch der/ der vns auffweckt/ der vns das wieder gibt/ das er vns genommen hat: Im selbigen leben werden wir mit dem^d Schergen fur das gericht gestelt. Sein Gefencknuß vnd sein Thurn ist die Erden: Dann wir all auff Erden/ sterben in Sünden/ darumb so müssen wir der gefencknuß zugehen/ vnd dorin behalten werden so lang/ biß das gericht an geht: Wie dann ein jedlicher gefangener Mann erwarten muß. | 123 | Nuhn aber in vnserm fürbieten fart der Geist zum Herren/ der leib zu der Erden: Dann die Erden ist kein Thurn des Geistes/ allein des leibs: Also bleiben sie beid/ ein jedlichs in seiner statt/ biß

^a Sudhoff (99): "er."

^b Sudhoff (99) omits parentheses.

^c Sudhoff (100): "Johannis baptistae."

^d Sudhoff (100): "den."

as if there were a treasure that lies full of gold and pearls in a chest. The thief then comes and steals it all. Nothing remains for the master of the house. No one is then spared; and nothing is respected, neither utility nor harm, neither piety nor wickedness. All is up and gone; and even if the entire world should depend on us, this is of no concern in the eyes of God. It is not taken into account. Such is our life: an insecure treasure that we are carefully watching, and are always hoarding. What of it will be spared? Notwithstanding the highest honor and the best protection, it will be stolen. Is it not then the finest precaution when a suffering patient flees for refuge to God, shouting for help, running to the physician for help, and even with this assistance, the patient unexpectedly dies and is thence? Is he not well protected who happens to be a king in possession of all his power, who, making war against his enemy, fortifies and entrenches his position, and is surrounded by all armaments, mounted and foot, and all of this notwithstanding a bullet enters him when he thought himself safest? What is death? It is he who takes from us life in many ways. Blessed is he who is carried away from this world with the heart of J[ohannes] Baptista, of the prophets and the apostles. For this reason, we should watch and remain alert for him. For he summons us to a judgment to render account there for our time, from the greatest to the least quadrant. He is the henchman, the beadle,¹ who summons (**fürbeuth**)² us to the judgment of God. And in that judgment, when soul and body part ways, what does the summons amount to? What else but: “Go to court, before the very countenance of God, at that appointed hour and day, that is the day of misery, when the heavens and the earth will shake and heave, on that day when the trumpets will awaken those who have been summoned, the dead and deceased.” He is also the one who awakens us, who gives back to us what he had taken away. In that life we will be summoned by the henchman before the court. His jail and prison tower is the earth: for all of us on earth die in sin. For this reason we must go to jail, and stay locked up in it until the judgment is set to begin. Just as every other imprisoned man must. | 123 | But now in the true summoning, the spirit ascends to the Lord, the body descends to the earth. For the earth is not a prison of the spirit, but only of the body. And so both stay, each in its place, until they come to-

¹ Medieval and early modern society regarded the executioner or beadle as a figure beneath disdain—yet a servant of justice. The ambiguity extends here to a personified Death: a terrifying enemy who nonetheless fulfills God’s will (cf. H 1:121).

² **Fürbeuth, fürbieten**, “vorladen,” see Grimm (this sentence is cited).

sie wider zusammen kummen/ so werden die drey Substantz wiederumb sein in jhrem geblüe/^a vnd in jhrem wesen. Was aber weiter darauß wirt/ dz steht bey dem/ der Leib vnd Seel gemacht hat/ verborgen allen menschen: Als dann werden kein kranckheiten mehr sein/ kein Medicin/ kein *Medicus*/ kein krancker/ vnd wird auß sein mit den dingen allen. Aber wie obsteht/ müssen wir vns die zeit erhalten/ vnd in die *Scientias* setzen/ damit wir in vnserm beruff rechte rechschaftt geben mügen.

^a Sudhoff (100): "geblüt."

gether again: then the three substances will again stand in full blossom and in their true essence. What happens after that rests with Him who has made the body and the soul; [it is] hidden from all human beings. At that time no more diseases will be, [there will be] no medicine, no *medicus*, no patients. It will be over with all such things. However, as I have written above, we must abide by our time, and apply ourselves to the *scientiae* so we can give a proper account of our profession.

CAPVT QVARTVM.

Wiewol der Todt angezeigt ist/ der all ding beschleust/ so ist darumb noch der Tractat nit auß: Dann es ist von nöten weiter in den dingen mehr vnderricht zugeben/ auff dz verstendiger werd/ das fürgenommen ist. Darumb so ist weiter fürzuhalten ein gemeiner Proceß von den dreyen Substantzen/ so sie in jhr hoffart steigend/ das ist/ in jhr Exaltation^a vber den grad darin sie stehn soll^b in was weg dasselbige beschehe: Vnd dz am aller Ersten vom *Mercurio*. Wie nuhn gesagt ist/ das der *Mercurius* sei der *Liquor* in dem menschen/ vnd derselbig sei mannigfaltig/ drumb auch mannigfaltige art auß jhm gehndt: So wisent in denselbigen allen/ drey weg der zerbrechung: Der ein weg/ durch den der *M.* auffsteigt/ ist *Distillatio*: Der ander ist/ *Sublimatio*: Der dritt *Praecipitatio*. Vnd wiewol vielerlei *Species* in diesen wegen sindt/ so sindt sie doch nit nottzuerzelen/ sondern die heuptstück. Zugleicher weiß wie ausserhalb solcher weg auch drey sindt: Also sindt sie auch im leib: Das ist *Operatio Naturae*.^c

Nuhn ist am Ersten fürzunemen/ was das sey/ das denselbigen in die drey Ordnung treibt/ dz ist/ in den weg doraus er sich Sublimirt/ Distillirt/ oder Præcipitirt. Dann auß jhm selbst thut ers nit/ er muß ein frembdts an sich nemen/ durch dz er auffsteigt/ vnd sich eussert von den andern zweyen. Als ein Exempel: *Lucifer* hat in seiner art nit die hoffart/ er nam sie aber an sich/ drumb so steig er vber ander: Also do auch/ ist es ein anderß/ dann die eigen Natur: Vnd nemlich also zuverstehn: dz den *M.* | 124 | auß seinem grad treibt/ das ist ein Hitz/ vnd durch die Hitz steigt er auff.^d Nuhn ist die hitz/ die hitz *Virtutis Digestiuae*/ dieselbig ist *Accidentalis*: Ist sie groß vnd vberfült/ so ist sie dem *Mercurio* zu starck vnd hebt jhn auff/ das ist/ sie vberwigt jhn/ vnd treibt jhn/ als ein Holtz/ dz von der vbrigen Sonnen Hitz

^a *Exaltatio*, associated by P. with Lucifer's uprising, mingles nature with eschatology (cf. S 1:18-19).

^b Sudhoff (101): "sollen."

^c "*Operatio Naturae*" generalizes a term applied either to alchemical "operationes," such as "separatio" and "commixtio" (S 3:3ff.) or "operatio der siderum" in the body (S 1:112) to the totality of *natura naturans*.

^d Sudhoff (102) introduces a paragraph break here.

CAPUT QUARTUM

Though death has now been exposed, which concludes all things, nevertheless this treatise has not been concluded. It is necessary to give further instruction regarding [certain] matters so that what is proposed should become more comprehensible. This is why additional demonstration is needed with respect to the common process of the three substances when they rise up in rebellion, which is their *exaltatio*¹ above their proper degree; and we also need to know in what ways this comes about. First of all, let us speak about *mercurius*. As we have already said, the *mercurius* is the *liquor* in the human being and this is of many kinds, so that many different things proceed from it. It must be kept in mind in all of these that there are three modes of disintegration. The one in which the *m[ercurius]* rises up is *distillatio*.² The second is *sublimatio*. The third is *praecipitatio*. And although there are many *species* in these modes, they need not all be reported here, only the chief ones. Just as in this way three are present externally, they are also present in the body. This is [what is called] *operatio naturae*.

First of all, we must consider what it is that compels these into the three orders, that is, into the three modes from which it sublimates, distills, or precipitates itself. For this does not happen of its own accord. It must rather take something alien unto itself by virtue of which [it] rises up and separates itself from the other two [substances]. Take an example: *Lucifer* did not have the upstart pride from his own nature, rather he took it unto himself; and for this reason he set himself above others. Thus, here too, it is something other than inherent nature, and in particular the following: the *m[ercurius]* | 124 | is urged out of its proper degree by a heat; and through the action of this heat it rises up. This heat is the heat of the *virtus digestiva*; and this is an *accidentalis*. If it is great and overfilled, it becomes too strong for the

¹ Ruland defines *exaltatio* as a positive alchemical heightening of powers (“*sublimatio*” or “*subtiliatio...in puriorem ac maiorem virtutis suae gradum transponens*”). The negative aspect of *exaltatio* as “Erhebung,” identified both with alchemical excess and the proud insurgency of Lucifer, was recognized and developed by Jacob Böhme in *Aurora, Sämtliche Schriften* (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1955), 1:28, cf. 208, etc.

² Prominent among German-language publications promoting the value and technique of distillation before P. were Brunshwig (1500), Med¹ (1505) and the third book of Med² (1505). They were less theoretical than P.

angieng vnd brenn: Also steigt der *Mercurius* auff von der außwendigen zufallenden frembden hitz. Nuhn ist das ein hitz/ die jhn treibt in die drey weg/ nach der *Scientia* jhres eignen Meisters der *Mechanica*^a kunst. Also ist auch ein ander hitz/ die sich auß bewegnuß des leibs begibt/ welche nit weniger ist: Aber doch seltzamer/ vnd nit so gewiß wie die Erste: Dieselbig geschehe in was weg sie wolle/ so entzündt sie den *Mercurium*/ vnd bringt jhn in dz auffsteigen. Also auch wissen/ das vber die ding noch Eine ist/ die ist auß dem gestirn: So do einfalt ein anzündender Stern/ auß welchem dann volgt verkündung des Gehen todts/ vnd anderer Mercurialischen krankheiten auff diß jhar/ auff dieß zeit etc. zubegegnen etc. Also sindt der frembden hitz dreyerlei/ die da den *Mercurium* zum auffsteigen bringen/ auß welchen auffsteigen krankheiten endtspringen/ dz ist verstossung jhrer hoffart in den Todt. Drumb so ist not das der Artzt wisse vnd erkenn/ die hitz der dewung/^b die hitz der vbung/ vnd die hitz des gestirns: Dann also mag er sein krancken bewaren/ vnd jhm auß denen ein gewiß Regiment vnd Präseruatiff^c machen.

Nuhn aber weither so wissen/^d in was weg zündt sich der *Mercurius* an? Deren nuhn drey sindt: In einem feuchten/ druckenen/ oder niedergeschlagenen/ der feucht oder drucken sein mag. Nuhn ligt er im gantzen leib/ in allen glidern: So oft ein glied/ so oft ein *Species Mercurij*. Auß dem wissen nuhn/ das auch viel der theil seindt im leib mit jhren Officien: Das ist ein *Officium* der vernunfft/ das des gesichts/ das deß gehörs. Auß dem volgt nuhn mancherley art seiner krankheiten: Dem nimpt er die vernunfft/ dem das geäder/ dem die zungen etc. Darumb so facht die hitz also an: Sie entzündt den leib/ vnd wo sie am meristen hin steigt oder anfült/ am selbigen ort richt es sein Operation an: dz ist/ do feuret es an/ als wer dasselbig der Ofen/ dorinn *Mercurius* lege. Als die hitz keme auß Fölle/ vnd die Fölle were so subtiler hitz/ als mit Wein Geist etc. | 125 | vnd stieg also auff/

^a The works on *Podagra* contain the heading “*Mechanica*” but no clear sense of this term emerges beyond the usual reference to macrocosmic relations (S 1:319ff.); in the *Astronomia Magna* “artes mechanicae” are attributed to “siderischen operationes” that perform or instill the mechanical crafts (S 12:383).

^b Sudhoff (102): “deuung.”

^c “Regiment vnd **Präservatiff**” associates the second term with the preventive medicine of the *regimen sanitatis*. In *De Lunaticis* the second term is contiguous with the injunctions and commandments of Jesus which alone have the power to forestall “lunacy”: “kein natürlich arzney hilft wider des gestirns geister, so sie den menschen besizen” (S 14:71).

^d Sudhoff (102): “wissent.”

mercurius and sublimates it, overpowering it and acting upon it like a piece of wood that was ignited by the meridional sun and began to burn. In this way, the *mercurius* rises up from the external, accidental, alien heat. This is a heat that urges it in the three modes, in accordance with the *scientia* of its own master, the art of *mechanica*. Thus too there is a second kind of heat which results from the movements of the body, and it is no lesser heat. Yet it is rarer, and not as certain as the first kind. No matter how this comes about, in any case the *mercurius* is ignited and induced to ascend. Here too, it must be considered that above these there is another One, which proceeds from the stars. If an ignited star happens to intrude, there will follow a forewarning of sudden death as well as other mercurial diseases, directed to occur in this particular year, at this time, etc. Thus there are three kinds of alien heat that can cause the *mercurius* to rise up, from which sublimation the diseases follow, which is the expulsion of their pride into [the realm of] death. Thus, the physician must know and recognize the heat from digestion, the heat from exercise, and the heat from the stars. Only then can he preserve his patients and offer them a reliable regimen and preservative.¹

Let us now consider further what are the modes of igniting the *mercurius*. There are three of these: One is in the moist; one in the dry; and one in the precipitation, which can also be moist or dry. It is present in the entire body, in all its parts. As many parts as there are, there is the same number of *species mercurii*. From this it is also clear that there are also many parts with their respective functions (**Officium**). The one is an *officium* of the reason, another of the sight, another of hearing. From this it follows that there are many kinds of the resulting diseases. The one is loss of reason, the other is of the veins, a third the tongue. That is how the heat initiates things: it ignites the body, and wherever it ascends or concentrates most is where it effects its operation. That is to say that it stokes it up as if it were an oven in which the *mercurius* lies. If it happens that the heat results from fullness and the fullness is a subtle heat, as it happens with wine spirits and that sort of thing | 125 |, and if it should rise up and come with the

¹ Zedler: “*Praeservativa, sunt medicamenta vitam a suis inimicis & corruptionibus defendentia, die Ding so den Menschen vor Kranckheiten behüten*”: they are the materials of preventive medicine.

vnd kem mit dem Geist in das Hirn: Jetzt/ so die hitz starck genug ist/ so steigt der *Mercurius* noch weiter/ dann sein statt ist/ vnd letzet das er trifft. Also auch im hertzen/ so es zum selbigen gieng/ so müst das hertz ein Ofen sein/ sein eignen *Mercurium* darauß zutreiben wie obsteht: wo nun derselbige *Mercurius* hingerath/ da gebierdt sich die Kranckheit.

Also in starcken Complexionen da tegliche völle/ oder vbernatürliche vbung ist/ oder ein solcher Stern/ der sich gleich halt wie gesagt ist: da bewegt sich der gantze leib/ das ist/ alle seine glieder sind in der hitz/ dardurch kompt nun/ daß sich der gantz *Mercurius* auff vnd ab erhebt/ distillirt/ hin vnd wider im Leib/ gleich wie in eim Pellicanen: vnd so er kompt in sein höchsten *Gradum*/ alsdann so macht er sein *Nequitiam*: das ist/ wenn ers so lang treibt/ vnd so lang gesubtilirt wird/ es sey im distillieren inwendig im Leib/ oder sublimiren/ oder præcipitiren/ das er kompt auff die höchst *Essentiam*, so wirdt er verstossen von seim stuel: das ist des Leibs krankheit vnd gegenwertiger Todt. Dann vor der zeit thut ers nit/ er hat ein weil zusteigen/ zu circuliren/ zu præpariren/ biß er an das höchst kompt/ als dann fallt er zum nidersten.

Also so ein Stern sein *partem* begreiffv vnd im selbigen anzündt/ so last er auch nicht nach so lang biß er auff sein höchst subtilitet kompt/ so macht er auch sein krankheit. Also wird der *Mercurius* aufftrieben durch die frembde hitz in sein Exaltation/ welche als dann nix ist als das abstossen: das ist der Samen der Kranckheit.

Also wie gemeldt ist/ so sind dreyerley weg. Einer macht den Gehen Todt vnd sein *Species*, vnd ist *Distillatio Mercurij*. Der ander macht *Podagram*, *Chiragram*,^a *Artheticam*,^b vnnd ist *praecipitatio Mercurij*. Die dritt macht *Maniam*, *Phrenesin*, vnd ist *sublimatio*

^a As a *tartarus* disease, the *generatio podagrae* is specific to location, whether in *concauitatibus*, *pedibus*, *genubus*, or *manibus*, the latter being *chiragra* (S 3:430); the *quinta essentia* of precious stones, including rubies (see H 1:115, note), is said to relieve all tarataric diseases including those mentioned here (S 3:211).

^b *Arthetica* is classed with *podagra* and *chiragra* among the *tartarus* diseases (S 2:360ff., 388). *Uslegung der latinischen synonyma* states: “Artheticus ist ein glidsüchtiger (one afflicted in the joints)” (S 9:658).

spirit into the brain, then when the heat is powerful enough, the *mercurius* climbs even further than is its place and injures whatever it encounters. The same happens in the heart; when it goes into it, the heart must be an oven for expelling its own *mercurius*, as has been explained. Wherever the *mercurius* gets to, a disease is generated.

So it is in the strong complexions where daily fullness or a more than natural exercise [of the organs] is at work, or a star of a kind that behaves in the way that has been described. The entire body is moved, that is, all of its parts are in the heat; and because of this it comes about that the entire *mercurius* rises up and drops down and is distilled time and again in the body, as if in the pelican;¹ and when it enters its highest degree, it commits its *nequitia*;² which is to say that when it has been in force for so long, and has been made subtle to such an extent, whether in the distillation of the inner body, or in the sublimation, or the precipitation, it then enters its highest *essentia*; and is then dispelled from its [proper] seat: this results in the body's disease and ensuing death. For before its time, this does not happen; it [the *mercurius*] must first ascend, circulate, and prepare, until it arrives at the highest degree; whereupon it drops to the lowest.

Similarly, when a star grasps its *pars*³ and ignites itself in the same, it will not let up until it arrives at the highest subtilization; thus it causes its disease. In the same way, the *mercurius* will be forced higher by the foreign heat into its *exaltatio*, which is nothing other than the expulsion:⁴ this is the seed of the disease.

Accordingly, as we have seen, there are three paths: the one causes the sudden death and its *species*, and is *destillatio mercurii*; the second causes *podagra*, *chiragra*,⁵ [or] *arthetica*, and is *praecipitatio mercurii*; the third causes *mania* [or] *phrenesis*;⁶ and is *sublimatio mer-*

¹ **Pelican**: alchemical vessel resembling a pelican with its beak on its breast, used for distilling. (See DAI for a diagram).

² **Nequitia**: vice, depravity, villainy (OLD).

³ Its "*pars*": the organ of the body corresponding to the celestial body.

⁴ **Das abstossen** is here best understood metaphorically as the same act of ejecting someone or something from his/its proper seat or chair, which is referred to above as **verstossen von seim stuel** (cf. Grimm).

⁵ **Podagra**, gout of the foot; **chiragra**, of the hand; cf. CWHHD, "Gout": a term as nonspecific as "arthritis" is today, and sometimes associated with it (*arthetica*). See H 1:178, note on *mucago*.

⁶ **Mania**, see H 1:83; **phrenesis**: temporary madness, violent mental or emotional agitation (OLD).

Mercurij. Von denen stahnd jhre Capitel in seinen Büchern/ mit sampt seinen *speciebus*, wo sie dann eröffnet werden. Also ist vielfaltig die *ultima materia* der dingen/ die da vbersteigen jhren *gradum*. Dann mancherley *Mercuriales*, vnd mancherley *Officia*, mancherley *partes*, vnd deren allen vielfaltig Arth/ Eigenschafft vnd Natur welche/ so sie zusammen kommen/ seltzame krankheiten/ mit seltzamen | 126 | zeichen/ geberden/ sitten/ vnd dergleichen/ machen.

Also subtil ist der *Mercurius* durch diese bereitung/ das jhm niemandts widerstehn mag/ vor dem gewalt der inwendigen Natur. Dann vrsach: die andern zwo Substantzen mögen jhn nicht demmen/ von wegen der vberladnen hitz/ die sie zuruck treiben. Darumb so wird er so subtil/ das er das gebein durchdringt/ das fleisch: Nit allein durch die *poros*, sondern auch ausserthab denselbigen^a durchschwitzt vnd penetriert. Darauf wissen/ das auch *pustulae*, *Morbus Gallicus*, *Lepra*,^b vnd dergleichen entstehn/ vnd jhr *primitiuam materiam* vnnnd *causam* do nemmen: vnd viel ander dergleichen mehr: In was gestalt vnd weg/ wirdt in seinen Capiteln angezeigt. Also wie er in solcher hitz auffsteigt/ so wissen auch hierbey/ das er vilfaltigen frost/ hitz/ schawer/ schüttlen/ machet/ so sein *Paroxysmus*^c an will gehn/ oder ein gleichnuß daruon. Dann so ein solchs scharffs^d gifft vnnnd subtile angehet die Natur/ so fällt sie in ein widerwertiges/ das ist/ in ein schrecken: der erschrecken ist ein leiblicher zitter/ der da kompt auß der forchte/ der frost/ hitz/ laufft mit: dann da ist verstopffung vnnnd vbereylen der dempff/ wie ein vermachter Hafen/ der da seüdt vnnnd sich selbst auffhebt/ vnd der frost ist die *materia* vnd art einer

^a Sudhoff (104): “derselbigen.”

^b The *Paragraphen-Buch* defines: “**Lepra** est corporis elementati putrefactio cum mineralibus suis. quatuor igitur species leprae sunt” [i.e., of the four elements] (S 5:236). *Bertheonei* speaks of leprosy morphing into a “universalische krankheit” (S 6:159). The eight books on *Franzosen* speak of transmuted diseases and of “neunerlei lepra” (S 7:214ff.).

^c *Paroxysmus* applies not only to the physical ailment but to the pathology of mental affliction (“paroxysmi der unsinnigkeit”—S 1:102ff.) and to the diseases “that deprive sufferers of their reason” such as epilepsy or female “suffocatio intellectus” (S 2:414-18; 444ff.). The dual perspective of microcosm and macrocosm also reveals for “caducus” the alchemical, meteorological, and geophysical aspects of the paroxysm, as a powerful event (“erschütten”) produced by “niter” and “sulphur in mercurio” in the athanar, corresponding to an earthquake (S 1:148). The cosmic dimension implicates the expertise of the astronomer in studying such diseases: “Dieser krankheit und paroxysmorum natur und art erkent alein der astronomus” (S 1:135).

^d Sudhoff (104): “scharf.”

curii. These are described in their respective chapters, with all their *species*; and are explained there. Clearly, then, the *ultima materia* of the [three] things takes many forms in passing above their [proper] *gradus*. For as varied as are the *mercuriales*, so varied are their *officia*; there are various *partes*; and these have a diverse character, property, and nature, which, when they come together, and cause strange diseases, with | 126 | strange signs, behaviors, customs, and everything of the kind.

The *mercurius* is rendered so subtle by this preparation that no one may withstand it in its inherent, natural force. And this is the reason why: the other two substances cannot check it because of the excessive heat which pushes them back. In consequence, it becomes so subtle that it penetrates the bones and the flesh; [it does so] not only through the *poros*, but indeed even outside of these, sweating through and penetrating. You should be aware that there then arise *pustulae*, *Morbus Gallicus*, *lepra*, and other things of this kind; and from this they receive their *primitiva materia* and their *causa*; and much more could be said about things of this kind: how and in what form this comes about will be stated in the respective chapters. As for the form and way in which it rises in this sort of heat, take note with respect to this that it causes many kinds of chill (**frost**),¹ heats, shuddering, [and] trembling, when its *paroxysmus*, or something similar to it, is initiated. For when it happens that such a sharp poison and subtlety is initiated [in] nature; it descends then into an opposite condition, that is, a fright: this taking fright is a physical trembling which results from fear: the chill [or] the heat accompanies it: for there results an obstruction and an excess of vapors, as with a closed container which is boiling and lifting itself up; and the chill is the *materia* and the nature of

¹ See Grimm, **Frost**: the term could mean cold as the opposite of heat or a cold fever (2) or a mental state of *frigedo animi* (6). This ambiguous coupling of an external meteorological with an inner physical or mental condition related to **forcht**, “fear,” is in conformity with the macrocosmic-microcosmic reasoning of P.

jedlichen forcht/ die macht frost: Aber so die hitz so starck zunimpt/
als dann so lest der frost nach/ vnd lest die hitz regiren. Also wissent
des *Mercurij* seltzame arth. Dieweil aber die kürtze sein vielfaltig
wesen nit mag beschreiben/ so spar ich den mehrer theil in die andern
meine *Volumina*.

any fright: it [always] causes chilling. But when the heat increases so powerfully, the chill decreases and lets the heat prevail. So you can see the peculiar nature of the *mercurius*. But since brevity does not allow us to describe its diverse manifestations, I will save the remainder for my other *volumina*.

CAPVT QVINTVM

Wie also ein theil hin ist vnd abgefertiget vom *Mercurio*: dermassen sol auch abgefertiget werden dz Saltz/ als ein ander theil der dreyen Substantzen. Im selbigen wissen am ersten/ daß es sich verendert so es in sein hoffart geht/ in 4. weg: In die Resolution/ Calcination/ Reuerberation^a vnd Alcalization. Nuhn ist des Saltz arth mancherley/ vnd in viel weg: drumb so hat es vilerley *Species* der bereitung: vielerley *Salia* die sich Calciniren/ vilerley die sich Reuerberiren/ vnd also auch vilerley alcaliziren vnd [Resoluiren:] welche^b | 127 | all im Menschen beschehen/ gleich wie ausserhalb demselbigen in seiner *scientia*.

Nuhn ist am aller ersten zuwissen was das sey/ von dem das Saltz sich bricht/ vnd geht in die vorbemelt bereitung der hohen Gradus/ darinn es dann nit sein soll. So sind da drey vrsachen: Erstlich das vberfüllig essen/ daß die dāwung^c bricht/ vnnd zu geyl die *Partes* macht/ macht *lubricam carnem*, das ist/ zuvil zart fleisch/ zuuil lind marck fleisch/ zuviel geyls blutt vnd dergleichen: vnd so bald die ding zu geyl werden/ so mag dz Saltz sich nit erhalten in seinem wesen/ wie jm dann zugebürt. Vnd gleich als ein Acker der zu geyl ist/ vnd sich damit verderbt/ das die frucht zu schnell faulen: oder so ein Acker mit Regen vberschütt wirt/ vnd die frucht darinn zum faulen geht/ oder in ander sein artt.

Also ist auch der ander weg im selbigen also zuuerstehn/ dz zuuil *Luxus*,^d das *Sal* auch in sein Exaltation treibt: Nemlich am meristen/ das ist/ am schnellisten/ in der gestallt/ so der *Luxus*, *Coitus*, sein

^a Sudhoff (105): “reverberation.”

^b Sudhoff (105): “vilerlei <die sich>alcaliziren und resolviren, welche.”

^c Sudhoff (105): “deuung.”

^d Along with *coitus*, the sphere denoted by *luxus* inspired in the preceding work on “Franzosen” colorful terms such as “frolocken zu fast in der göttin Diana,” from which “spiritus peccans” arises (S 7:295).

CAPUT QUINTUM

Just as one aspect of the *mercurius* has been treated and finished, the same will be done for the salt, this being the second part of the three substances. Consider that in the same way, first of all, how it is changed when it enters its state of upstart pride, doing so in four ways: [by entering] into [the states of] resolution, calcination, reverberation, and alcalization. To be sure, there are many kinds of nature of the salt, and [it manifests itself] in many ways. This is why it has so many *species* of preparation: many kinds of *salia* that come about through calcination, many through reverberation, many through alcalization, and [many through] <resolution>; all of which | 127 | result in the human being, just as they do in the external [one] in its *scientia*.

Consider first of all so that you know what it is from which the salt separates itself off when it passes into the aforesaid preparation of the higher degrees, where it does not belong. There are three causes of this: First of all, an excessive eating that harms the digestion and makes the *partes* too rich,¹ causing *lubrica carnis*,² too much vulnerable flesh, too much flabby³ inner⁴ flesh, too much enriched blood, and that sort of thing. As soon as the things become too rich, the salt can no longer maintain itself in its nature as is proper for it. [This is] just as a field that has become too rich, and is thereby ruined so that the fruits rot too quickly; or like a field that has been spoiled by too much rain so that its fruits rot in it or it manifests its nature in some other way.

Moreover, there is another way of understanding the same thing: [what happens is] that too much *luxus* drives the *sal* to the point of its exaltation. In particular [what happens] is that [it is in] the highest [degree], that is, the fastest [process], in such a form that *luxus*⁵ [or]

¹ See Grimm, **geil**: what is meant here is a surfeit of *luxus* (see below) in the organs, flesh, or blood.

² [M]acht *lubricam carnem*: “causes flesh that is too fatty or oily” [cf. OLD, “*caro*”: a medical condition].

³ See Grimm, **lind** (1), in the sense of *mollis*.

⁴ See Grimm, **Mark** (3g) denotes both the inner (as of bones) and that which is the source of strength.

⁵ The term *luxus*, “indulgence” or “opulence” (OLD), is obviously sexualized here, thereby bringing out the connotation of *luxuria*, “dissipation” (MLLM)

ursprung neh auß den Pruritischen/ Sudorischen/ Cruorischen anreitzen/ so wird er hefftiger gemehrt vnd geübt: Auß welcher vbung der Leib ein kalten geist endtpfacht/ das ist/ ein Windt/ derselbig treibt das Saltz auch in sein ander wesen/ vnd nemlich am meristen vber die andern. Dann so sich der vberfluß der *Sperma* richt in ein gang/ so bricht dem Saltz sein wesen/ vnd zuuil *Liquid* wird da entzogen: das also das Saltz in ein geyle geht/ das ist/ in ein ander wesen.

Dermassen auch durch dz Gestirn so in das Saltz fallt/ in seine *partes*: zugleich weiß wie der Windt aufftröcknet/ also auch das Gestirn: wie die Sonn die *grandines* zerschmelzt/ also auch die *Salia*. Dann die *Salia* ligen nit anderst im Leib/ gleich wie *grandines* auff dem feldt: welcher Arth vnd Natur ist daß sie sollen also bleiben/ vnnd doch aber mögen sie nichts widerstehn/ drumb so werden sie zerbrochen. So ist das Saltz auch also/ mag nichts widerstehen: kompt ein *contrarium*, so last es sich endern/ von dem vberfluß des fleischs/ feiste/ blutts/ oder durch jhr enderung der zartten arth: durch den *Coitum*: vnd also auch mit dem Gestirn.

Nun sind ettliche *Salia*, so ein solche zerbrechung an sie fallen/ daß sie sich zerschmelzen wie der Schnee: vnd das in dem weg. | 128 | So sie zerschmelzen/ als dann so ist der werme im Leib art/ die dann auch da ist wie im *Mercurio*, daß sie ein solch Resoluir Saltz auß dem Leib treibet: dann dieselbige werme oder hitz/ last kein Resoluir Saltz im Leib nit bleiben/ vmb viel vrsachen willen/ es muß herauß: vnd nit allein das Resoluirte/ sondern auch die andern *Salia calcinata*, vnd *Reuerberata*. Drumb so ist der Schweiß gesalzen: dann er ist nichts anderst/ als allein ein Resoluir solch Saltz. Auß dem nun volgt/ das ettlicher Schweiß auß dem Blut kompt/ ettlicher auß dem Fleisch/ Bein/ Marck/ etc.: vnd volgt auch auß dem/ so dieselbigen *Salia* vielerley arth haben: Dann auß jhnen entspringen die *Serpigines*, *Impetigines*, *Pruritus*, *Scabies*,^a vnd dieselbigen *genera*: wie sie dann in der Chirurgie begriffen werden/ damit ich jetzt diesen theil fahren laß/ hie an dem orth.

^a In his work on *Franzosen*, P. presents the skin disorders mentioned here and below in a common context, *serpigo*, *impetigo*, *alopicia*, *morphea*, *gutta rosacea*, *cicatrices* (S 7:353), discussing them as “luxische Krankheiten” ascribed to a single “arcanum”; cf. “De serpigine” (S 4:186-93). The work on surgical diseases or the “offene scheden also takes up several of the ailments specifically including: “De pruritu et scabie” (S 4:287); “De herpete, id est impetigine” (4:332).

coitus has its origin in pruritic, sudorific, cruorific¹ stimulations, so that it increases and is exercised more violently: From this exercise the body receives a cold spirit, which is to say a wind; and the latter drives the salt into its other nature also; and in particular [it is driven] most of all above the others [i.e. the other two substances]. For when the surfeit of *sperma* is directed on its path, the salt has its nature broken; and too much of the *liquidus* is withdrawn so that the salt passes into the state of richness; that is, it takes on a different nature.

The same thing comes about when the stars exert their force upon the salt and its *partes*: in the same way that the wind has a drying effect, so do the stars; just as the sun melts the *grandines* [hail stones], so also the *salia*. For the *salia* reside no differently in the body than do the *grandines* in the field: it is in their constitution and nature that they should persist, and yet they can resist nothing, and for this reason they are broken. The salt is like this too; it cannot resist anything: when a *contrarium* arrives, it is changed from the surfeit of flesh, fat, [or] blood; or by means of change of the tender kind: by way of *coitus*, as well as by the stars in the same way.

Now there are various *salia* upon which a disintegration can come, so that they melt like the snow. It happens in this way. | 128 | When they melt, there is something of the nature of warmth in the body, which is there in the same way as with the *mercurius*: it expels a resolved salt of this kind from the body; for the same warmth or heat does not allow any resolved salt to remain in the body. For many reasons, it must depart; and [this is true not only of] the resolved [salt] but of others as well, *salia calcinata* and *reverberata*. This is why sweat is salted; for it is nothing other than a resolved salt of this kind. From this it follows that some sweats proceed from the blood; others from the flesh, bones, marrow, etc.; and it follows from that that these *salia* have a diverse nature; for it is from them that such things arise as *serpigines*, *impetigines*,² *pruritus*, *scabies*, and other *genera* of the same. Since these are comprehended under the heading of surgery, I will go no further into this and let it go at that in this context.

¹ From *cruor*: may mean blood in general, but it implies bloody flesh, gore, or blood from a wound (OLD).

² *Impetigino*: a name given to various kinds of scaly skin eruptions (OLD). Analogous to this, *serpigines* is snake-like, scaly skin. Strebel glosses the word as “Wanderflechten” (i.e., eczema) or “Herpes.”

So nun die *Salia* der Natur Calciniert sind/ so kompt es also: So sie jhr *Liquidum* verlieren/ so ist es schon Calciniert in seinem wesen: dann das *Sal* ist an jhm selbst vorhin Calciniert in der Natur: So es sein *temperamentum humidum* verleürt vnd jm entzogen wirdt/ als dann so ligt es Calciniert da/ gleich wie der *Alumen* in seiner bereytung/ vnd Vitriol/ vnd andre mehr: dann in solcher gestalt sollen jhr hie dise præparatz auch verstehn. So nun also dise *calcinatio* angeht/ so weicht das *humidum* im Schweiß herauß: vnnd ist das *humidum*, das die haut juckendt macht/ vnd beist/ vnd nachvolgend Ruffen/ nachvolgend zu löchern/ dann am letsten so das *Sal* nit feucht ist/ wie es sein soll/ so geht es herauß/ vnd frist jm selbs ein loch am selbigen orth/ wo es dann ist am Leib. Diß wirdt weiter in der *Chirurgia* vollendt.^a

Das aber Reuerberirt wird/ das ist ein ander *Sal*, vnd ist *liquidum humidum*: dasselbig distillirt sich auff vnd ab in seiner Anatomey: vnd heist *Reuerberatio*. Dann vrsach/ kein hitz noch frembde geyle mag jhm in sein Substantz gehn/ sondern zugleich weiß/ wie Wasser vnd Oel nit gemischt mögen werden: also mögen ander ding in das nit gahn. Also gehnd die *Spiritus* ob diesem Saltz hin/ vnd wider hin/ auff vnd ab/ so lang biß es wirdt ein *Mucilago*,^b oder *Viscositas*, als dann so hatt es sein scherpffe mehr dann es sie haben soll/ also geht es | 129 | durch auß/ das ist/ die inwendig hitz treibt sein wesen für den leib herauß/ als dann so facht es auch an zu löchern/ vnnd dergleichen eusserlich schäden zumachen. Also wissent von dem Saltz/ daß es sich neigt in sein arth/ nach dem vnd es ist an der Natur: darauß dann viel Kranckheiten entspringen/ die ich in *Chirurgia* heisse *vulnera aeruginosa*.^c Dann ein jedlicher Rost wird von innen herauß getriben durch sein *poros*, vnd am lufft hatt es sein Operation.

Also wissent das weiter: kein Loch/ noch eusserliche Kranckheit wirdt nicht/ allein das Saltz gebs dann: vnnd wircket mit sampt dem Lufft aussen an der haut/ vnd alles dem Lufft zu. Darzu dann auch

^a P. boasted of dual qualifications physician and surgeon and wrote on **surgery** in some sense throughout his career. This remark could refer back to writings on open wounds and ulcerations in S 6, but probably anticipates chapter 10 of Book Two of the *Die große Wundartzney* of 1536 (see S 10:311ff.).

^b Sudhoff (107): “mucilagio.”

^c A chapter in P.’s work on *Franzosen* is “Von der **aeruginosischen** art oder ofnen scheden”: a complex pathology caused by “salz” and corresponding to “venus,” they are compared to the holes and corrosion eaten away by rust (S 7:361); one of the nine announced parts of this malady is “cancrene” (cf. H 1:113).

When it happens that the *salia* of nature are calcinated, it happens this way: when they lose their *liquidum*, it is calcinated in its nature. For before this, the *sal* was inherently calcinated in nature. When it loses its *temperamentum humidum* and has this withdrawn from it, it is in its calcinated stage, just like the *alumen* in its [state of] preparation, and [like] vitriol, and other things besides. For the preparation should be understood as the same kind of thing in this case. When the *calcinationio* begins, that which is *humidum* is given off in a sweat; and it is this *humidum* that causes the skin to itch and bite, and [which] after that [causes] a scabby skin (**Ruffen**);¹ after this there are holes; then finally, there where the *sal* does not become moist as it should be, it departs, and eats a hole in the place where it is found in the body. This [discussion] will be completed in my *Chirurgia*.

But that which is reverberated is a different *sal* and is a *liquidum humidum*: the same thing is distilled back and forth in its [own] anatomy and is called *reverberatio*. The reason is that no heat nor foreign richness can enter into its substance. Rather, just as water and oil cannot be mixed, other, foreign things cannot enter into it. For this reason, on account of this salt, the *spiritus* go round and round and up and down, until there arises a *mucilago* or *viscositas*; whereupon it has more of its acerbity than it should have, so that it goes | 129 | out; that is, the internal heat drives its nature outside of the body. This begins to cause holes and other similar external depredations. Let it be known about the salt that its character is inclined in accordance with how its nature is. From this so many diseases arise, which in my *Chirurgia* I call *vulnera aeruginosa*.² For every sort of rust is driven out from within by way of its *poros* and the air is where its operation takes place.

Moreover, consider as well that no hole or external disease comes about unless the salt produces it; and [unless] there is an action involving the air on the skin; and everything happens because of the air. This

¹ See Grimm, **Rufe** (fem. noun): scabby or crusty skin (Peuckert and Strebel both select this meaning). However, **Ruffen** (a substantive form of a verb): *fornicari*, is also possible. The latter could involve an associative inversion of effect and cause with regard to syphilis. Both readings may find support in P.'s writings, though the former fits better into the enumeration of this sentence.

² To call *vulnera* (wounds) *aeruginosa* implicates distinct meanings of the word, one from its root *aerugo* ("copper rust," "verdigris") and another implying a canker or a malignant condition of the mind (OLD).

zuerstehnt ist/ jetzt ist das *Sal* also/ dann also: darauß dann dürr/ feucht/ rinnent/ eyterig/ etc. schäden kommen. Wiewol dieselbigen vilfaltig auch kommen/ mit hinfressen der Substantz des mitteln Corpus/ auch mit der nahrung/ speiß/ vnnd solcher dingen mehr: diß ist nit noht hie zuerzehlen: dann darauß/ auß dem Saltz werden *Vulnera Salis ambulantia, peregrina, corrodentia, cancrizantia, profunda, putrida, sicca, etc.* vnd noch viel ander die nit löcher sind/ als *alopicia, pustulae, cicatrices, condilomata,*^a etc. vnd darzu *Morphea, Lepra,* vnd all jhr *species:* vnd nach dem vnd das Saltz ist/ nach dem ist auch der schmerzen/ wehtagen: auch nach dem vnnd sein Stern ist/ der hierinn auch die *scientiam* hatt lassen fürgehn/ derselbig in seiner Exaltation vbet vnd bewegt auch. Vnnd dergleichen so wissent auch/ wie daß sie mancherley form machen/ als in Krebsen/ Fisteln vnd *Cancrenis/ Corrodentibus:* kompt auch auß arth des Saltz/ daß also diser Natur ist. Dann das Saltz gibt allen dingen die Form: als das liecht der Natur bewehrt: vnd in solchem saltz nach dem vnd es ist/ nach dem ist auch der *Morbus:* streng/ lang/ kurtz/ oder tödtlich: welche ding all in seinen Capiteln verzeichnet stehnd.

^a *Uslegung der latinischen synonyma* defines: “**Alopecia** ist ein erbgrind [here: a hereditary skin disease affecting the head above the hair line] und sins gleichen” and “**cicatrisans** ist ein ding das blatern ufbrent [a cause of burning with *pustulae* or boils or possibly also the bladder]” (S 9:658). Elsewhere, P. mentions *condilomata* in series with “warzen,” warts (S 7:217, 350-51, 354). See also H 1:309.

is why we can see that the *sal* [acts] this way now and another way then, from which the resultant sores may be withering, moist, running, [or] festering, and so on. Many and various as the resultant sores may be when the substance of the middle corpus is eaten away, varying also with nutrition, food, and other things of the kind, all this need not be recounted here. From the salt there arise: *vulnera salis ambulantia* [or] *peregrina*; *corrodentia*; *cancrizantia*;¹ *profunda*; *putrida*; *sicca*, etc.; and there are even more that do not involve holes, such as *alopicia*, *pustulae*, *cicatrices*, *condilomata*,² etc. ; and in addition to these *morphea*,³ *lepra*, and all of their *species*. In accordance with the action of the salt the pains and sufferings are determined; as also by the ways in which its star is arrayed that has caused this *scientia* to proceed, exercising and moving the same in its exaltation. And by the same token you should know besides that it takes various forms such as tumors (**Krebsen**),⁴ fistulas, as well as *cancrenae* [*gangrenae*] [and] *corrodentes*: All of this likewise results from the nature of the salt, depending on its particular properties. For the salt gives to all things their form, as the light of nature proves. Accordingly following from the particular nature of the salt the particular nature of the *morbus* results: whether it is severe, long, short, or fatal, all of which things will be recorded in their respective chapters.

¹ *Cancrizatia*, from *cancer*: tumor, gangrene, or symptom of some cancerous disease (OLD).

² According to the OLD, *aloppecia* is a bald patch on the head caused by a kind of mange; *cicatrix* is scar tissue on a healing wound; according to MLLM, *condiloma* is a scrufulous disease.

³ Zedler glosses "*Morphaea*" as "*Gutta rosacea*, der Kupfer, Kupfer-Handel ist, wenn das Gesichte, vornehmlich aber die Nase mit rothen Blattern besetzt wird" (a skin disease of the face and especially the nose, having various causes but linked at least metaphorically with copper); cf. H 1:309.

⁴ See Grimm, **Krebs**, Kanker (2): a carcinoma.

CAPVT SEXTVM.

Dermassen ist auch der *Sulphur*, den 4. ding zerbrechen vnd Exaltiren: daß sind die 4. Elementen. Vnd also ist sein Natur: Falt jn das feucht Element an/ so wird er demselbigem gleich auch feucht/ naß/ oder dergleichen/ wie | 130 | dann solch Impression an jhn kompt/ das ist/ vom Element wasser. Also auch/ so jhn das Element Lufft an sich bringt/ so wirdt er trocken/ vnnnd endtpfahet den *Gradum* der tröckne: dann im wasser Element^a ist die nässe/ im Lufft die tröckne: also henckt sich der *Sulphur* auff zwo arth der Exaltationen. Dermassen so wissent auch also von den andern zweyen Elementen Fewr vnd Erden. Dominirt jhn die Erden/ so macht sie jhn kalt vnd behalt jhn kalt: dermassen mit dem Fewr/ das ist/ mit dem Firmament/ das behalt jhn heiß/ so es jhn dahin bringt. Also sind die 4. Elementen die *Artifices*, so den *Sulphur* bringen in sein Transmutation/ das er falt auß seinem *Officio*, in die geberung der Kranckheiten/ deren viererley geschlecht werden: Kalt/ Heiß/ Naß/ Trocken: vnd in jedtlichem geschlecht vilerley *species*, nach arth deß Sulphurs *materia*, so dann angriffen wird/ in seinen theilen vnd *membris*.

Also wird der *Sulphur* kalt/ vnd wird durch dasselbige Element/ *volatile*, oder *fixum*. Nuhn ist diese kelte mancherley: Congelirt vnd Resoluir: Coagulirt vnd Dissoluir: Nimbt sich auß den vierfachen Elementen/ die doch all vnter dem nammen deß Elements der Erden verstanden werden. Denn auß dem Wasser geht ein theil kelte: auß dem Fewr ein theil kelte; auß dem Lufft ein theil kelte: auß der Erden auch ein theil keltin. Also sollen jhr wissen/ das ein jedtlich Element ein theil der keltin gibt: vnd aber allein die keltin heist *Elementum terrae*: vnd das von wegen der vrsachen/ so ich der Philosophie auff dißmal befilch. Also sehend nun diese keltin an/ die in der keltin ein wesen haben: dann es ist nur ein keltin/ nit mehr: Aber des gewichts ist mehr/ das ist/ in Eim ist mehr kalts dann im andern/ darumb es kelter erscheint/ vnd ist doch nur ein gleiche kelte. Aber in der Substantz da scheid sie sich in zwey theil: In hertt vnd feucht. Die

^a Sudhoff (108): "wasserelement."

CAPUT SEXTUM

So it is also with the *sulphur* which is disintegrated and exalted by four things, that is, the four elements. Thus is its nature. If it is attacked by the moist element, then it also becomes moist as well, wet, or something similar, as soon as | 130 | an impression of this kind reaches it, that is, stemming from the element of water. Moreover, as soon as the element of air is brought to it, it becomes dry, and it receives the *gradus* of dryness; for in the watery element is the moisture, in air the dryness. Consequently, the *sulphur* responds to two kinds of exaltations. The same kind of thing will hold true of the other two elements, fire and earth. If the earth dominates [the *sulphur*], it makes it cold and keeps it cold. The same thing will apply in its way with fire, that is, with the firmament: It will keep [the *sulphur*] hot once it has brought it to that point. Thus are the four elements the *artifices*¹ which bring the *sulphur* to its transmutation so that it drops from its *officium*² into the generation of diseases, of which many kinds will come into being: cold, hot, moist, dry; and in each and every kind [there will be] many *species* in accordance with the *materia* of the sulphur that is attacked in its parts and *membra*.

Thus does the *sulphur* become cold, and [it] is rendered by the same element *volatile* or *fixum*. However, there are many kinds of cold: [There is] congealed and resolved; coagulated and dissolved. These are what the fourfold elements break down into, though all are understood by the name of the element of earth. For from the water, there proceeds one part of the cold. From the fire one part of the cold. From the air one part of the cold. [And] from the earth one part of the cold. Consequently, you should know that each element contributes one part of the cold; and yet only the *elementum terrae* is called the cold; and this happens for causes which for the time being I will defer to [the discourse on] philosophy. So now examine this coldness, which has as its essence coldness: it is cold, nothing more. But in terms of weight, it is more; that is to say: in the one there is more of the cold than in the other. For this reason it seems colder, and yet the coldness is the same. However, in substance it divides into two parts: into that which is hard and into that which is moist. The hardness is

¹ Plural of *artifex*, artisan, craftsman (MLLM).

² *Officium*: here, bodily function (OLD).

hertte ist zwyfach/ Congelirt/ Coagulirt: die feuchte ist zwyfach/ Dissoluirte/ Resoluirte. Nuhn/ Congelirt/ nimpt sich auß dem/ das fewrische keltin ist/ als gefroren Wasser/ Schnee/ *Grandines*, etc. Also wird im Sulphur ein Congelat/ welche auß dem Element Fewr gehet/ mit sondern kranckheiten vnd seinen *speciebus*, die sich billich dem Schnee/ Reiff/ *Grandinibus*, etc. gleichen/ vnd gleich in der geburt verstanden werden. Das ist nun auß den *Astris* geboren auff ein | 131 | theil/ vnd heist/ auß dem kalten Feuer: dann das Firmament ist das Fewr.^a Also ist nun *Coagulatio* ein ander keltin/ dieselbig nimbt sich auß wasser/ vnd ist ein andre kelte/ vnd doch aber ein *Gradus* mit dem Feuer: vnd so sie zu jrer Operation geht/ so wird es Coagulirt/ was dise kelte macht. Diese Coagulation scheidet sich von der Congelation/ in dem/ dz diese/ Fix ist/ vnd die Congelation/ *Volatilis*. Dann was auß der keltin des Elements Wasser gehet/ das ist alles Coagulirt vnd ist *frigidum coagulatum*: wie jhr dann Coagulirt sehend die Corallen/^b die *Alumina*,^c *Entalia*,^d vnnnd dergleichen *Vitriolata*,^e *Salia*,^f *Aluminosa*, vnd andere. Also in solcher gestalt sind die kranckheiten/ so da kommen auß der Coagulirten keltin/ dz ist/ auß der keltin deß wassers. Nun also auß dem Lufft kompt auch ein keltin/ dieselbig ist in jrer Substantz nit Congelirt/ noch Coagulirt/ sondern ein Wind. Vnd zu gleicher weiß wie der *Boreas* oder *Zephyrus* für sich selbst ein keltin in die werme bringen: Also auch hatt diß *Elementum terrae* dieselbig art an jm auch auß dem/ daß sie ein theil der kelte im Lufft vnd Wind hat: darumb dann im Leib solche

^a Sudhoff (109) introduces a paragraph break here.

^b On the prodigious powers of red coral in expelling whatever is monstrous, see “De Corallis” in *Herbarius* (S 2:40ff.)

^c Mentioned less often than salt, *alumen* and *alumina* are among a group of related “minerals”: “als ein gesalzen mineral..., als vom salz die genera und species seind, alumina, vitriola, salia, calcinata, alkalia...” (S 1:133; cf. Muller).

^d Regarding the *salia* and “offen scheden,” P. specifies in the *Große Wundartznei*: “also wird aus dem sal gemmae der alumen scissum, wölcher entali genennet wird, so er gestorben ist” (S 10:308). In *De Gradibus*, “**Alumen entali**” is among “Quae ex aqua proveniunt, tertium gradum frigidi obtinent” (S 4:21).

^e See *Paragranum*, H 2:31, note.

^f This plural directs us not simply to the alchemical principle of **salt** but more directly to common kinds of it including table salt and its uses in cooking and curing (see “Vom salz und seinen kreften” in *Herbarius*, S 2:26-34); aspects of common salt are apparent in the generalization and apotheosis of salt (see “Von dem salz und was salz begreift” in *Von den natürlichen Dingen*, S 2:98-110). Among other things, it is said that the inhabitants of the New World do not salt their food (“in den neuen insulen kein speis gesalzen”—100).

twofold, congealed and coagulated: the moistness is twofold: dissolved and resolved. But now [that which is] congealed arises from the fiery coldness, as is the case with, for example, frozen water, snow, *grandines* [hailstones], etc. Accordingly, in the sulphur there arises a congelation that proceeds from the element of fire with [its] particular diseases and its *species* which are appropriately compared to the snow, the frost, the *grandines*, etc., and that are to be understood as alike in their emergence. For one part of them is born from the *astra* | 131 | and is said to be of the cold fire: for the firmament is the [sphere of the] fire. Thus is *coagulatio* a different coldness; it arises from the water; and it is a different coldness, and yet shares the same *gradus* with the fire; and when it proceeds in its operation, it causes the coagulation that results from this kind of coldness. This coagulation differs from congelation insofar as the former is fixed while the congelation is *volatilis*. For whatever proceeds from the coldness of the element of water is entirely coagulated and is *frigidum coagulatum*: This you see with the corals,¹ the *alumina*, [the] *entalia*,² and other similar *vitriolata*, *salia*, *aluminosa*, and other things as well. Thus, of this form are the diseases that result from the coagulated coldness, which is to say from the coldness of the water. Now, however, from the air as well there comes a kind of coldness. In its substance it is not congealed nor coagulated. Rather, it is wind. And just as the *Boreas* and the *Zephyrus* of themselves bring cold into warmth, so also does the *elementum terrae* have the same kind of thing within it, also resulting from the fact that it has a part of the coldness in the air and the wind. This is why the body can be seized by such wind-

¹ On the medieval use of coral as a charm against bad weather and medicinal apotropaic, see LMA: “**Koralle**.”

² See DML, *Entalis* (2), is powdered alum and thus among the aforementioned *alumina*. Ruland: “*Entali est alumen scissum, Federweiß...ex sale gemmae conflatur arte spagyrica.*”

Windtkeltin/ Chaoskeltin/^a Luftkeltin/ ohn Substantz/ greiffen oder sehen/ erfunden werden/ mit seinen besondern *generibus* der kranckheiten/ vnd *speciebus*. Also hatt auch an jhm selbst die *Terra*, so für sich selbst *Terra* verstanden wirdt/ auch ein besondere Generation der Kranckheiten/ die auß jhr gehnd: zugleicher weiß wie die kalten kreuter auff Erden wachsen: *Solatrum*, *Rosa*, *Lactuca*, *Portulaca*,^b *etc.* vnd also wie solch kreütter sich sondern von den andern/ also auch die kranckheiten/ mit jren *generibus* vnd *speciebus*. Also sollen jhr wissen dz *Elementum terrae* im Menschen zusuchen in 4. Elementen/ mit der vnderscheid wie obsteht/ vnd seiner erkandtnuß.

Also nit weniger sollen jr verstehen vom Element Fewr/ dz ist/ von der hitz: daß jhr das Fewr dermassen auch in den vier Elementen suchen. Drumb so ein kranckheit im *Sulphure* sein würd/^c so hett sie auß den vieren ein arth. Als/ der *Sulphur* ist an jhm selbst in seinem *officio*: So jn nun das Element Fewr anzündt/ das im Firmament ist/ so zündt jhn der Fulgurische Stern an/ der Sommer Stern: auß dem dann folgt/ daß der *Sulphur* brennt/ vnd vergleicht sich nit anders/ als wann der | 132 | Straal vom Himmel falt in ein Baum vnd verbrennt jhn: also ist die vnsichtige Operation *Firmamenti* gegen vns auch im Leib:^d vnd wie sie den *Sulphur* im Baum anzündet/^e also zündt sie den *Sulphur* im Menschen auch an: Welchs Glid es dann trifft/ dasselbig hatts in gewalt. Nuhn vber das/ so ist nun ein ander Feuer im wasser/ welchs gleich so wol den *Sulphur* anzündt/ als das Feuer im Himmel. Dann kan der Kißling/ Cacedonier/^f *etc.* fewr geben/ vnd habens in jnen: so hatts auch diß inwendig Element/ das wir nit sehend. Dann es ist ein *Fabricator* in den Elementen/ den wir nit sehen/ derselbige feyret nit: wie dann in viel kranckheiten gemeldet wirdt. Also auch ist ein Element Fewr in der Erden/ welchs dermassen den *Sulphur* anzündet: als jhr sehend/ das *flammula*, *vtica*, auß der Erden wachsen: So sehet

^a Sudhoff (110): “chaos- keltin.”

^b On *Solatrum*, *Rosa*, and *Portulaca* are among the “frigidae” (S 4:20-21), as is *Lactuca*.

^c Sudhoff (110): “wird.”

^d One of the most interesting points of microcosmic-macrocosmic correspondence is between thunder and lightning (**der Straal**) and the phenomena of the body: it is rooted on both sides in the dynamic process of the *tria prima*, made manifest in the ingredients of gunpowder. The unity of the three and the theological or anthropological implications of the correspondence are taken up in *De Meteoris* (S 13:137, 139, 140f.).

^e Sudhoff (111): “anzünt.”

^f Sudhoff (111): “calcedonier.”

cold, chaos-cold, [or] air-cold, that can be sensed without all substance, without being tangible or visible, [but] with its particular *genera* and *species* of diseases. This is why *terra* has, in itself, understood precisely and only as *terra*, a particular generation of diseases that result from it; in the same way that the cold herbs grow upon the earth: *solatrum*, *rosa*, *lactuca*, *portulaca*,¹ and so on. And just as such herbs are different from the others, so also [are] the [corresponding] diseases, with their *genera* and *species*. Thus you should know how to seek the *elementum terrae* in the human being, in the four elements; with the abovementioned distinction and its recognition.

In no lesser way should you understand about the element of fire, that is, of heat. You should seek fire likewise in the four elements. Therefore, if a disease should be found in the *sulphur*, it would have a single nature from the four. Thus the *sulphur* is in itself in its *officium*. As soon as it is ignited by the element of fire, which is to say by the firmament, it is ignited by the fulgurous star, the summer star: From this it follows that the *sulphur* will burn and will be like nothing less than when the | 132 | flash [of lightning] from the heavens falls upon a tree and burns it down: This is how the invisible operation of the heavens acts upon us and within the body: just as it ignites the sulphur in the tree, so also does it ignite the sulphur within the human being. Whichever part of the body it strikes, the same is in its power. But beyond that there is a different fire in the water which can likewise ignite the *sulphur*, no less than does the fire in the heavens. For the flint (**Kißling**),² *calculus silex* (**Cacedonier**),³ etc., can produce fire and have this within them. Thus it also has this internal element which we do not see. For there is a *fabricator* in the elements whom we do not see, who never takes a break—this is something that we see in many diseases. Moreover, there is also fire in the earth that likewise ignites the *sulphur*: thus you can see how *flammula*⁴ or *urtica*⁵ grow

¹ *Lactuca*, lettuce, a humorally cold, cold-weather plant; on *solatrum*, *rosa*, *portulaca*, cf. H 1:112.

² See Grimm, **Kieseling**: a limestone pebble (cf. Kalk).

³ Since the **Cacedonier** “gives fire,” derivation from the Latin for flint is a more revealing gloss than Ruland’s near-homonym “Cacedonium”: “*Cacedonium tartarum, est materia peccans in corpore humano, generata a separationibus facultate segregativa, non succedente mox expulsiva*, Kacedonischer Weinstein.”

⁴ **Flammula** is spearwort (DML; cf. OED, “spearwort”), one of several species of *ranunculus*.

⁵ **Urtica**, see H 2:58; 1:302.

jhr auch/ mit was krefften sie stehnd/ so sie den *Corpus Physicum* berühren. Also werden solche *Generationes* auch im Menschen Fabriciret/ die all in jhren Capiteln verzeichnet sind: darauß dann entspringen vilerley krankheiten/ aussen vnd innen/ mit einer vnder-scheid gegen den andern Mercurialischen vnd Salinischen Kranckheiten/ als von den Gleichkrankheiten^a ein sonder Libell zuergründen ist: die ist *Flammula*, die Piperisch/ die Aronisch^b etc. Nuhn im Lufft ist auch also ein heiß Element des fewrs/ wie dann von der keltin gesagt ist/ auff die Eurisch vnnnd Australisch arth/ welche auch fewrische krankheiten macht/ das ist/ desselbigen Elements krankheiten. Nun in dem allen so ist *coagulatio* da/ im fewr deß Firmaments/ vnd der Erden vnd deß wassers. Dann ein jedliche hitz coagulirt allein/ darumb sind drey *coagulationes*: Auß der Erden/ vnd ist/ [wie]^c die *herbae* sind: auß dem wasser/ vnd ist gleich den heissen *mineralibus*: vnd eine auß dem fewr/ ist *impressionis*. Also in der keltin dz Element *Aquae* sein coagulation auch hat/ wie dann die *coagulatio Salnitri* ist vnd dergleichen.

Also habt jhr auch ein Nessin auß den 4. Elementen: das ist/ ein Nessin im Fewr/ eine im Wasser/ ein in der Erden/ vnd ein im Lufft/ vnd sind in massen wie obsteht nur ein Grad deß Elements/ vnnnd ein vrsach seiner Kranckheiten: Aber allein mit 4. *generibus* der Kranckheiten: die ist naß auß der nässe des Fewrs: die ander^d ist naß auß der nässe des Luffts: die dritte | 133 | naß auß der nässe der Erden: Die vierdte auß der nassin des Wassers/ mit sampt den *Speciebus* so in jhnen begriffen werden.

Also auch mit der Trückni/ deren 4. sindt: Auch genummen auß den 4. Elementen/ wie von den andern fürgehalten ist. Dann ettliche trückni sindt auß dem Fewr: Ettliche auß dem Wasser: Ettliche auß

^a Sudhoff (111): "gleichkrankheiten."

^b In *De Gradibus*, *flammula* is among the "calidae" (S 4:19); *piper* alternates with *flammula* in prescriptions (S 5:368); "**Arona** summa medicina in splenicis et in morbis melancholicis" (S 4:123).

^c Sudhoff (111) omits square brackets.

^d Sudhoff (112): "andere."

out of the ground. So you can see with what sort of forces they are equipped when they touch the *corpus physicum*. Thus are such *generationes* also fabricated in the human being which will all be noted in their respective chapters: From them there arise many sorts of diseases, external and internal, [all of] which differ from the other mercurial and saline diseases, as for example the ailments of the joints about which a small book of its own needs to be written: They [are] [the ailments of the] *flammula*, the peppery [ailment], the *aronic* [ailment],¹ etc. Now, in the air as well there is a hot element of fire, as has been said of coldness; it is of the nature of *Euric* and *Australic*,² which [winds] also cause fiery diseases, diseases of the same element. Now in all of this *coagulatio* is present: in the fire of the firmament, and of the earth, and of the water. For every sort of heat coagulates by itself. For this reason, there are three sorts of *coagulationes*: from the earth, which is <how> it is with the *herbae*; from the water, which is as with the hot *mineralia*; and one from the fire, which equates with the *impressiones*. But it also happens that in the coldness the element of *aqua* has its coagulation as well, as it is with the *coagulatio salnitri*³ and similar things.

Similarly, you have a moisture from [each of] the four elements: that is to say, a moisture in the fire, one in the water, one in the earth, and one in the air; and they are, in the same measure applied above, merely a degree of the element, and a cause of its diseases. However, these diseases are to be divided into four *genera*: the one is moist from the moisture of fire; the second moist from the moisture of air; the third | 133 | moist from the moisture of earth; the fourth [moist] from the moisture of water; these must be taken together with all the *species* that they encompass.

And so it is as well with dryness of which there are four groups [of diseases]. These are likewise taken from the four elements, as has

¹ **Aronisch**: since we have an adjective derived from the noun, this could be “Aronsstab” (cf. MLW, “*aron vel aros*”: *Arum maculatum*), though Brunfels (lxviii) doubts that “Aron” is the same as Pliny’s “*Arum*” or “*Aros*.” Possible but less likely (cf. vis-à-vis) is “Arnika” (Marzell), English Mountain Tobacco (Nikolov), an Alpine member of the Compositae family used in treating wounds and bruises (NCE).

² From *Eurus* and *Australis*, the East or Southeast and the South winds.

³ The production of *Sal niter*, saltpeter or potassium nitrate, using urine that assisted the formation of solid crystalline material was well known in the sixteenth century (cf. Ruland; Allen G. Debus, “The Paracelsian Aerial Niter,” *Isis* 55 [1964]: 43-61).

dem Luftt: Ettlich auß der Erden: Wie sie dann sindt/ beweisen die truckenen kranckheiten. Dann also sindt 4. *Genera*/ in der Hauptsumm/ der kranckheiten: Das Kalt/ das Heiß/ das Trucken/ das Naß. Darumb billich ein jedliche kranckheit in diesen staffeln angefangen vnd verstanden wirdt. Vnd wiewol nit nach der Ordnung: Auch nit nach der ordnung einander nach die kranckheiten volgen/ hie in dieser *Theorica*: So werden sie aber volgen nach dieser vnd rechter ordnung an dem ort/ da jhr Practic gehandelt wirdt. Vnd wiewol auch hie alle ding beim kurzisten^a begriffen ist/ vrsach/ das an andern ortten vnd enden die ding vollkommen erzehlet werden: Als *de Complexionibus* vnd *Gradibus*/ vnnnd dergleichen inn andern *Naturalibus*/ sonderlich betreffend die *Philosophiam*.^b

Nuhn ist aber nit weniger in den dingen/ Es begegnen sundere kranckheiten da/ die nit auß den Elementen sindt/ vnd ihnen doch gleich sehend: Als so das *Sal* sich Calciniert/ vnd als dann mit einer leiblichen Feuchti entzündt wirdt/ dadurch möglich wer/ vnd ist/ das sie jhren Eigen *Sulphur*/ in dem sie stehet/ anzündt: Vnnnd dergleichen nit allein auff ein Arth/ als auff diese/ sondern auff all andere Arten.^c Darauff ist zuwissen/ das die ding mit den zeichen erkannt werden/ die diß alles scheiden. Der aber die vnderscheid nit weiß noch versteht/ der weist vnbillich diese zeichen zuerkennen/ als dann von *Bellis Intestinis* erklet wirdt/ an seinem orth. Darumb so mercken auff die andern Bücher/ nit nach der außtheilung/ sondern in mehr weg. Wiewol der Tittel laut von den Dreyen/ das ist/ vom selbst thun oder werden: Von zufällen: Vnd vom Endt: So werden^d jedoch allmahl eingezogen die andern neben jhn/ das ist/ von zufällen: Welche begreifen den zufall/ nicht allein der Füllerei/ sondern auch der Elementen vnd dergleichen. Dann | 134 | so ein kranckheit bemelt soll werden/ so müssen auch bemelt werden die jenigen so sie machen. Darumb die ordnung im selbigen Capitel/ das von solcher kranckheit tractirt/ gehalten wirdt: Ob schon das buch denselbigen nit nachgeht. Dann die Bücher bleiben in seiner *Theorica* vnd *Physica*: Anderst halten die Practicken in jhren *Voluminibus*.

^a Sudhoff (112): “kürzisten.”

^b P. frequently makes cross-reference to his other writings which are planned, in progress, or completed. These citations are of uncertain reference but might be respectively *De Gradibus et Compositionibus* (S 4), *De Natura Rerum* (S 11), and *Philosophia de Generationibus et Fructibus de Quatuor Elementorum* (S 13).

^c Sudhoff (112): “art.”

^d Sudhoff (113): “werden, von zufellen und vom end so werden.”

been demonstrated with the others. For some drynesses are from fire; some are from water; some are from the air; [and] some are from the earth. Their properties are demonstrated by the dry diseases. Accordingly, there are four *genera* in the total sum of diseases: the cold, the hot, the dry, the moist. In consequence, every disease is to be taken up and understood within this framework. And even if [they are not taken up] in order, nor in a consecutive order of the diseases in this *theorica*; nevertheless they will be presented in the correct order in the context of practical medicine. And even though all things are presented in abbreviated form here, the reason is that elsewhere in various places they will be recounted in full, as will be the case with the discussion *de complexionibus* and *gradibus*, and other similar matters of the *naturalia*, especially with respect to *philosophia*.

Nothing less is true of these [other] things: Particular diseases are encountered there which are not from the elements and yet resemble them. Thus, for example, when *sal* is calcinated and then ignited with a physical moisture, it thereby becomes possible for it to ignite its own *sulphur* in which it abides. This can happen, not only in one way like this, but in many other ways besides. From this we can see that the things have to be recognized by the signs which distinguish them. Yet whoever does not know nor grasp the differences can hardly recognize the signs. This will be explained with reference to the *bella intestina* in its proper place. Accordingly, pay attention to the other books, not [only] in reference to the distribution, but in other regards as well. Even though the title refers to the three [substances], that is, to that which acts or results in itself; [or] to the accidents; [or] to the end [result], nevertheless, the other matters will gradually be discussed along with these topics. So with respect to the accidents: these comprehend not only [the results of] overindulgence,¹ but also having to do with the elements and such matters. For | 134 | if a disease is to be explained, the factors which make it up must also be explained. This is the reason for the order of the respective chapters that treat of disease in this sense, even though this book does not pursue them [all]. For these books remain within the realm of *theorica* and *physica*. The works of practical medicine are different in their respective *volumina*.

¹ See Grimm, **Völlerei**, indulgence in the sense of *ebrietas*, but not restricted to drink.

CAPVT SEPTIMVM

Nuhn ist es nicht minder/ das noch ausserthhalb deren dingen allen/ Ein ander arth ist der krankheiten/ vnd deren sindt zwo hie in diesem Capitel begriffen. Eine auß dem Sahmen *Spermatis*: Vnd Eine auß der *Specifica forma*: Die sonderlich auch größlich zumercken sindt/ vnd sie zuscheiden von andern krankheiten. Nuhn wissendt jhr/ wie alle ding in den dreyen Ersten oder Substantzen sindt/ wie gesagt ist: Nuhn ist aber in den dingen sonderlich ein zufallends gewechs/ das da nit betrifft die ding/ so bißher tractirt sindt worden/ vnnd ist ein solchs: Das da sindt ding die machen Schwitzen/ die do Laxiren/ die da brennen/ vnnd dergleichen: Diese ding all sindt hoch zuermessen: Dann es heissen *Aegritudines Specificae*: Nemmen sich nit auß gemelten *Causis*/ sondern sie werden also angeboren/ vnd sindt der Natur also/ das der also schwitzt/ der also *laxus* ist/ der also/ der also.

Nuhn also auß dem *Spermate* wissent/ das auch viel [mehr]^a *Generationes* beschehen/ dann erfunden werden/ oder andern dingen zugelegt worden/ auß vnverstandt. Dann *Camphora* beweist das/ *Sperma coeti*^b dergleichen vnd ander mehr: Darauß werden geursacht die krankheiten der Blattern vnd Nieren. Dann wiewol das ist/ das der *Tartarus* der Stein ist/ das ist/ er ist sein *materia*:^c Noch aber ohn diese arth wirdt er zu keim stein: Ihn Congelirt die Keltin der Sperma/ oder aber die Hitz *Diaphoretica* der Sperma/ das wer nuhn Coagulirt:

^a Sudhoff (113) omits square brackets.

^b In a “cura caduci” *camphora*, *sperma ranarum* (frog sperm), and *sperma coeti* are specified as “coagulativi” (S 2:429).

^c Sudhoff (113): “der stein ist, das er ist sein materia.”

CAPUT SEPTIMUM¹

Beyond all the things that have been mentioned, there is, of no lesser importance, a different class of diseases. Concerning these, two [points] will be encompassed in this chapter. One has to do with the seed of the *sperma*; and the second with the *specifica forma*. The diseases that result merit considerable attention and must be distinguished from the other diseases. You will recall that all things are comprised within the three primary things or substances, as I have made clear. In those things, however, there can be an accidental growth,² which does not affect the things that have been discussed up to this point. It can be put this way: There are things which cause sweating, laxation, or that burn, [or] have some similar effect. All these things are to be taken very seriously; for they are called *aegritudines specificae*. They do not result from the previous causes, but rather are innate, and they are of nature like this, with the result that one person sweats, and another is *laxus* [loose-boweled], another this way, another that way.

It is also necessary to recognize that from the *sperma* far <more> *generationes* result than have so far been found. When these are ascribed to other causes, this occurs out of ignorance. This is shown by *camphora* [camphor] which illustrates this, as does the *sperma coeti* [spermaceti], and other things of the same kind.³ From these issue the diseases of the bladder and the kidneys. For even though it is true that *tartarus* is a stone, which is to say, its *materia* is stone, nonetheless, without this nature it would not turn into a stone. It is congealed [either] by the coldness of the *sperma*, or [it is made] by the *diaphoretic* heat of the sperm, which is to say, coagulated. Heat or coldness of this

¹ Due to the tortuous argumentation of this chapter, which appears to have been compressed by Huser's printer-typesetter in order to limit the number of printed pages, I have introduced new paragraph breaks.

² In referring to the "**zufallends gewechs**" ("accidental growth"), P. addresses the problem of saving his generalization of the three substances while allowing for variations that cannot be explained with respect to it. The two cases discussed (one from the *sperma*, one from *forma specifica*) are not mutually exclusive, but appear to be two ways of rationalizing deviations: as innate or as pertaining to a specific human form.

³ The train of argument is elusive, but P. intimates that just as *camphor* can be used chemically to display the properties of elements and their associated ailments without necessarily coinciding with those elements or ailments, so too, the previous classification of diseases, based loosely on the elements, was not complete.

Solche hitz/ oder Keltin ist nit wie obsteht zuverstehen/ sondern das der Sahn *Sperma* ein sundere Anatomey vnd *Physicam* hat/ aber in außtheilung wie obsteht: Vnd zu gleicher weiß wie obsteht/ in aller massen hie auch zuuerstehn ist. Aber wz weiter sonderlichs wissen noht ist/ das wird in seinen Capiteln fürgehalten. | 135 |

Nuhn ist es ein sonder Capitel: Dann in dem weg es sich auch scheidet von andern krankheiten. Was angebohren ist/ dz mügen wir nit nemmen auß der wurtzen: Das ist angebohren/ die *Specifica* vnd der Sahn *Sperma*/ das ist sein Natur: Darumb so muß die wurtzen jhr gewechs behalten. Das ist aber nit angeboren/ so einer blindt geboren wer:^a Vnd wiewol er dz gesicht nit hat/ so ist es doch in jhm: Aber nit in der rechen stadt/ das macht das er blind ist/ vnd erscheint blindt geboren zu sein/ so er doch das gesich bey jhm hatt: Als so einer an einer handt 6. finger hat/ vnd an der andern 4. oder sie stünden nicht an jhren stedten: So mag hie kein Erfarner Artzt sagen/ das solchem blinden nicht zuhelffen sei/ sondern die Natur ist groß vnnnd wunderbarlich/ dieweil es do ist/ so mag es/ dahin es gehört/ gebracht werden: Das aber mit den fingern nicht beschehen mag: Dann dasselbige ist *Corporis Substantia*/ diß aber ist ein Windt/ der kein leib hatt: Darumb ist er zurucken/ das der versetzte leib nitt geschehen lest. Nuhn aber mit diesen ists nicht also/ so hie in diesem Capitel fürgenommen werden: Sondern das sindt Eingeborne ding/ wie dem Eissen sein härti/ der Kreyden jhr farben: Auff welche arth zumercken ist/ das sie genommen werdt wie sie zufalt: Als den Schnee zufallen/ kann niemandts hindern noch wenden: Das kan mann aber wol/ das er kein schaden dem menschen thue.

Darumb so *Sperma*/ dieweil er ist *Limbus*/ vnd in den 4. Elementen/ so wissen auch hierin/ das er solche krafft hatt: Diesse krefft heissen billich *Impressiones*/ vom menschen also genent: Dann es sindt *Impressiones*. Nuhn mercken ein Irrsall in der Astronomiey hierin/ der

^a The theme of congenital blindness is taken up again in *On the Invisible Diseases* (see H 1:239).

kind is not to be understood in the previously mentioned way, but rather in terms of the fact that the seed [of the] *sperma* has a special anatomy and *physica*, which, however, is assigned [i.e., to the elements] as with the above [mentioned cases]. And what was mentioned above also applies in other regards to the present context. However, the peculiars that need to be known about this will be demonstrated in their [due] chapters. | 135 |

This is indeed a chapter unto itself. For in this way, there is a distinction [between the diseases of the sperm and] other diseases. What is inborn cannot be eradicated. The following are that which is innate: the *specifica* [nature] and the [proclivities of the] seed of the *sperma*, which constitute its nature. Because of it, the root must grow in its own way. However, this does not mean that it is something innate when someone is born blind. Even though that person does not have sight, sight is within him: It is simply not in its proper place. This is the reason why that person is blind and appears to have been born sightless, even though he possesses sight. It is as if someone had six fingers on one hand and only four on the other, so that what he does have is not in its proper place. In such a case, no experienced physician should assert that someone like that is beyond help. Rather, nature is great and miraculous, and given that it is as it is, [the sense of sight] can perhaps nonetheless be brought into its proper order. This could not happen in the case of the fingers, for in that particular case it would be a matter of the *corporis substantia*. However, [the faculty of sight] is like a wind which lacks a body. This is why it can be moved in a way that the finished body¹ does not permit to happen. However, the things to be considered in this chapter are not of that kind. Rather, it is a matter of things inborn, like the hardness of iron or the color of chalk. Of these things, it should be kept in mind that they must be accepted as they happen to be: like the falling of the snow that no one can prevent or change, although one can indeed prevent its causing any harm to the human being.

As for the *sperma*, insofar as it is *limbus* and does consist of the four elements, it possesses a certain array of powers. These powers are properly known as *impressiones*, as they are called by people. Indeed, that is what they truly are. Now consider an error of astronomy that

¹ See Grimm, *versetzen* (6): the firmly set or established body calls the handicraft of creation to mind (cf. note on “setzen,” H 1:68); but the verb could also refer to the “misplaced” functions or parts of the body.

ist also. *Impressio* soll vom Himmel kommen/ das ist nicht: Dann der Himmel truckt vns nichts ein: Die Bildtnuß haben wir auß der handt Gottes gemacht an vns: Wir seyen in derselbigen wie wir wollen/ so ist es ohn all mittel der handt Gottes arbeyt vnnd schnitzwerck mit allen gliedern. Nuhn haben wir *Conditiones, Proprietates, Mores etc.* die haben wir all auß dem Einblasen des lebens/ damit sind vns die ding eingeben. Die kranckheiten so wir haben/ kommen auß den dreien Substantzen in massen wie gemeldt ist/ darein haben sie etwas zuimprimiren^a | 136 | wie ein fewr im holtz oder strow/ oder ein Saffran im wasser. Dorauff wissendt: Das ist *Impressio*/ das wir nit können von vns treiben/ als dan/ kranckheiten von aussen an gevrsacht auß dem *Limbo*: Also ist da auch *impressio* in der *Sperma*/ vnnd *Specifica*/ die vns darzu treiben/ vnd wir können jhr nit außtreiben. Aber wie mann sagt/ *Inclinatio*: Das ist nix: Der do sagt/ der mensch hat ein Inclination auff *Martem, Saturnum, Lunam, etc.* oder/ er muß gestolen haben: Das ist ein grosser jrressall/ vnd ein gleißnerrey: Billicher wirdt gesprochen/ der *Mars* schlecht dem menschen nach/ dann der Mensch ist mehr als *Mars* oder ander Planeten. Der aber den Himmel erkennt/ vnd den menschen weist/ der sagts nicht: Sondern er mag wol sagen/ der mensch ist so Edel bey Gott/ vnd so hoch bey Gott fürgenommen/ das sein bildtnuß abcontrafeth^b ist im Himmel/ mit all seinem thun vnd lahn/ gutts vnnd böß:

Das ist aber nicht *Inclinatio*. Vnd wiewol sie sich des jrressalls etlichen theils achten/ darumb sie sagen/ *Non necessitant*: Das ist ein höfflich

^a Sudhoff (115): "zu imprimiren."

^b Sudhoff (115): "abcontrafeit."

has to do with this. It is as follows. What we call *impressio*¹ is supposed to come from the heavens. But this is not the case. For the heavens impress nothing upon us. The [human] image (**Bildtnuß**) is something that we have in ourselves, [and it is] made by the hand of God. No matter how we are [in our particular character], in all our parts we are God's unmediated work and craftsmanship. Now we do have [our] *conditiones, proprietates, mores*, etc., all of which we have from the blowing in of life,² through which these things have been given to us. The diseases that we have come from the three substances in the measure that has been explained. In this sense, they have a capacity to impress themselves | 136 | on something, as a fire [is] on wood or straw, or saffron on water. From this you should recognize that the *impressio* is that which we cannot expel from ourselves, as we do with diseases that come from without and which arise from the *limbus*. Accordingly, you will also find the *impressio* in the *sperma* and *specifica*, which compel us toward such things and from which we cannot expel them. Nevertheless, what people usually speak of—namely *inclinatio*³—is meaningless. Whoever speaks to the effect that this or that person has an inclination toward *Mars, Saturnus, Luna*, and so on, or whoever says: someone must have stolen [something]—is thereby implicated in great error and hypocrisy. It would be better to say that *Mars* follows the human being; for the human being is more than *Mars* or any other planet. However, he who truly understands the heavens and knows what the human being is, does not speak in this way, but is instead disposed to assert that the human being is so noble before the sight of God and placed so exaltedly near to God that his [human] image is represented in the heavens, along with all actions and omissions, all that is good or evil [in the human being].

However, this is not a matter of *inclinatio*. Even though some people partially recognize this error and therefore [utter a denial by say-

¹ See OED, **impression** (5 obsolete): an atmospheric influence, condition, or phenomenon (as used in 1530, PALSGR. 412: “These impressions of the eyer, ‘hot, colde, fayre, foul [etc.]”).

² This refers to Gen 2:7, “God formed man from the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and the man became a living being.” It is not clear whether P. means that the human being has received these particular qualities, including *mores*, from God, or whether, as seems more likely, he has received the mere capacity for them from God, having been created by God as an individual with free will.

³ See OED, **incline** (4c): to direct something immaterial towards a particular object.

deckmenteli. Der Himmel hatt vom menschen zwo außtheilung: Ein/ das er jhn abcontrafet^a im Himmel/ darauß der falsch kompt/ der Mensch ist Saturnisch etc. Ist gleich als so einer abgemahlt vnd bossiert wird/ vnnd nachvolgent wölt mann sagen/ dasselbig Bildt gebe diessem sein Inclination etc. was er thet das ers vom Bildt hett.^b Die ander ist *Praeludium*: Dann also zierlich ist der Himmel/ dz aller menschen zukünfftig arbeit/ weiß vnd geberdt etc. was sie gebrauchen/ vorgespielt wird: Vnd das vorspielen soll *Inclinatio* sein: Gleich als wölt mann sagen/ sein *Praeludium* zwünge jhn das ers thun müst: Vnd alle *praeludia* sindt allein weissagung/ die Nur zukünfftiges sagen/ ohn Inclination/ Impression/ Constellation/ vnd dergleichen. Das ist der schleim/ den die *Astronomi* vor den augen haben: Vnd so es gesagt wirdt/ so mudern sie: Vnd so jhr jrung zu den Abergleubigen künsten verworffen wirdt/ vnd der rechten nachgangen/ so schemen sie sich nit zusagen/ Es ist *Necromantia*.^c

Also verstanden nuhn weither/ das dieselbig arth an den zweyen hangt: Eine jhm Sahmen/ die soll nuhn woll verstanden werden auß der Ersten Theorick: Wiewol die Substantz | 137 | vnd Corpora nit da sindt/ so mügen doch wol die *Generationes* auß jhnen gehn. Vnnd also auch/ wo *Aegritudo specifica*^d wer/ betrachtent das da nit zuwenden sei in der wurtzen: Aber der zufall der mag wol gewendt werden. Dann sich begibt/ das in *Stomacho* offtmals/ vnd in *Intestinis/ Specifica Laxatio* ligt: Also auch im geblütt/ *Specifica Lepra*: Das wer

^a Sudhoff (115): “abcontrafect.”

^b Sudhoff (115): “inclination etc., was er tet, das ers vom bild het.”

^c The negative *nigromantia* (a domain of “exorcisten, coniuiristen und die totenbüchler”—S 12:141) is presumably the term of slander said by P. to be cast upon him by his opponents; there is also a positive *nectromantia*, the domain of a secret knowledge promised for final disclosure by Jesus (S 12:148ff.)

^d Aside from its obvious import, *specificum* must be understood as an expression of an implicit critique of the Galenic simplification of medicine, as a shift from the quantifiable to the specific and irreducible, in contrast to degree (“wir mögen nicht aus der complexion und qualitet der dingen verstehen die specifica, als wir durch sie mögen die gradus verstehen”—S 2:382) or in *Archidoxis* in terms of unique alchemical properties (“de specificis...in denen dan vil seltsamer großer tugent seind, die da nicht aus der natur iren ursprung nemen”—S 3:169)

ing] “*non necessitant*,” this is no more than a clever subterfuge. The heavens stand in a twofold relation to the human being. On the one hand, [the human being] is represented in the heavens, from which the [abovementioned] error arises that implies that someone or other is saturnine, or what have you. This [error] is exactly as if you were to paint and sculpt someone and then were to say that the picture is what gives its subject its inclination etc.—[as if] whatever he does, he had received from the portrait. The second [point has to do with the concept of] *praeludium*: The heavens are so artfully made that all the future labors, manners, behavior, and needs of human beings are mirrored in them; and this anticipation (**vorspielen**)¹ is what is taken for *inclinatio*, when people speak as if someone’s *praeludium* were to force him to do what he does. [The truth is that] all *praeludia* are merely prophesies, which can only tell about future things, without [exercising any] inclination, impression, constellation, or the like. That is merely the slime that covers the eyes of the *astronomi*. When anyone says this to them, they mutter; and when their error is cast aside with the superstitious arts and instead the right path is taken, they are not above saying that it is *necromantia* [black magic].

Therefore, let us consider further that the same nature accrues to two different things: one [is] in the seed, which should indeed be understood on the basis of the first theory. Even though the substance | 137 | and *corpora* are not present, the *generationes* may proceed from them. And by the same token, where there is an *aegritudo specifica*, it cannot be healed in the root, though nevertheless its accidental complications can be corrected. Thus it happens often that *in stomacho* or *in intestinis* there resides a *laxatio specifica*. The same can be in the case of the blood [with regard to] *lepra specifica*. In terms of [medical] art,² this would be as if we were to assert that in the stomach

¹ See Grimm, **vorspielen** (7d): “vorausdeutend darstellen” (to present in prognostication), it is common to Fischart and P. and close to the similar verb “vorspiegeln,” also used by P. Decisive is less the possibility of true anticipation of future events than the issues of authority this should pose. Is predictive knowledge predicated upon astronomical determinism or on a biblical notion of prophecy? Does a divine or prophetic foreknowledge imply a predetermination? The problem of predestination became especially topical in the wake of Luther’s response to Erasmus in *De Servo Arbitrio* of 1525.

² What is decisive is that, although certain ailments are inherited and cannot be cured, their symptoms are like those of other diseases and can therefore be treated and described just like them, that is, in terms of the external materials which cause such symptoms: hence, the following review of purgatives and laxatives.

nach der kunst soviel geredt/ als wer Coloquint/ *Turbith*, *Scammonea* etc. im Magen/ vnd mann spreche: Er hat *Specificam Scammoneam*/ oder *Coloquintid*:^a Oder *Esulam*^b oder *Agaricum*^c: Wie es sich dann begeben. Also auch/ Er hatt *Specificam flammulam*/ oder *Specificam Aquinam*/ das wer nun ein angeborner Aussatz oder *Morphea*^d vnd dergleichen. Dann also kompt *Specifica pinguedo*/ das ist/ das offft einer feist wirdt/ vnd ist nit der speiß schuld: Also *Specifica Macredo*/ das ist/ dz offft einer mager ist/ da kein essen hilfft. Vnd wiewol die Artzte solchs haben nit in der *Specifica Scientia* gesetzt/ sondern mit den vnerfahrenen *Astronomis* gebollen/ es ist *Melancholia* etc. *Saturnus*/ also ist seins Ascendenten arth: Vnd der mensch nimpt nix auß dem Ascendenten: Er nimpts auß dem *Limbo*/ vnd ist auß der handt Gottes gemacht/ nicht von Ascendenten/ noch Planeten/ noch Constellationen/ vnd dergleichen: Gleich ob sie jhn zwingen dür^e oder feist zusein. In diessen kranckheiten ist not/ gutt erkantnuß zuhaben/ damit sie wol geschieden werden von der Ersten außlegung anderer kranckheiten: Sie werden offft letz angesehen: Daß in seinen Capiteln fürgehalten wirdt/ vnd nemlich in wendung derselbigen/ do vom Sahmen *Spermatis* vnnd *Specificis* gehandelt wirdt.

^a Sudhoff (116): “coloquint.”

^b *De Gradibus* discusses *coloquintida*, *scammonea*, *turbith*, and *esula* as “laxativi” (S 4:27).

^c Along with *esula* and *turbith*, *agaricus* is cited as a purgative (S 10:574).

^d For the categorization of *morphea*, see H 1:128, 129, 309, note.

^e Sudhoff (117): “dür.”

there is colocynth, *turbith*,¹ scammony,² or something of the kind; and as if we were to state this [about such a patient]: that he has *specifica scammonaea*, or *coloquinta*, or *esula*,³ or *agarica*,⁴ or whatever the case might be. Or it would be as if one were to say: “He has *specifica flammula* or *specifica aquina*,” which would be an innate leprosy or *morphea*,⁵ or something else of this kind. For often it comes to something like a *specifica pinguedo* [fattiness], which is to say that someone gets fat and the fault does not lie in the food. Thus too, [one could speak about] *specifica macredo*,⁶ which is to say that people waste away and no amount of eating helps. However, the physicians have recorded nothing about this in their *scientia specifica*, instead cozing up to (**gebollen**)⁷ the ignorant *astronomi*, [who say]: “it is *melancholia*, etc. [or] *Saturnus*,” [which means:] in the nature of the ascendant. Yet the human being inherits nothing from the ascendant. He inherits it instead from the *limbus*, for he has been made by the hand of God, not by ascendants, planets, constellations, or anything else of the kind—as if these were to force anyone to be thin or fat. It is necessary to have a good knowledge of these diseases so they can be distinguished clearly from the preceding interpretation of the other diseases. Often presented incorrectly, these diseases will be taken up in their respective chapters, in particular with respect to their treatment, in the context where the seed of the sperma and of the [diseases] *specificae* are treated.

¹ **Colocynth, turbith**, see H 1:84.

² **Scammony**, akin to morning glory (NCE), is among the laxatives taken by Pantruel (GP 276) and the material of the keys of the musical instrument played by Quintessence (647) in Rabelais’ novel (cf. COFR).

³ *Euphorbia esula*, in English “spurge” (Nikolov), in German “Wolfsmilch,” was known to Pliny (5:16), Hildegard, and Albertus Magnus (Marzell); it is used to make various dyes, oils, and medicines, including castor oil (NCE); it is glossed by Zedler as *tithymalus cyparissias*.

⁴ **Agaric**: the dried fruiting body of a fungus (*Fomes officinalis*, synonym *Polyporus officinalis*) formerly used in medicine (Webster; cf. H 2:31).

⁵ See H 1:129. **Morphea** is a skin disease of the face and especially the nose often mentioned by P.

⁶ From *macresco*, to become thin or waste away (OLD).

⁷ See Grimm, past participle of **buhlen** (2).

CAPVT OCTAVVM.

Nuhn ist vber das alles ein vnsichtbar leib im menschen/ der nit in die drey Substantz gesetzt ist: Das ist/ ein^a leib hat der mensch der nit auß dem *Limbo* kompt: Darumb so ist er dem Artzt nit vnterworffen: Der nimpt sein vrsprung auß dem einblasen von Gott. Vnd wie ein jedtlich blasen oder kauchen nix ist in vnsern henden: Also ist auch nix vnter vnsern augen derselbige leib. Wiewol ich hie muß ein redt führen/ die soll mir als einem Artzt zugeleget werden/ vnd auffgenommen | 138 | in solchem verstand/ so weit die Philosophy außweist vom Menschen/ die ist also: Als wir haben in der geschriff/ dz wir werden aufferstahn am Jüngsten Tag in vnserm leib/ vnd do rechnung geben vmb vnser missethat. Nuhn hat der leib gesündet/ der do nichts ist vor vnsern augen/ dorauß zuermueten derselbig leib werdt do aufferstehn. Dann wir werden nit rechnung geben vmb vnser leibskranckheiten/ gesundheit/ vnnnd dergleichen was jhm angelegen ist: Sondern vmb die ding die vom hertzen gangen sindt/ die betreffen nur den menschen/ vnd ist auch ein leib: aber nit auß dem *Limbo*/ sondern auß dem Athem Gottes. Wiewol aber wir in vnserm fleisch werden sehen Gott vnsern heilmacher/ so befindt sich dz der leib auß dem *limbo* do sein wirdt/ der dann fleisch ist. Wer wolt aber vnwissend sein von den dingen/ die in der Clarificirung^b [sind]^c welche durch den mundt Gottes beschicht/ do ein leib wie der ander sein wirdt. In dem ist es/ im fleisch werden wir aufferstehn/ so wissen wir nur ein fleisch/ nit

^a Sudhoff (117): "einen."

^b **Clarificirung** refers to the transfiguration of the resurrected body. On P.'s view of the death and transformation of the body, see *Liber de Resurrectione et Corporum Glorificatione* (G 1:342ff.). In *Astronomia Magna*, the transfiguration of Christ is apposite to, though also distinct from, "magica transfigurativa": "sonst ist die species transfiguratio zu gleicher weis, wie Christus transfigurirt ward und ward erleucht wie die sonn" (S 12:84).

^c Sudhoff (117) omits square brackets.

CAPUT OCTAVUM

Now, however, beyond all of the preceding things, there is an invisible body in the human being; that body is not composed of the three substances. This is to say that the human being has a body that does not come from the *limbus*. For this reason, it is not subject to the physician: it has its origin in the inspiration performed by God. And just as any sort of blowing or exhalation is nothing tangible, by the same token, this same body is nothing before our eyes. Nevertheless, I must interject something at this point, which should be received from me as a physician, and understood | 138 | in that sense, within the sphere of philosophical intelligibility of the human being. It is this: we know from Scripture that we will arise on the Day of Judgment in our bodies and render accounts then for our misdeeds. Now that body which is nothing before our eyes has sinned, from which we can infer that it will then rise up. For we are not going to render account for the diseases of our bodies or for their health, or for anything of that kind that accrues to them. Rather, we will render accounts for the things that proceeded from the heart, which are concerned only with the human being [as such]; and [all of this] is also [incorporated into] a body,¹ but not one [made] from the *limbus* but rather from the breath of God. Though indeed we will see in our flesh God our Savior (**heilmacher**),² it is thought that the body from the *limbus*, which is flesh, will be there at that time. Who then would not want to know about those matters that <pertain to> the transfiguration (**Clarificirung**),³ which is effected by the mouth of God,⁴ with respect to which one body will be like another. That's where it is found: we will be resurrected in the flesh. This is why we know only one flesh, not two. If there are two

¹ The reasoning here is not physiological, medical, or philosophical in the usual sense but eschatological: the invisible body is required to enact and embody the role imposed by sin and Judgment.

² See Grimm, **Heilmacher**: here and in contemporary usage, this could mean both *medicus* and Savior.

³ Refers to Mt 17:2f., “*et transfiguratus est ante eos*”; “(Jesus) was transfigured before them, and his face shone like the sun” (cf. Mk 9:2-8; Lk 9:28-36); Luther: “sie sahen seine **Klarheit**” (Lk 9:32); cf. H 1:297.

⁴ “**durch den mundt Gottes beschicht**”: this may infer a causal connection with Mt 17:5: “While (Peter) was still speaking, suddenly a bright cloud overshadowed them, and from the cloud a voice said, ‘This is my Son, the Beloved; with him I am well pleased; listen to him!’” It also alludes back to the inspiration of the soul into Adam in Gen 2:7.

zwey: Aber zween leib/ vnd aber nur ein fleisch/ dasselbig auß dem *limbo*/ dz dann ist *Subiectum Medicorum*.

Nun von diesem leib wissent/ dz er ein anreizend Natur hat/ ausserhalb dem hunger/ durst vnd dergleichen/ vnd anderer natürlichen zugebürender gerechtigkeit/ die vber die maß sindt. Das fleisch auß dem *limbo* ist die Natur/ vnd die bleibt in jhrer maß vnd gerechtigkeit etc. was nun vber dz ist/ das geht vom bösem herauß/ vnd nit auß der Natur: Das ist nun/ es geth auß dem vngreifflchen leib/ derselbig vbertreibt die maß vnd die Natur. Dann wz der Natur geben wird/ dz geht in sein Natürlichen außgang/ vnd an sein natürliche stat/ vnd zu seiner natürlichen wirckung: Als mit dem essen/ was jhr geben wird/ nach der Natur not/ dz geht in bauch/ vnd durch den Stuel auß/ vnd ist wol. Also der Sahn der Natur/ der geht in sein Acker/ *Matricem*/ vnd bringt do sein frucht: was ausserhalb do ist/ das geht auß bösem. Vnd aber/ dz ich nit ein vnchristlicher Artzt gesehen werd/ vnd zu sein wieder *Paulum*, der da heisst den Frawen jhrn willen etc. ersettigen etc. Das nit geredt ist von jhm/ dz billich sey/ oder gar rein sey/ sondern zuvermeiden den Ehebruch/ dorzu sie möchten fallen in solchen gebresten/ jhr böse hertzen damit zustillen/ vnd abwenden in jhrem fürnemen/ dz ist/ Ergers zuvermeiden: Also | 139 | gegen den Mannen auch beschehen soll. Nun aber wie da steht vnd fürgenommen wirdt/ von dem/ so vber die Natur ist auß dem andern Menschen/ nit auß dem *limbo*: Ist billich dem Artzt etwas fürzuhalten: Damit dz er die zween Corper/ leib/ menschen/ erkenn/ [vnd]^a sonderlich fürgenommen werdt wieder die *Astronomos*/ die den leib vnder dz gestirn setzen: Das ist/ denselbigen leib/ der also auß dem mund Gottes gemacht ist/ vnd nit auß dem gestirn: Damit der mensch bewert werd/ in was Ja vnd Nein/ in was gutt vnnd böß er

^a Sudhoff (118) omits square brackets.

bodies, yet there is only a single flesh: it stems from the *limbus*, which is thus the *subjectum medicorum*.

About this body, you should know that its nature is to stimulate;¹ [going] beyond hunger, thirst, and other such needs, and beyond that which pertains to any natural, appropriate justification, which [transgression] is beyond measure.² The flesh of the *limbus* is nature, and it remains in its measure and [realm of] justification, etc. Whatever goes beyond this emerges as something evil, and not from nature. By this I mean that it proceeds from the intangible body which transgresses measure and nature. For whatever is ceded to nature follows its natural course and conclusion, and remains in its natural place and has a natural effect. So it is with eating: what is given to it, in accordance with the needs of nature, enters the stomach and passes out in the stool, and all is well. So it is as well with the seed of nature: it enters the field, [its] *matrix*, and brings forth its fruit. Anything beyond that proceeds from evil. And in order that it should not appear that I am an un-Christian physician, who would go against [the injunction of the Apostle] Paul, who taught to satisfy the will of the women,³ and so on, note that that was not intended by him to mean that it is proper, much less pure [to do so], but rather [it is done] in order to avoid the adultery into which they might otherwise descend in their weakness to quench their evil hearts and turn aside in their intentions—in other words, to prevent something even worse from happening. The same applies | 139 | to men. Now, however, as I have stated and proposed, something must be said about that which goes beyond nature and is from that other human being who is not made of the *limbus*. It is proper to make this case to the physician so that he will recognize the two bodies or human beings; <and> especially this is said against those *astronomi* who would present the body as if it were subject to the stars. This is to say: that same body which was created out of the mouth of God, not out of the stars. I say this in order that the human being should be clear about what is allowed and forbidden and should

¹ “**ein anreizend Natur hat**”: see Grimm, “anreizen”: *instigare* (cf. **anreizig**: *incitans*).

² The latent body which appears in the transfiguration is distinct from the natural body stimulated by lust and greed.

³ More an interpretation than a citation, P. evokes 1 Cor 7:9, “But if they (the women) are not practicing self-control, they should marry. For it is better to marry than to be aflame with passion.”

wandeln wöll/ wie lieb im Gott sey/ vnd wie er sich ahn jhm halten wöll.

Also auff das hat der mensch noch ein leib/ vnd ist der leib/ den *Adam* vnd *Eua* im Paradiß vollkommen gewonnen am essen des Apffels/ dorin er gantz ward/ verstundt guts vnd böß. Darauß nun volgt/ mehr essens dann noth ist der Natur/ mer trinckens dann not ist dem durst. So guetig ist Gott/ dz er die ding nach vnserm begeren für vnser augen stelt/ gutte wein/ hüpsche Frawen/ gutte speiß/ gutt gelt/ dorin wir bewertt werden/ wie streng wir vns halten/ wie wir der Natur jhr maß brechen/ vbertreten. Dann do ist ein vermehlung zusammen diser zweyen leib/ des athems/ vnd des *limbi*/ wie ein Ehe/ vnd darauff zufallen ist/ dz diß brechen sey/ *Natio praua & adultera*, die do gar nichts hält: Dann der vngreiflich leib hat versprochen/ den natürlichen nit zuverladen/ vber sein maß nit zutreiben: So dz nun nit beschicht/ wz ist es anders dann ein Ehebruch/ das vor Gott der höchst Eyd vnd pflicht ist. Aber mehr gebürt mir hie nit anzuzeigen auff dieß fürnemmen/ wie ichs bißher geführt hab. Damit wil ich allein beschlossen haben/ die gemein vniuersalische Theorick/ der Physic vnd Chirurgy vrsprung vnd vrsachen aller krankheiten: Nach welcher gemeinen anzeigung die nachfolgenden Bücher^a mehrern bericht/ vnderricht/ vnd verstandt vnd erklerung geben werden/ sonderlich von einem jedlichen Capitel: vnd auch/ dieweil die noturfft erfordert eine sundere *Philosophiam* auff solch anzeigung vnd fürhaltung: Wil ich an denselbigen enden mit der hilff Gottes/ der jtz die hilff auch geben hat/ vollenden/ vnd euch dahin ermanen/ auß solcher *Philosophia* zuerkennen dise *Medicinam*: Damit in der artzney vollendet werd/ dz jenige/ so jhr Gott befohlen hatt. *Dixi.* | 140 |

^a Drafts and fragments reproduced by Sudhoff (S 9:233-48) suggest that what is yet to come was a work in progress, ambitious but open-ended. A fragment entitled “Theophrastus Hohenheim de origine morborum und sanitatis” recalls *Pargranum* by leading off with references to “astronomia” and “philosophia” (233-34). Next comes an attempt to speak about all diseases and particular ones in terms of the *tria prima*. This objective is resumed in another fragment on the three which attempts to subsume them under the concept of “yliadus” (one of his terms that were ridiculed in Basel), and apply them in turn to the particulars of disease and alchemical or herbal treatment (236ff.). These drafts convey the impression that P. was at this point adrift between the universal and the particular in need of the trusted foothold he would find in his familiar concept of the *tartarus*.

know about the paths of good and evil and how precious is God and how we should obey him.

Thus in consequence the human being has another body. It is the body that Adam and Eve attained complete upon eating the apple in paradise. Thereafter it was whole, [and it] understood good and evil. It follows from this that more is eaten than is required by nature, and more is drunk than is necessary to satisfy thirst. God is so kind that in accordance with our desires he places these things before our eyes: good wine, pretty women, good food, good money. We are to be tested in these things to see how strictly we behave, and [to see] how we defy the proper measure of nature and transgress. For there is a marriage conjoining the two bodies—the one from the breath and the other from the *limbus*. It is a kind of marriage. From this it is to be inferred that breaking it amounts to the “*natio prava et adultera*,”¹ which respects nothing. For the intangible body had promised not to overload the natural one by compelling it beyond its proper measure. When this is not kept, what is the result other than adultery, [a breach of the union] which is the highest oath and duty before God? But this is not the place for me to say more about this than has been set forth by my exposition. With this I will merely conclude the general [and] universal theory of the sources of medicine and surgery and [account] of the causes of all diseases. After this general exposition, the following books will offer an additional report, instruction, understanding, and explanation, particularly with respect to each and every chapter [of medicine]. Moreover, since there is a need for a special *philosophia* in connection with an exposition and demonstration of this kind, I intend to carry this out with the help of God, who has [already] helped this explication to reach completion in these areas. Thereby I admonish you to come to an understanding of *medicina* proceeding from a *philosophia* of this kind, so that medicine should reach that state of perfection which fulfills God’s intention for it. *Dixi.* | 140 |

¹ The prior condemnation of false physicians merges here with sin itself as transgression against the natural moderation of the body, interpreted in effect as the faithful marriage of body and soul. In touching on the notion of two bodies, latent and natural, which should persist in conjugal harmony, a condition reminiscent of the paradise lost and to be regained, P. anticipates Boehme’s theories of the pristine, androgynous Adam, wedded until the fall to the celestial Wisdom.

Beschluß
zu D. J. V. W.^a

Also hab ich nicht mügen vnderlassen/ Hochgelerter Herr von Wadt/ nit anzuzeigen das Erst Buch meiner Paramirischen wercken: Darin ich gevlissen sein wolt/ tag vnd nacht/ mit arbeiten/ die *Auditores rei Medicae* zu vnerrichten/ mit solcher erklerung/ das mehr frucht hierauß entstehn wirdt/ den zuvermueten. Groß möcht mirs ein theil in ein hoffart zihen: Der ander in ein wütendt: Der dritt in ein vnverstandt. Das ist aber wahr/ dornach ein jedlicher kan/ dornach vrtheilen sie *Theophrastum*: Der inn der *Philosophia* verderbt ist/ der soll nichts in dieser Monarchy: Der in der Medicin ein Humorist ist/ der preist *Theophrastum* nit: Der in der Astronomy^b ein Irrer ist/ der nimpt nichts an was ich jhm sag. Seltzam/ New/ Wunderbarlich/ vnerhört/ sagen sie/ sey mein *Physical*/ mein *Meteorical*/ mein *Theorica*/ mein *Practica*: Wie kan ich aber nit seltzam sein/ dem/ der nie in der Sunnen gewandelt hat.^c Mich erschreckt nicht der hauff *Aristotelis*/ noch des *Ptolomaei*^d noch *Auicennae*: Sondern mich erschreckt der vngunst/ der zuviel in die weg gelegt wirdt: Vnnd das vnzeitig Recht/ Brauch/ Ordnung/ als sies nennen/ *Iurisprudentiae*. Dem die gaben geben ist/ deß ist sie: Der nit berufft wird/ den hab ich nicht zuberuffen. Gott sey aber mit vns/ vnser beschirmer vnnd Erhalter in Ewigkeit. *Vale*.

^a Sudhoff (120): “Beschluß zu D<oc>tor>. J<oa>chim>. v<on>. W<at>.”

^b Sudhoff (120): “astronomei.”

^c Sudhoff (120): “hat?”

^d References to Ptolemy are rare in P. and out of place in this enumeration. In his *Uslegung des Cometen erschienen im Hochgebirg zu mitlem Augusten Anno 1531*, occasioned by Halley’s Comet and the sense of apocalyptic dread and awe it inspired, P. took issue extensively with the great ancient astronomer, replacing his authority with that of Holy Scripture (S 9:380, 383, 385, 390). The date given to a subsequent writing is the 15th of March, 1531. The *Uslegung des Cometen* was the first of several writings devoted to the portentous phenomena of an earthquake, a rainbow, and other signs that P. interpreted in accordance with his reading of Scripture (S 9:395ff.).

CONCLUSION

addressed to D[octor] J[oachim] v[on] W[att]

So it is that I have not deigned to omit—Highly Learned Herr von Wadt—to give notice of the First Book of my Paramiran works: In them I intended to exercise myself, working day and night to instruct the *auditores rei Medicae* with a clarification that would permit more to come of it than anyone might anticipate. One group might want to accuse me of pride, a second of being mad, and a third of being uncomprehending. But the truth is that, according to the capacity of each, so will they judge *Theophrastus*. Whoever has been corrupted in *philosophia* has no business in this monarchy. Whoever is a humoralist in medicine will have nothing good to say about *Theophrastus*. Whoever errs in regard to astronomy will accept nothing that I tell him. Strange, new, marvelous, unheard of—so they say—is my *physica*, my *meteorica*, my *theorica*, [and] my *practica*. But how can I not appear strange to those who have never walked in sunlight. I am not frightened by the mob of *Aristoteles*, nor of *Ptolemaeus*, nor of *Avicenna*. What frightens me is only the disfavor which places too many [obstacles] in my path; and the untimely law, custom, and order that they inappropriately call *Jurisprudentia*. Upon whom the gift is bestowed, to him it belongs. He who has never been summoned will not be summoned by me. But God be with us—our protector and supporter in eternity. *Vale*.

DE MORBORVM
VTRIVSQ. PROFESSIONIS^a
ORIGINE ET CAUSA,

Aureoli Theophrasti Paracelsi, ad D.
Ioachimum Vadianum
Medicum

LIBER TERTIVS PARAMIRI

Zum Leser.

Wiewol sich die Zeit der ruhe^b ab mir eussert/ erfahrner Leser/ vnd niemand ist/ der sie geben wölt: so mag ich doch nicht vbergohn/ so ich zugegen hab den Ehrwirdigen/ Hochgelerten/ Herrn Joachim von Wadt/ Doctorn der Artzney/ der Statt S. Gallen Burgermeister vnnnd *Physicum*, als sich dann billich zimpt/ ein gemeine Theoric beyder Artzneyen/ meiner erfarenheit vorzuhalten. Vnnnd wiewol ich zu Basel/ nicht mit kleinem fleiß ein solchs angefangen/ guter hoffnung gesein/ frucht damit zu erobern: Rauch vnd räß sind die Wind (so sich anhebt die Warheit) zu vertreiben den Professoren: hab ich doch je vnd je verhofft/ wer die Seel liebe/ der liebe auch den Leib: [der] der Seel verschont/ der verschont auch dem Leib/^c darinnen ich vermeint

^a Echoing P.'s self-declaration as a doctor of both kinds of medicine ("utriusque **medicinae doctor**," or "beyder Artzney Doctor"), the title signals the intention of addressing ailments that fall within both the province of the surgeon and that of the physician. Sudhoff (121) presents the title and author in block format, using lower case, omitting "*Paracelsi*," placing "Liber tertius paramiri" in square brackets, and adding to the latter designation "de morbis ex Tartaro."

^b P. was given to reflect on his travails: "**Ruhe**" and "unrue," "rest" and "restlessness," is also a motif of his *Buch der Erkenntnus*, dated by its editor Goldammer as of this period: "Besser ist rue/ dann unrue/ sanctissimi mortalium mortales/ nutzerß aber unrue/ dann rue..." (Berlin: Schmidt Verlag, 1964), 11f. Sudhoff (121): "ru."

^c Sudhoff (121) omits square brackets with "der" and has "auch den leib."

*DE MORBORUM UTRIVSQUE PROFESSIONIS*¹

ORIGINE ET CAUSA

Aureoli Theophrasti Paracelsi, ad D[r.]

Joachim Vadianum Medicum

*Liber Tertius PARAMIRI.*²

To the Reader:

Although the time of calm has departed from me, experienced reader, and there is no one who would grant it to me, nonetheless I cannot desist, especially since my present remarks are addressed to the Honorable and Highly Learned Herr Joachim von Watt, Doctor of Medicine, Mayor and City Physician of the City of St. Gall: for now it seems proper to make public my general theory of both kinds of medicine based on my experience. And although I began with this in Basel, with no small application and in good faith, expecting that this would bear fruit, rough and raw are those headwinds, when truth sets off, for driving professors off course. Yet I had so hoped that whoever loves the soul would also love the body: that whoever would preserve <the> soul, would also preserve the body,³ in the care of which I was of a

¹ On the medieval medical-professional categories relevant to P.'s title as a "doctor of both medicines," see Siraisi: "'*Medicus*' was a general term that could be applied to anyone who practiced medicine or surgery. ... '*Physicus*' (physician) in one sense implied someone who had advanced medical education and some acquaintance with natural philosophy (*physica*); but the word or its vernacular equivalent was also used more loosely to distinguish a practitioner of general medicine (also called '*physica*' or phyc) from a surgeon" (Siraisi 21). "*Utriusque professionis*" means of a physician as well as a surgeon. The inclusion of the diseases of both professions confirms P.'s grand "paramiran" intention of writing a medical *summa*.

² Missing in Huser's title is the qualifier "*Tartarus*." It diverts attention from the grander projection of the above title when it appears in the text (H 1:147) and above the *recto* pages. That the above title is authentic is indicated by the integral inclusion of the now redundant dedication to Watt. P.'s appeals for the support of the mayor have become increasingly urgent—but will soon be superfluous.

³ Those who care for the soul are those who care for the true faith. At this point in P.'s career, this means the Protestants to whom he had appealed in Nuremberg and to whose leader he is now appealing in St. Gall. The logical extension of concern for truth in the new faith is to embrace the truth of the new medicine, for the two complement one another like **body and soul**.

hab nit kleinen nutz zuschaffen. Bey solcher mennige aber ward es mir gespalten/ die war mir ein rauher Windt. Darumb Leser sey auffmerckig/ nicht vrtheil das erst/ das ander/ das dritt Capitel/ sondern verzeuch hinauß auff das end/ vnnd erwigs mit deiner erfarenheit/ das/ so ich in kurtzen blettern begreiffe. Laß dich nit entsetzen die/ so ich antaste: ermiß vnnd achts ohn gunst vnd freundschaft/ in gleicher wage: dann es werden noch | 142 | mehr (auß Gottes verhengnuß) Bücher hernach folgen/ gebawen auff den grund/ die dich noch mehr erfrewen werden/ damit erkenns/ vnd lerns. Gegeben zu S. Gallen am 15. Tag *Martij*, im 31. Jar.

Endt der Vorred.

mind to effect no minor service. But with a crowd of that kind I encountered division—this was a raw wind for me. For this reason, reader, take heed. Do not judge the first, or the second, or the third chapter, but rather put this off until the very end. Weigh with the weight of your experience that which I encompass in these brief pages. Do not let yourself be shaken by those whom I touch upon: weigh and regard it without favor or friendship on a balanced scale; for there will follow (if God has so destined) more books built upon this foundation which should please you even more, so take note and learn from it. Given at St. Gall on the 15th day of March, 1531.

End of the Preface.

*THEOPHRASTI AB HOHENHEIM
DE CAUSA ET ORIGINE MORBORUM^a*

LIBER TERTIVS

TRACTATVS PRIMVS.^b

Wer wolt aber nicht lachen vnder den *Philosophis* der Natürlichen dingen/ so sie betrachten vnd sehen/ daß die Artzt außlassen vnd vergessen haben die notwendigsten stück/ so sich in der Philosophie erfinden vnd gründen/ vnd in der Artzney hie auch zustahn mit viel kranckheiten vnd schmerzen: sie aber selbst vberlauffens/ vnd richten jhren Fischbären allein gelt einzunehmen/ vnd mit den Bawren vnd Leyen zu disputieren/ welche doch am aller ersten mit den *Philosophis* solten disputation halten/ von wegen jhrer subiecten: welche so sie mit der Philosophie nicht eins sind/ so wissen sie nicht was doch jhr subiectum ist. Nun secht an/ so sie mit den *Philosophis* nit eins sind/ vnd mit jnen der disputation nit eingahn/ das auch feel vnd vmbsonst ist alles was sie handeln. Es ist ein grob ding an einem Artzt/ der sich einen Artzt nennet/ vnd ist der Philosophie leer/ vnd kan jhr nit. Was Irrsal hierauß entstand/ ist euch gut zuerkennen auß dem nachfolgenden.

^a The generalization of the title “**On the Cause and Origin of Diseases**” at the head of this treatise clearly directed to the *tartarus* diseases raises the question whether the author intended to declare all diseases to be *tartaric* and therefore peculiarly subject to his alchemical approach to medicine. P.’s writings on *tartarus* diseases are so extensive and my expertise so inadequate that I will not attempt to illuminate the stages of emergence of this concept. However, two writings should merit consideration as possible precursors to the works on *tartarus*. One is a fragment *De Viribus Membrorum* or *De Spiritu Vitae* (S 3:13ff.). It treats of the “influenz des ganzen himels” or “kraft des spiritus vitae.” When this is blocked in specific organs or parts of the body, disease results there. For example, in the kidneys blockage causes “lithiasim, calculum, arenam, diabeticam und andere mer” (21). This unique draft formulates something like a comprehensive theory of disease and nature based on the flow of the cosmic vital spirit and influence, thus complementing, without addressing, the notion of the *tartarus* as an unprocessed residue. A second work which aspires to a comprehensive theory of medication, *De Modo Pharmacandi*, treats of many aspects of digestion, nutrition, and elimination, all relevant to *tartarus*, even while scarcely mentioning it per se (S 4:435ff.; cf. 475, 489).

^b Sudhoff (122) follows Huser’s title, giving it in three lines and with the usual use of lower case.

THEOPHRASTI AB HOHENHEIM
DE CAUSA et ORIGINE MORBORUM
LIBER TERTIUS.

TRACTATUS PRIMUS.

Who among the *philosophi* of natural things would not be compelled to laugh upon seeing and observing how the physicians have passed over and forgotten those important matters that are found and grounded in philosophy and that are relevant in the sphere of medicine as well with respect to many diseases and sufferings: the [physicians] themselves ignore this, however, and direct their fishing bear (**Fischbären**)¹ to collect money; and they dispute with the peasants and lay folk, when they who should instead be disputing with the *philosophi* for the sake of their matters at hand: they, because they are in discord with philosophy, do not know what their proper subject is. Now just look, since they are so in discord with the *philosophi* and do not enter into disputation with them, everything they treat of is flawed and in vain. It is a contemptible thing for a physician who does call himself a physician and yet is entirely empty of philosophy, and incapable of approaching it. The sort of error that has resulted from this [state of affairs], is to be carefully noted from that which follows here.

¹ **Fischbären** are bears that live by fishing. “Den Bären machen” signifies being misused for low services, as are bears that dance for money at country fairs (cf. “Bär,” Röhrich).

Wiewol vorhin ein Buch gesetzt ist/ von der vrsach vnd vrsprung der krankheiten: so ist aber noch eins da/ dz auch vrsach machet/ vnd gibt/ vnd dieselbigen manigfaltig: dieselben sollen jr in dem weg verstan/ vnd euch der Philosophie darinnen wol vnterrichten lassen/ nemlich/ wie alle ding drey Substantz haben. Nuhn haben dieselbigen drey ding bey jnen ein Egestion/ | 143 | koth/ vnd vnsauberkeit/ dann nichts ist das ein narung sey/ das da nit hab bey jhm den dreck oder koth seiner eignen *digestion*: das ist in der gemein also bedeütlicher zuverstan. Alle ding die da seind vnd wachsen/ dieselbigen alle haben in jnen jren eigen *stercus* oder *Merdam*.^a Zu gleicher weiß/ wie ein Mensch denselbigen in jhm hat: also auch ein jeglichs ding vor sich selbst. Also ist im anfang gesagt von den dreyen ersten Substantzen des Leibs: diß aber weiter zeigt an/ von der drey Ersten jren krankheiten/ Egestion/ vnd *stercore*, was derselbig dreck vnd koht macht bey vns. Das selbige sollen jr verston vnd erfahren/ vnd euch nicht lassen entsetzen/ das die alten deren geschwiegen haben: Es ist des schuld daß sie in allen dingen nichtzit verstanden haben/ warumb wolten sie es dann da besser gemacht haben? Also will ich nuh weiter der Philosophie befehl geben/ dz jenig so jhr hie verston sollen: vnd nemlich das jhr wissen sollen: Alle ding wachsen vnd leben/ darumb [so] müssen sie gessen haben: vnd darumb^b so sie nun essen müssen/ so müssen sie ein Magen haben/ vnd dieselbige krafft. Auß dem so nimpt sich nun/ daß sie reins vnd vnreins essen/ so wol als der Mensch. Nuhn haben sie aber nit *Emunctoria*^c als der Mensch: was sie

^a Alchemy is P.'s key to medicine, digestion its analog, *tartarus* its key pathology, and therefore pharmacy a prime target for reforming. The Basel writings include a fragment (the *Modus Pharmacandi* draft) that encompasses many terms mentioned in the present treatise within charts aimed at synthesis and overview. Thus, *merda* appears in a chart of the "*stercora*" which are to be expelled by "*purgativi*." They are *urina*, *mucus*, *aurium excrementa* (excrements of the ears), *spuma*, *sudor*, *cruur*, *merda*. There follows another chart of "*aegritudinum excrementalium nomina*" (S 4:480-81). Elsewhere *stercus* is, with *urina* and *sudor*, one of three forms of *excrementum* (S 4:583).

^b Sudhoff (123) omits: "[so] müssen sie gessen haben: vnd darumb."

^c The term *emunctorium* is important in P.'s theories of digestion and discharge but is generalized further. As an avenue of discharge, it can apply to ulcers and sores: a superfluity in the blood must either find an *emunctorium* or turn ulcerous ("so aber das emunctorium nit ist, so gehets in ein apostem"). The same can happen without any infection (S 4:151). *De Modo Pharmacandi* extends the concept of the *emunctorium* to the internal organs (S 4:441 ff.). The *Commentary on the Aphorisms of Hippocrates* discusses the necessity of creating an *emunctorium* as an avenue of discharge in such diseases as *podagra*, *schiatica*, *arthetica* etc. A major part of medicine has to do with

Although one book has already been written on the cause and origins of diseases, another one is now at hand which again treats of and offers causes, and these of many sorts. They should be understood by you in that sense, and you should be instructed in them by philosophy, in particular how it is that all things have three substances. Now, as it stands, these same three things bear within them an egestion¹, | 143 | excrement (**koth**)² and uncleanness. For there is no sort of nourishment which does not bear within itself a filth or excrement from its own *digestion*. At the general level, this has to be understood in its full significance. All things that exist and grow have within them their own *stercus* or *merda*.³ In the same way that a human being has this within himself, so does every other thing for its part. What has been said initially about the three primary substances of the body gives indication with respect to the three primary things in their diseases, their egestion and *stercus* [and], and how they result in excrement in us. The same [processes and substances] should be understood and studied, and you should not be moved by the fact that the ancients were silent about such matters. The reason for that is that in all matters they did not comprehend anything, so why should they have done any better in these particular ones? For this reason I want to further assign to the competence of philosophy the sort of thing that you should understand here, and that you should comprehend as well: All things grow and live; <thus> for this reason they must have received nourishment; and since they must indeed eat, they must also have a stomach and the power that pertains to it. From this it follows that they must eat both the pure and the impure, just as does the human being. They do not, however, have *emunctoria*,⁴ as does the human being; so that what

¹ *Egestio*: clearing away of debris, removal of waste products (OLD).

² See Grimm, **Koth**: the term signifies excrement but not in the value-free sense suggested by the Latin.

³ *Merda*, dung, excrement (OLD), has a specialized use here as compared to P.'s more generalized *stercus*, which he adapts to various waste materials to be eliminated. *Stercus* originally referred to the excrement of domestic beasts, particularly taken as fertilizer; or to waste matter left after heating ore, i.e., dross (OLD).

⁴ *Emunctorium* can signify in medieval Latin a handkerchief or sanitary towel; a forceps for trimming a wick or extinguishing light; a snuffer (MLLM); or—possibly as a laboratory term?—a drainage channel or grate: an *emunctorius* cleanses by draining (DML). *Emungo* (P.'s “emungirn”) or *emunctio* refer to wiping mucus from the nose (OLD). Ruland: “*Emunctorium est locus, per quem fit expurgatio corrupti vel morbi, ist das Ort/ dardurch sich die Krankheit reiniget*” (the place where what is corrupt or sick is purged).

essen dz bleibt in jhnen: das gut scheid sich vom bösen^a vnd geht in die narung desselbigen dings: das böß geht auß derselben^b Anatomey/ vnd hat seine sondere Anatomey/ vnd bleibt auch im selbigen ding: Also bleibt der *stercus* im ding vnd das *nutrimentum*. Nun vom *stercore* der also ist im nutriment/ dauon wil ich reden: vnd aber das mehrer theil der *Philosophia* befehlen.

Nun aber hie betreffend/ so wissen/ das solch nutriment vnd *stercus* vom Menschen vnder einander gessen wirt/ vnd getruncken: auß dem volget nun dz die natur des Menschen solches von einander scheidet/ vnd last es nit in einem ding bleiben: sonder dieweil es zwey ist/ so muß es auch zwey ding werden/ dz ist/ die natur und *stercus*. Vnd aber wiewol das ist/ dz deß Menschen Magen die zwey nit scheidet: dann er scheidet allein sein *stercus* vom reinen/ vnd nit der natürlichen dingen *stercus*, sondern derselbige *stercus* der ist dem nutriment dermassen eingebildet/ dz auff solch einbilden der Magen in seim ampt nit hat/ die zwey von einander zuscheiden/ sonder befilchts dem subtilen Magen/ | 144 | der da ist in den *meseraicis*, in *hepate*, in *renibus*, in *vesica*, in *intestinis*, vnd dergleichen.^c In denselbigen Magen werden solche *stercora* gescheiden. Darauff wissen/ das vnser Mag/ das ist/ der erst Mag/ am halßrohr hangend/ allein von einander scheid das da faulet/ vnd das da nit faulet/ dz da zerbricht/ vnd das da nit zerbricht. Nun zerbricht nichts/ als allein das nit fleisch ist/ marck ist/ bein ist: darumb was nicht der Mensch ist/ das ist koth: das der

knowing the *virtus expulsiva*: “dan es ist gar nahet der dritt teil der ganzen arznei, das ein arzt wisse virtutem expulsivam zu legen nach irem willen” (S 4:524). *Uslegung der latinischen synonyma* defines simplistically: “Emunctorium ist ein ort natürlicher reinigung” (S 9:658).

^a Though P.’s religion and metaphysics are least obtrusive in this treatise, they are not absent. The process of transformation in nourishment separates the good from the evil (“**das gut scheid sich vom bösen**”); as in the nourishment of the eternal body, that which is not slated to be part of the reborn body is left behind, here the “*tartarus*.” This is a microcosmic notion encompassing perdition, transformation, and salvation.

^b Sudhoff (123): “desselben dings; das böß get aus derselbigen.”

^c For further context of P.’s extension of the concept of digestion from the stomach to a “**subtle stomach**” located in each of the main organs, see *De Modo Pharmacandi* (S 4:437ff.), the Basel writing that manages to encompass in a single tract topics ranging from excrement to the wondrous divine forces (“*magnalia dei* und nit *magnalia naturae luminis*”); the “*magnalia dei*” are the food of the natural things consumed in turn by human beings (448). The organs to which a “subtle stomach” is ascribed are discussed as well: heart, spleen, brain, kidneys, etc. (“ein iedes hauptglied hat seine besondere digestion”—441).

they eat remains within them. The good separates itself from the bad and passes into the nourishment of that same thing: that which is bad leaves the common anatomy and has its own particular anatomy and remains within the same thing. Accordingly, the *stercus* remains within the thing along with the *nutrimentum*. Now it is the matter of the *stercus* which is in the nutrient that I intend to discuss; but the greater part of this I will also defer to *philosophia*.

With regard to this you should know that this sort of nutrient and *stercus* is eaten and drunk by the human being mixed together: from this it follows that the nature of the human being must separate these from one another, and not allow them to persist within a common entity. Rather, since [they] are distinct, it has to be separated into two different things, that is, into nature and *stercus*. And yet it happens that the stomach of the human being does not separate the two; for it only separates its own *stercus* from that which is pure, and not the *stercus* of the natural things. Rather, the *stercus* of these things so thoroughly informs the nutrient that the stomach does not have it within its function to respond to such inner formation (**auff solch einbilden**)¹ by separating the two from one another, but instead defers it to the subtle stomach | 144 | that is present in the *meseraici*, in *hepate*, in *renibus*, in *vesica*, in *intestinis*,² and so forth. In this other stomach, *stercora* of that kind are separated. Therefore, be assured that our stomach—which is to say, the aforementioned stomach that is connected to the tube of the throat—separates only that which decomposes within it from that which does not do so, and that which disintegrates from that which does not do so. However, nothing disintegrates except what is flesh, marrow, [or] bone; therefore, whatever is not [in conformity with the nature of] the human being is excrement. What is

¹ The process of compounding is understood by P. in the most rudimentary sense as the imposition of one image upon another thing or image (**solch einbilden**).

² In the **meseraic** veins connected to the lungs, in the liver, kidneys, bladder, and intestines; pertaining to the mesenteric (see OED: a fold of peritoneum that attaches some part of the intestinal canal to the dorsal wall of the abdomen, as in Paynel, 1528: “Whiche departeth to the lyver by þe veines called miseraicks”).

Mensch ist/ das ist^a nit koth. Nun sind die *stercora* der ding nit koth des Menschen/ sondern derselbigen ding/ also auch sind sie nit zerbrechlich/ auch nit Mensch: darumb so bleiben sie im Menschen/ vnd sind im Menschen/ darumb seind sie so kochend.

Also dieweil im Menschen ligt das nicht in jhm ligen soll/ das [nit] sein *stercus* ist/ vnd nicht der Mensch ist/ sondern der *stercus* der natürlichen dingen/ dz ist/ der speiß vnd des trancks/ in massen wie fürgehalten ist: so ist gebürlich vom selben zu schreiben/ wz dieselbigen nutriment im leib handeln vnd thund. Vnd wiewol es frembd ist vnd seltzam: das macht die vnerfahrenheit deren/ so dann sich verwunderen. Nuhn seind solche kranckheiten/ so also werden/ andere kranckheiten/ dann gesagt ist im ersten Buch. Wiewol das ist/ das alle *stercora* in den dreyen Substantzen sind vnd stahnd/ also wol als andere: Jedoch aber gescheiden von den andern/ so weit sich auch scheiden von einander der Mensch vnd das koth/ als dann an seinen orten gemeldt wirdt. Also auch theilen sich die kranckheiten von einander die da werden auß dem Menschen/ vnd die da werden auß dem koth/ auch mit bemelter vnderscheid: also das gar ein anders/ vnd ein anders zuverstehen ist in disen kranckheiten deß kohts.

Vnd wiewol die alten Scribenten vnd jr hauff die *Choleram*, *Phlegma*, *Melancholiam*, hefftig zeihent in solchen sachen: dieweil es aber vnergründt ist/ was soll dann auff dasselbige gemerckt werden? Sie betrachten nit/ so sie von den dingen schreiben/ den grund *Philosophiae*, also daß sie nit mögen mit jren *humoribus* statt vnd platz haben. Dann bedencket am ersten wie sies doch reimen wöllen/ dz auß der *Phlegmate*, *Melancholia*, *Sanguine*, *Cholera*, solche generation mögen geboren | 145 | werden/ so doch solche *Naturae* in jhn nit^b seind: wie kan dann ein ding auß eim werden/ das nicht in jhm ist? Diese Kranckheiten sind Stein vnd Sand/ Leim vnd Letten.^c Nuhn sagen mir von eweren *humoribus*, wie sie mögen zu Steinen werden/ zu Sand/ zu Letten/ zu Leim/ vnd das sie anfenglich nicht seind? Soll

^a Sudhoff (124) omits the preceding words: “koth: das der Mensch ist/ das ist.”

^b Sudhoff (125): “nit in in.”

^c **Stein, Sand, Letten, and Leim** correspond to stages of *tartarus* (as does **KiB**). In the *tartarus* diseases, they are waste-products of digestion. Natural materials with a shape and texture subject to such processes, they are chemical entities which are commonplace (P. speaks of a “bituminosische und leimerische art”), potent (the same processes produce the gunpowder ingredient “salpeter”), and arcane or mysterious (in the digestive process waste materials are formed by a “spiritus urinae” and a “spiritus stercoris”—S 2:378-79).

the human being is not excrement. However, the *stercora* of the things are not excrement of the human being, but rather [excrement] of these things themselves; and for this reason they are not susceptible to disintegration, nor are they [in conformity with] the human being: This is why they remain in the human being and are in the human being. This is also why they are in a state of being cooked.

Since something thus lies within the human being which should not be there, something that is <not> his *stercus*, nor [in conformity with] the human being, but instead the *stercus* of the natural things, which is to say, of the food and the drink as we have seen, it is proper to write about this with reference to that which these same nutrients in the body bring about and do. And although it [seems] foreign and strange [to write of this], that is because of the lack of experience of those who are astonished at it. The diseases that result [from this state of affairs] are different from those that have been described in the former book. Even though all *stercora* are of and within the three substances, as are the other things, nevertheless they are distinct from one another in the same way that the human and the excremental are distinct, as has been explained in its place. Accordingly, the diseases that arise from the human being are distinct from those that arise from the excrement in this sense as well, so that something very different has to be understood about these diseases of the excrement.

Notwithstanding the fact that the ancient authors and their followers have insisted on the role of the *cholera*, *phlegma*, [and] *melancholia* in these matters, there is no proof of this at all, so what shall we say about it? In their writing about this, they pay no heed to the foundation [which is] *philosophia* because then they would have no cause to bring their *humores* into it all. For just imagine how they could possibly make sense of the idea that from *phlegma*, *melancholia*, *sanguina*, [or] *cholera* things of this kind | 145 | are born, given that they do not have such a [humoral] nature within themselves. For how can a thing arise from something which is not within it? These diseases are stone and sand, lute and clay. So tell me about your *humores*: how can they turn into stones, or into sand, or clay, or lute, which they do not begin as? If a stone [or grain of] sand, or clay, or lute originates in the

ein Stein werden im Menschen/ oder ein Sand/ oder ein Letten/ oder ein Leim/ so muß es sein in dem darauß es wirt: ist es nicht im selbigen/ so wirt es nit dasselbig geboren/ das es nicht ist. Vnd wiewol aber in den dingen ein Einzug geführt ist worden/ ausserhalb denselbigen vier *humoribus*: Aber wie sies mit anderen gründen/ also damit auch: das ist der gebresten. So sie *Philosophi* für Poeten werend/ vnd Anatomisten/ für Canonicisten/ *Veraces* nit *nugatores*, so wurden sie in den dingen recht auffbawen in solchen kranckheiten ausserhalb menschlicher Arth vnnd Natur.

So sollen jhr dasselbige also verstahn/ das der *Corpus*, der diese Kranckheit gibt vnnd macht/ derselbig ist vielerley: ein Stein/ ein Sand oder Kiß/ ein Letten/ ein Leim: Die vier/ seind vier *stercora* natürlicher ding. Vnnd alle die *nutrimenta*, so die natürlichen ding essen vnd trincken/ haben die vier geschlecht/ das endtweaders ein Stein ist/ oder ein Kiß/ ein Letten/ oder ein Leim: vnd aber zum letzten ist es alles *Coagulatio*, das ist *ultimum esse*: das ist/ am letzten wirt es alles zu eim Stein/ das ist *Coagulatio*.^a Nuhn ist am ersten zubeweren/ daß dise *stercora* jhr *ultimam materiam* in Stein haben/ vnd das ist also. Des Menschen *stercora* haben in jhrer *ultima materia putrefactionem*: der natürlichen dingen *ultima materia* ist *Coagulatio*. Das ist nuhn das widerspil gegeneinander: dann vrsach/ deß Menschen *Digestio* hat sein *Emunctoria*, darumb was da herauß gehet/ das gehet durch die feüle herauß/ dieselbige macht jhm selbst *virtutem expulsiuam*: dann *virtus expulsiua* ist im dreck vnd koth/ nicht des Menschen art oder eigenschafft. Nun aber in natürlichen dingen ist sie nit/ darumb so sie also seind/ so seind sie *Coagulatiua*,^b vnd das auß solcher vrsach: jhr *nutrimenta* nemen sich auß jhres gleichen. Dann *Plantago* isset *plantaginem*, *Acorus*, *acorum*,^c vnd also mit den anderen. Nun ist

^a *Tartarus* is related to universal processes of **coagulation** and resolution through which the world itself was created. See the Basel fragment “*Tartarus quid sit*” (S 5:132): “al ding, so do beschaffen seind, die komen aus dem coagulato, und nachfolgend so muß das coagulatum in ein resolutum gënt. aus dem resoluto gënt nun alle procreata, sie seiend resoluta oder coagulata in der form.”

^b Sudhoff (126): “coagulatio.”

^c *Plantago* and *acorus* are only moderately common herbal ingredients in P. (cf. Müller). Since the former rests on the hearsay of Pliny, it is presented as an example in a fragmentary draft of P.’s *Virtutes Herbarum* which attacks the unreliability of traditional herbal lore and reduces *plantago* to its alchemical virtues and origins in the *tria prima*: “*Plantago componitur ex mercurio mortificato...*” etc. (S 2:224). In consultations “acor[us]” is cited as an ingredient in a recipe for an herbal “winter wine” (S 11:289) and in a prescription for “colic” or “paroxysmus praesente” (292)

human being, it has to have been in that from which it has arisen. If it was not in this, it cannot turn into that which it is not. Although clearly there has been an entrance of such things into the human being, one that has nothing to do with the four *humores*, yet just as [my opponents] rationalize elsewhere, they do the same in this case. That is their failure. If they were *philosophi* rather than poets, and anatomists instead of canonicalists,¹ [and if they were] *veraces* instead of *nugatores*,² they would proceed in these matters properly, considering such diseases [macrocosmically, that is, in their aspect as it appears] outside of the human constitution and nature.

Accordingly, you should understand that the *corpus* that causes and yields this disease is fourfold: either a stone, a sand or gravel (**KiB**),³ a clay, or a lute. These four are the four *stercora* of natural things. All the *nutrimenta* that eat and drink the natural things possess these four kinds which are either stone or gravel or clay or lute; but in the end all of these are a *coagulatio*, which is *ultimum esse*.⁴ That is, in the end it all turns into a stone, which is [the] *coagulatio*. The foremost thing to be ascertained in this case is that these *stercora* have stone as their *ultima materia*, and that happens this way. The human *stercora* have a *putrificatio* as their *ultima materia*; the *ultima materia* of the natural things is *coagulatio*. There we have the forces that work against one another. The reason for this is that the *digestio* of the human being has its *emuntoria*, so that what passes out, passes through the [stage of] corruption. The latter indeed lends it a *virtus expulsiva*. For the *virtus expulsiva* resides in the waste and shit, not in the nature and property of the human being. But neither is it in natural things; so when they do have this property, then they must be *coagulativa*. This is true for the following reason: their *nutrimenta* stem from that which is of their own kind. So for example *plantago* eats *plantago*, [and] *acorus* [eats]

¹ See DML, *canonista*: canon lawyer; *canonicus*: cleric attached to a cathedral chapter.

² Perpetrators of *nugacitae*, [acts of] folly (MLLM).

³ See Grimm, **KiB** (Kies) is normally *glarea*, gravel, coarse sand, or *silex*, flint: the identity of “KiB” must lie in the coincidence of a particular mineral in the form of sand or gravel and its use in sealing and gluing (cf. ER 310: quartz, hornstone).

⁴ The term *ultimum esse*, paired here with *coagulatio*, suggests alchemical theory (cf. “*solve et coagula*,” DAI). P.’s chemical terminology is anti-Aristotelian and anti-Avicennan (cf. *De Mineralibus* S 3:31ff., 42), yet it is also reminiscent of Scholastic philosophy (cf. “*esse*,” TL 284: “*Illud, quod est ultimum in resolutione, est primum in esse*”). Note that the “stone” in the present case is not the Philosopher’s Stone but something on the order of a gall or kidney stone.

im anfang dieser Nutrition alle | 146 | ding in der Coagulation/ vnd dieselbige Resoluiert sich in ein nutriment. Darumb dz jenige dz nit digeriert wirt/ in das/ von dem es gessen wirt/ dz gehet wider in sein Coagulation/ auß dem es kommen ist: dann dise *Resolutio* muß auß der Coagulation/ die ist zweifach: die sich nimmer Coaguliert/ vnd die sich wider Coaguliert: die sich nimmer Coaguliert ist *nutrimentum*, die sich Coaguliert ist *stercus*. Dann zu gleicherweiß wie im Menschen/ was nicht der Mensch ist/ dasselbig wirt *stercus*, also da auch. Darumb so ist die Resolution manigfaltig/ in Steinweiß/ in Sandweiß/ in Letten form/ in Leim form: Auß denen vieren/ werden Stein vnd Sand/ die dann sollen geheissen werden *ultima materiae stercoris nutrimenti*, das ist in den natürlichen dingen. Dieselbige *ultima materia* wirt in zwen wege eröffnet: in eim wege/ durch sich selbst in der grossen Welt/ in dem anderen weg/ durch den Menschen in jm selbst/ das ist/ in denselbigen krankheiten wie hie das Buch anzeigen wirt. Die *ultima materia* so von jnen selbst wirt/ dz sind die Bachstein/ die werden auß der speiß der wasser: die Bergstein auß der Speiß der Erden/ dann die ding alle müssen essen. Nun ist es am ersten nur ein Leim/ aber er ist der art das er sich Coaguliert so bald er kompt für sein *corpus* hinauß. Die vier *Elementa* schiessens hinauß: die wachsende ding aber nit: Die wachsende ding erhalten sie in jhnen selbst. Darumb so wissent/ was dürr wirt/ dasselbige hatt den *stercus* in jhm/ das daruon gehet/ das ist das nutriment ohn sein *corpus*. Der das holtz bereit/ der macht auß jhm den *Duelech*: der das kraut bereit/ der macht auß jhm den *Alabaster*,^a vnd dergleichen mehr. Das seind *ultima materiae stercoris rerum naturalium*. Dann fürwar/ brendt ein

^a In *Philosophia de Generationibus et Fructibus Quatuor Elementorum*, P. devotes brief chapters to **alabaster** and duftstein (*duelech*, cf. vis-à-vis); the generation of the former from the *tria prima* results from its ductility: “Der alabaster und ander mürb stein...werden aus der mürbikeit der dreien ersten in steinen” (S 13:112). The Basel notes of P.’s lecture on *tartarus* diseases defines: “Duelech lapis est spongiosus, ein duftstein, et illi lapides cum summo periculo sunt et maxime dolent” (S 5:5).

acorus,¹ and likewise with all other things of the kind. At the origin of these [kinds of] nutrition | 146 | everything is in coagulation, and the latter is resolved into a nutrient. Consequently, that which is not digested in what it is eaten returns to its [state of] coagulation from which it came. For this resolution must proceed the coagulation which is twofold: that which never coagulates and that which returns to coagulation. That which never coagulates is *nutrimentum*; that which does coagulate is *stercus*. For in the same way that in the human being what is not [in conformity with] the human being becomes *stercus*, it happens there too. For this reason the resolution takes many forms: in the manner of a stone, of sand, of clay, or of lute. From these four, stone and sand result, which are then to be designated as *ultima materiae stercoris nutrimenti*, which is to say in the natural things. This same *ultima materia* is revealed in two ways: the one by way of itself in the great world, and, alternately, within the human being himself, which is to say, in the diseases that will be discussed in this book. The *ultima materia* that appears on its own consists of the stones in brooks, which arise from the nourishment of the waters; the mountain stones (**Bergstein**),² from the nourishment of the earth. For all things must eat. Now at first there is only a lute, but it is of a sort that gets coagulated as soon as it advances beyond its physical emergence. The four elements exude it; but the growing things do not. The growing things retain it within themselves. Take note that whatever wastes away has the *stercus* within it: what is exuded is the nutrient without its *corpus*. Whoever processes wood [alchemically] turns it into *duleech*.³ Whoever prepares herbs turns them into *alabaster*,¹ and so on.

¹ *Plantago*, a genus of weeds of wide distribution including *Plantago psyllium* or fleawort; it is mentioned medicinally by Pliny (cf. 25:164 etc.). Brunfels writes: “we-grich...vff Latinish Plantago,” and states that, with “Aron pulver” in water, it heals female maladies (Ivii, lix). The term may also refer to the plaintain. *Acorus* is a medication from the gladiolus root (MLW). For other identifications based on Pliny, see also “*acoron*,” CPNH; Nikolov “Kalmus” (German), flagsweet (English).

² **Bergstein** may also refer to stones from the earth of mines, thought to grow organically.

³ Ruland defines: “**Duelech** est tartari species in humano corpore, lapis spongiosus, periculum & dolorem maximum creans, Ein gefehrlich Geschlecht deß Steins im Menschen, wie ein Dufftstein” (cf. H 2:11); an interesting alternate derivation is offered by Leon Elaut, “Op zoek naar een etymologie voor Paracelsus en J. B. van Helmonts Duelech,” in *Fachprosa-Studien*, ed. Gundolf Keil (Berlin: Schmidt, 1982), 545-51: Instead of (or in addition to) *tophus*, it may derive from Lat. *dolor*, suffering.

ding/ so hat es den *Sulphur* in jhm: gibt es Aschen/ so hat es Saltz in jm: gibt es ein Rauch/ so hat es den *Mercurium* in jhm. So es die drey hat/ so hat es sein excrementen auch der massen: Nit brennend/ sondern steinig/ nit im rauch/ sondern Coagulirt/ nit im Saltz/ sondern in der form: das ist so vil geredt/ gibt holtz äschen/ die äsche gibt saltz/ dz saltz gibt *lapidem*. So wissend auch damit/ das der *Mechanicus*^a im Leib ist/ der es darzu bringt/ vnnd sein *vltimam materiam* im Leib eröffnet. Welcher Bawr sieht im holtz Oel? keiner. Welcher im stein | 147 | Wasser? keiner/ allein der Artzt. So muß er auch widerumb darinn suchen das es nicht ist das da sey/ das ist/ im Oel holtz/ im Wasser ein Stein: Das ist nun *Philosophia adepta Sagax*.^b

Wie nuhn obsteht/ vier sind der *genera, Calculus, Arena, Bolus,*^c *Viscus*: die vier ding müssen im Leib gesucht werden/ dz ist in der Narung/ dann die Narung ist der Leib. So sie nun in Leib kommen/ so werden sie da geboren/ nach dem^d vnd der *Spiritus* da ist/ der do ist *Mechanicus* an dem orth/ dz ist der Schmid solcher dingen. Nun ist das Buch in seinem *genere* genannt *de Tartaro*, das ist billich. Dann ein jegliche *ultima materia* der wachsenden dingen/ so sie im Leib gescheiden werden/ heist *Tartarus*: darumb *Tartarus*, Stein/ Sand/ *Bolus, Viscus,*^e *etc.* ist/ oder geheissen wirt. Darauff folget nun vom *Tartaro* sein Buch/ mit was vnderscheid vnd *speciebus* er zuverstahn sey. Damit also bißher beschlossen ist/ das *Tartarus* allein sey *Excrementum* der speiß vnnd deß trancks für sich selbst/ welcher im Menschen durch seine *Spiritus* dermassen Coagulirt wirt: wo sie nicht mit eigner außtreibender krafft vermischet werden/ vnnd in der vermi-

^a P. typically understood processes as works of craftsmanship. In his writings on gout beneath the heading “Vom **mechanico**,” he writes of a “zimmerman, der das corpus in ein krankheit schmidet” (S 1:359).

^b It is noteworthy that this hints at a very different sort of book than one encounters in *Philosophia Sagax* or *Astronomia Magna* of 1537-38 (S 12). The qualifier “*adepta*” here confirms the impression that a work of alchemy is intended, a subject treated only schematically and in passing in the later work.

^c P.’s *Theoricæ figuræ universalium morborum*, presenting in table-format the origins and varieties of the “generation” of diseases, includes a chart on “Generatio **boli**,” cited as a *tartarus* ailment (S 3:428ff.)

^d Sudhoff (127): “nachdem.”

^e P.’s *Von den natürlichen Bädern* takes *viscus* as one of the three pathological markers for assigning a cure based on the *tria prima*: “darumb was ulcerirt ist, das muß durch den mercurium geheilt werden, was in visco stêt, durch salem, der gleichen auch was in igne stêt, durch den sulphur” (S 2:245).

Those are the *ultima materiae stercoris rerum naturalium* [that is, the final matters of the excrement of natural things]. For, indeed, if a thing burns it has the *sulphur* within it. If it yields ash, it has the salt within it. If it yields smoke, it has the *mercurius* within it. If it has the three things, then it has its excrements in the same measure. Not burning, but rather stony; not in the smoke, but rather coagulated; not in the salt, but rather in this form which can be thus stated: wood yields ashes; ash yields salt; salt yields the *lapis* [stone]. This also tells you that there is a *mechanicus* in the body which brings these things about and reveals his *ultima materia* in the body. Where is the peasant who can recognize oil in a tree?² There is none. Where is there one who [can recognize] water in a stone? | 147 | There is none. Only the physician can do that. Accordingly, it is for him to seek further in places where what is [latently] present cannot [readily] be found, for example, in the oil the wood, in the water a stone. This amounts to the *Philosophia adepta Sagax*.

As I have stated above, four in number are the *genera*: *calculus*, *arena*, *bolus*, *viscus*:³ these four must be sought in the body, which is to say in the nutrition, for nutrition is the body. As soon as they enter the body, they are born⁴ there in accordance with the presence of the *spiritus* which is the *mechanicus* in that place, which is the smith of such things. Now this book will be called in its *genus*: *De Tartaro*. That is a proper title. For every *ultima materia* of the things that grow, insofar as they are separated in the body, is designated as *tartarus*: thus *tartarus* encompasses stone, sand, *bolus*, *viscus*, etc. For this reason, what follows is a book devoted to *tartarus* and how it is to be understood with respect to its *species*. Accordingly, we have so far concluded that *tartarus* is merely *excrementum* of the nutrition and of the drink, in and of themselves, which, in the human being, are then coagulated by the immanent *spiritus* in such a way that, when not mixed

¹ On the preparation and medicinal use of **Alabaster** in the Middle Ages and since Dioscorides, see LMA.

² The **Bauer** is a synonym for all those who are crude and undiscerning (cf. H 1:73, note).

³ **Calculus**, stone; **arena**, sand; **bolus**, clay; **viscus**, lute or glue, that which is sticky. Significantly, *bolus (armenus)* also refers to a medical material, *terra rubea*, a mineral rich soil that turns brown or brown-red from oxidation, used pharmaceutically in salves for festering wounds. On this and other medical uses, see LMA, “*Bolus*” (cf. H 2:58).

⁴ “**Born**” here suggests “transformed” into their true or ultimate form, therefore more like “reborn.”

schung außgetriben/ so wirt das darauß wie hernach folget. Also essen wir den *Tartarum* vnnd trincken jhn/ vnd so er in vns kompt/ allein es sey dann das er gemischt werde in vnser Excrementen/ vnnd mit demselbigen hauffen außgetriben/ sonst bleibt er im Leib: daruon dann vilerley krankheiten kommen in mancherley wege/ so noch biß hieher von den Artzten/ alten vnnd newen verschwigen ist worden: nicht auß vntrew oder verbunst/ sonder auß vnwissenheit/ vnd vnuerstandt.

Nun fürohin ist am ersten zuwissen/ in was wege wirs einnemen in den *Leguminibus*, als Gersten/ Erbsen/ etc. dieselbigen all haben in jhnen *Tartarum*. Nuhn beweist das jhr schleim den sie geben/ vnnd jhr dicke Substantz/ die allein kompt auß der *vltima materia*, das ist/ das süß ist. Darumb alle köcht/ soauff schleimige arth kocht werden/ dieselbigen alle werden bereit zu dem Stein. Wo aber im kochen dasselbige genommen wirt/ so wirt es gebrochen in dem/ das solche *materia* in anderen Excrementen außgeheth/ die sich sonst anhengte. Also ist dieser *Bitumen*, *Viscus*,^a *Mucilago*, *Gluten* der *legumi-*
| 148 | *num* nichts anders/ dann *materia stercorum*, die sich im Leibe/ wie obsteht/ zu Stein macht vnd Sand/ so sie gehet in jhr *vltimam materiam*. Dermassen nuhn so wissen auch von den *Lacticiniis*,^b dieselbigen geben *Bolarem materiam*, das ist Lettisch. In dem verstanden/ das alle *Lacticinia* ein *bolum* in jhnen haben: auß dem *Bolo* wirt der *Tartarus*, allein er werde dann außgetriben mit den Excrementen. Also auch das fleisch den *bolum* in jhm hatt: auch die Fisch. Also wissen das die *legumina* jhr *stercora* schleimig geben: die Fisch/ Fleisch/ *Lacticinia*, jhren *stercus* bolarisch/ das ist/ Lettisch geben. Auß disen zweyen verstanden die zwey *stercora*: sonst werden vns auß der speiß kein andere *Tartara* nit/ als *Tartarum boli*, vnd *Tartarum visci*, mit sampt jhren *speciebus*, nach dem vnd sich die *legumina*, die *carnes*, *frumenta*, *herbae*, etc. scheiden/ vnd theilen. Dann die *caules*, *radices*, *frumenta*, werden bey den *leguminibus* verstanden und begriffen. Darumb ein Artzt in der diæt solcher

^a Copies or notes of Basel lectures on the *tartarus* diseases place *viscus*, *bitumen*, *congluten*, etc. within the framework of the descent of the *tria prima* from the “*iliastrum*” into nature (S 5:8f., 127-28).

^b Cf. Das sechste Buch in der Arznei. Von den tartarischen oder Steinkrankheiten, on the alchemical generation of tartarus out of *legumina* and *lacticinia*, as well as beer, mead, etc. (S 2:367ff.).

so as to have an expulsive force of their own and to be expelled in that mixture, the things that I am about to report will happen. Thus we eat and drink the *tartarus*. When it enters our body, it is either mixed in with our excrements and expelled with their mass, or it remains in the body. Out of this, many diseases result in many ways. About these things many physicians, ancient and modern, have remained silent, not out of faithlessness or conspiracy, but from ignorance and incomprehension.

Furthermore, it should be understood first of all how it is that we take it in, in the *legumina*, as for example barley, peas, etc.—all of them have within themselves the *tartarus*. This is proven by the thick juice that they produce and by their dense substance, which can come only from the *ultima materia*, that is, from that which is sweet. For this reason, all of these stews (**köcht**)¹ that are cooked to a viscous form are a preparation for the stone. Where it does occur, however, that this is extracted in cooking, it is taken care of because such *materia* passes out with other excrements which happen to accrue to it. Accordingly, this sort of thing, whether it is *bitumen*, *viscus*, *mucilago*, [or] *gluten*² of the *legumi* | 148 | *na*, is nothing other than *materia stercorum* which is turned, as we have stated above, in the body into stone and sand, when it passes into its *ultima materia*. The same thing holds true of the *lacticinia* [or milk products]: they also yield *bolaris materia* [or clumpy material], which is claylike. From this it can be inferred that all *lacticinia* have a *bolus* within them. From the *bolus*, the *tartarus* arises, unless it is driven out with the excrements. Meat also has *bolus* within it. So does fish. Consider then that the *legumina* yield their *stercora* in a slimy form; fish, meat, [and] *lacticinia* [yield] their *stercus* in the form of a clump, that is, with the consistency of clay. From this contrast, you can understand the two kinds of *stercora*. If there were only these, no other kind of *tartara* would emerge from our nourishment but *tartarum boli* and *tartarum visci*, together with all their *species*, depending on how the *legumina*, the *carnes*, *frumenta*, *herbae*, etc. separate and divide. For the *caules* [cabbages], *radices* [radishes], [and] *frumenta* [grain or wheat] are subsumed with the *legumina* and understood the same way as them. For this reason, a

¹ See Grimm, **Kochet** (2b): “dish,” is often given a generalized meaning by P. (cf. H 1:209), reconfirming the importance of cooking in his alchemy (see note on Alchemy as “Chemie,” H 2:61).

² **Gluten**: glue, paste, or natural gum (OLD).

kranckheiten/ soll die bereitung ordnen/ auff dz sich solche *Tartarea genera* vnd *stercora* vermischen in die *putrefactiones* vnd *excrementa* deß Magens/ vnd derselben außtreibenden krefften. Sonst in andere weg mag das regiment vnd *diaeta* nit gesetzt werden/ als durch bereitung. Dann vermeiden/ abstinenz/ nimpts nit^a so ist auch kein *separatio* da/ als allein im Menschen.^b

Dermassen haben wir auch zweyerley *excrementa* im trincken/ Wein vnd Wasser/ vnd was dann im trincken begriffen wirt. Nuhn ist das am ersten zumercken/ daß die Träncke/ so auß den früchten der Bäume/ als Birenmost/ Epffeltranck/ vergleicht werden dem Wein vnd Wasser: Aber Bier/ vnnd was auß den *Leguminibus* gemacht wirt/ hat beyde *Tartaros* in jhm/ der *leguminum* vnd des wassers/ auß dem es dann gemacht wirt. Darumb dieselbigen Tränck jr Correctur in dem haben/ daß sie flugs durchlauffen/ sich nit lang im Leib verhindernen: vnd je weniger sie digeriert werden je besser. Dann starcke digerirung gibt schnell wirckung zum Stein/ besser schwache. Dann keine schwache *Digestio* hatt nie kein Stein geben noch *Tartarum*: Aber die hitzigen starcken sind so schnell/ vnd so ergründtlich/ das sie nichts lassen fürgohn/ das nit gescheiden^c | 149 | werde: Das macht das in eim Menschen der *Tartarus*/ im andern nit/ geboren oder gefunden wirt/ nach dem vnnd sie an den orten diese stercke der *Digestion*/ mit sampt der Separation haben. Also wissen nun aber von dem tranck/ das im selbigen zwey *Tartari* seind/ die sich nemen nach desselbigen landsart^d vnnd eigenschafft. Darumb begibt sich offft das ein artzney in diesem land/ die andere in eim anderen land zu solchen *Tartari* geschlechten gut ist/ vnd im andern nit: Das thut die vilfaltige eigenschafft der wein vnd der wasser/ die sich auß demselbigen landt nemend vnd erheben: Nun secht jhr wie im wein [ein] Weinstein wirt/^e vnnd im wasser ein schleimiger Stein: Dergleichen die sich etwan selbst scheiden von jhnen an jhr gefeß/ etwan nit: Vnd aber sie scheiden sich wie sie wöllen/ so bleibt doch allwegen der rechte Stein

^a Sudhoff (129) concludes the preceding sentence and begins another.

^b On P.'s relation to the medicine of the *regimen sanitatis*, cf. H 1:101.

^c Sudhoff (129): "geschiden."

^d Sudhoff (129): "lands art."

^e **Weinstein**, English "tartar," is probably the root of P.'s medical concept: "Tartarus ist ein corpus von der erden und ist ein mucilago, das in den wein kompt, auch in alle gewechs und ist mucilago salis" (S 2:352); in the above context a cause of disease, its medicinal application is related elsewhere (S 2:479).

physician in prescribing the diet for such diseases should direct the preparation in such a way that such *genera tartarea* [that is, the kinds of *tartarus*-bearing substances] and *stercora* are mixed into the *putrefactiones* and *excrementa* of the stomach along with their expulsive forces. There is no other way to lay down the regiment and *diaeta* than by means of preparation. For avoidance [or] abstinence will do no good; there is no other place for *separatio* than in the human being.¹

By the same measure, we also have two kinds of *excrementa* in drinking wine and water, and whatever else is drunk. First of all, it must be noted that the drinks which come from fruit, such as pear must or apple juice, are to be compared to wine and water. However, beer and whatever is made from the *legumina* has both kinds of *tartari* within it, that of the *legumina* and that of the water from which it is made. Therefore, these drinks receive their corrective factor in passing through [the body] quickly and not stopping for long in it: the less they get digested the better. For a strong digestion lends a quick effect to the stone, so weak is better. For no weak digestion has ever yielded any stone or *tartarus*. But the heated, strong ones are so rapid and so thorough, that they let nothing advance, so that nothing gets separated. | 149 | This is what causes the *tartarus* to arise or be found in one human being and not in another: it depends on whether or not there has been such a strength of digestion involving separation. But take note that in the drink there are two *tartari*, which vary in accordance with the nature and properties of the land. This is why it so often happens that one medication is good for certain kinds of *tartari* in one land and not in another. This is caused by the manifold qualities of the wines and the waters which arise and are produced from that same land. You are aware how in the wine <a> tartar (**Weinstein**)² originates and in the water a slippery stone. Sometimes they separate by themselves from one another in their containers, sometimes not. And no matter how they do separate, the real stone always stays within and does not

¹ In stressing “preparation,” P. exalts his alchemical model of digestion as against the understanding of the ascetically tempered, humoral-based *regimen sanitatis* which is closer to the spirit of monastic abstinence.

² Here the seemingly archaic concept crosses paths with standard English usage, for both share a common root. (See “**Weinstein**,” Goltz 285-86; cf. ER 190-01; 315-16.) Though now within the domain of organic chemistry, tartar (bitartrate of potash which adheres as a crust to the sides of wine casks) was then regarded as a mineral. For P., the term refers to a concept he probably generalized from the gall or kidney stone.

in jhm/ vnd kompt herauß nit. In essenden dingen geschichts nicht/ allein im trincken/ die dann haben so vil der Excrementen/ vnd seind darbey zuschwach^a dieselbigen zuerhalten/ darmit fallen sie hindan von jhnen. Nuhn ist ein ander *genus* im wein/ ein ander *genus* im wasser: Also auch anders seind jhr *vltimae materiae* gescheiden von einander. Das aber da ein Stein/ do ein Sand oder Khis wirt/ dasselbige nimpt sich alles auß der lands art vnd Eigenschafft/ also das sie beide da sein/ Stein vnd Sand. Vnd also offtmal wirt der Stein im Excrement außgetrieben/ vnd der Sand nit: Oder der Sand/ vnd der Stein nit. Etwann an dem orth/ vnd an dem orth nit. Dann vnzalbar sein die personen do der Stein innen geboren wirt/ das ist *Tartarum*/ in welchen vberal sondere vnnd seltsam art vnd *generationes* befunden werden/ wie dann in seinem Capitel angezeigt wirt. Also wissen das wir den *Tartarum* trincken im wein vnd im wasser/ vnd safft der bäumen. Vnd allein es sey dann das er in der schwachen Digestion außgetrieben werd/ vnd nit gescheiden: Sonst ist es vnmüglich das ein Mensch gefunden werd/ der nit mit dem *Tartaro* beladen sey/ es sey dann wo es möge im leib: Darauff wol zu mercken ist. Auch von der art der Coagulation/ Induration/ Form/ Gestalt/ Wesen/ vnnd dergleichen/ daß sich das alles gebiert auß dem vnd die eigenschafft ist desselbigen Lands tranck vnd speiß. Dann also begibt sich das | 150 | ein Schweitzer ein Nürnbergischen/ Westenburgischen stein vberkompt auß denselbigen *frumentis* vnd *leguminibus*: Dieselben widerumb auch ein Schweitzerischen stein auß jhren *lacticiniis*: Also die Schwaben/ Beyeren/ einen Elsasser: Ein Etsch ein Francken stein: Nach dem vnd sie dieselbige tranck gebrauchen. Also auch ein frembder der da wandert in Portugal/ in *Apulia*, in *Anglia*, in Schweden/ etc. vnnd setzt sich im Reich nider/ der mag *Separationem* des steins/ der lange verhalten ist worden in seinen tagen/ mit der zeit zueröffnen mitbringen.

Also wil ich damit den ersten Tractat beschlossen/ vnd gnugsam fürgehalten haben/ wie dz wir den *Tartarum* niessen/ vnd auß vns selbst keinen gewinnen noch erlangen mögen/ allein in der gestalt/ wie obsteht. Darumb so ist es bey den andern Artzten/ so dem Stein ein

^a Sudhoff (130): “zu schwach” (both Huser and Sudhoff are unpredictable in appending “zu” to infinitives and adjectives).

come forth. In things eaten this does not happen, but only in things drunk which contain so many excrements and are too weak to retain them, so that they depart from them. Now there is also one *genus* in wine and another *genus* in water. Their *ultima materiae* are also different when they are separated from one another. But as for the fact that here you have a stone, and there sand or gravel: that is a consequence of the nature and quality of the land, which is why you can find either one: stone as well as sand. And therefore quite frequently the stone can be expelled with the excrements, but the sand cannot be. Or the sand can be but not the stone. It happens in one place but not in another. For there are innumerable people within whom the stone is born: that is the *tartarum*—in it everywhere a strange and particular nature and all sorts of *generationes* are to be found, as will be shown in its particular chapter. So you can see that we drink the *tartarus* in the wine and the water and the juice from the trees. And unless it is expelled in the weak digestion and not separated, it will be impossible to find any human being that is not burdened with *tartarus* in some place within the body, and that too is something worthy of attention. The drink and food of a particular country also depends on the nature of the coagulation, induration, form, shape, substance, and so on, so that everything results from this and has its property. This is how it comes about that | 150 | that a Swiss, a Nuremberger, [or a] Westerburian¹ stone prevails from the same *frumenta* and *legumina*. The same applies also to a Swiss stone resulting from their *lacticinia*. So also with the Swabian, the Bavarian, or Alsatian [things]. An Etsch² or a Franconian stone. It all depends on the kind of drink that is taken. The same thing will happen to a foreigner who is traveling in Portugal, in Apulia, in Anglia, in Sweden, etc. and settles in the [Holy Roman] Empire: it can happen to him that a *separatio* of the stone occurs, one that in its time has long been held, carried along, and is now revealed.

With this I wish to have concluded the first treatise by sufficiently demonstrating how it is that we eat ourselves into having³ the *tartarus* and how it is that we do not have or acquire it by ourselves, but only in the manner described above. That is why, among the other physi-

¹ Presumably of **Westerburg**, a city on the Southwestern rim of the Westerwald, seat of the counts of Leiningen-Westerwald in the 16th century (BROCK).

² From the *regio athesina*, the South Tirol-Alto Adige region of Northern Italy.

³ See Grimm, **niesen** (2): consume as food and drink.

andere geburt setzen/ ein Irrsal/ das macht jhr vnuerstandt: Es ist ein schlechter grundt das sie der nutrimenten art vnd derselbigen excrementen vnwissend sein sollen: Darbey das sie setzen vngegründt/ das die *Viscosa materia* der speiß etc. *Tartarum* solle machen/ vnnd sagen nit was *Viscositas* sey/ oder wie/ oder wen/ oder was das sey/ das ein Stein mache. Dann es nit genug das man spricht/ die Erde macht bäum/ vnd gibt die kreuter/ sondern man muß auch sprechen/ also/ vnd also: Der Bawr weiß dz ander auch wol/ der Artzt aber sol mehr wissen von den *Terrenis* zu reden. Zu dem das du die Coagulation setzest/ vnd weist nit was es ist: Setzest die hitze darzu/ vnd setzest aber nit von wannen der stein sey/ oder wz doch der Stein sey. Das thut alles dein vnuerstand/ vnd vnwissenheit/ wie du dan dich gebrauchst in allem deinem schreiben dein nartheit wol außzubreiten/ dz du im anfang der artzney nit erfahren seyest. Es wer aber schad vmb die stundt das sie mit der Narrey solten verzert werden: zu dem dz du des^a werd bist.

^a Sudhoff (131): "es."

cians who assign a different origin to the stone, error prevails due to their lack of understanding. It is a poor state of affairs that they should be so ignorant of the nature of the nutrients and of their corresponding excrements. Moreover, they let it go unrecognized that the *materia viscosa* of the nutrition etc. is what constitutes the *tartarus*. Nor do they explain what *viscositas* is, or how, who, or what it might be that makes a stone. For it is not enough to say the earth makes trees and yields herbs; rather one must also speak [more precisely] thus and thus. The rest of it is known to the peasant equally well, but the physician should be able to say more about the *terrena* [or things pertaining to earth]. Moreover, you speak of coagulation and do not know what it is. You speak of heat as well, and [yet] do not speak of the source of the stone, or even what the stone is. All of this comes from your lack of comprehension, your ignorance; since in all that you write, you are accustomed to dilate upon your foolishness, [indicating] that you are not versed in the elemental matters of medicine. However, it is a shame for the hour that is wasted with foolishness; and that you are worthy of such things.

TRACTATUS SECVNDVS

LIBRI III^a

Dieweil der natürlichen gewächs vnd dingen narung ist auß den resoluirten Steinen/ darein sie dann wider coaguliert werden: so wissen am ersten hierin/ dieweil sie von Steinen kompt (dz dan *Philosophia* probiert/ hie nit not | 151 | mehr zuerzelen) wider zu Steinen gehet/ durch die schnell vnd zu subtil hitze der dawung/ die dan solche ding scheidt/ aber nit macht. Dann sie mag kein Stein machen/ dann sie ist kein Stein: aber wo Stein sind/ do mag sie scheiden. Als dann so sie gescheiden seind vom nutriment/ vom excrement/ so gahnt sie in jhr operation/ nachdem vnd derselbige *spiritus* ist/ welcher *spiritus salis* ist/ vnd nimpt sich auß den excrementen: Einer in Saltzstein vnd in äschen/ [oder in]^b ander stein vnd eusser form vnnd vrsach/ etc. also auch weiter/ wie hernach folgen wirt. Nun wissen in dem/ dz der *spiritus salis* die *Tartara* coaguliert vnd formiert: Diese coagulation vnd formation nimpt er nach der stat darin er ligt/ dann er ist im gantzen leib.^c Also auch *spiritus Sulphuris*, also auch *spiritus Mercurij*: dieselben aber haben nichts in disen excrementen vnd Tartarischen krankheiten zuhandeln/ weder zugeben noch zunemen/ noch denselbigen zuscheiden/ oder zu formieren. Allein der *spiritus Salis*^d der thut das/ dieweil vnd er die *materiam lapidis* findt/ so arbeit er darinn wie ein hitz von der Sonnen/ die ist [wie] *spiritus Salis*/ so sie sindt ein *mucilaginem*, *viscum* etc. so trucknet es auß: vnd was es ist in der coagulation/ dz wirt es/ souil jhr ampt ist. Darumb aber dz sie nit *spiritus Salis* ist/ darumb so mag sie Stein materien nit zu Stein machen: Also auch andere Steinen/ dann do ist kein Stein der hie theil hab/ allein der *spiritus salis* der bringt Stein *materiam* in Stein/ das ist/ er fürts in sein *vltime materiam*. Als ein exempel mit der speiß/ die mag kein

^a Sudhoff (131): “Tractatus secundus. [Libri III.]”

^b Sudhoff (132) omits square brackets.

^c The wording and concept are close to the opening of *De Viribus Membrorum* (“*De Spiritu Vitae*”) in referring to the vital spirit or spirits that pervades all organs of the body: “Der spiritus vitae ist ein geist, der da ligt in allen gliedern des leibs wie sie dan genent werden und ist in allen gleich der éine geist die éine kraft in einem wie in dem andern, und ist das höchste korn des lebens aus dem alle glider leben” (S 3:15).

^d It is unclear whether there is any reason why the preceding cites “*spiritus salis*” in lower case while from here till the end of the paragraph it is in upper case. Sudhoff (132) invariably uses lower case.

TRACTATUS SECUNDUS

Libri III.

Now that it is clear that the nutrition of the natural growing things stems from the resolved stones, back into which they are then in turn coagulated, the following is to be considered first of all in this context: though [the nutrition] comes from the stones (which has been shown by *philosophia* and need not be demonstrated | 151 | further here), and returns back to stone; nonetheless, because of the quick and too subtle heat of digestion which separates such things, this does not happen. For it is not inclined to make stones, since it itself is not [of] stone. But when stones are present, it is inclined to perform the separation. Hence, when [the stones] have been separated from the nutrient [and] from the excrement, they enter into their operation in accordance with the same spirit which prevails, namely *spiritus salis*, and are extracted from the excrements: one [then passes into] salt stone (**Saltzstein**)¹ and into ashes <or into> other stones and external forms and causes, etc., the further process of which will be subsequently described. Take note in regard to this that the *spiritus salis* coagulates and forms the *tartara*. It carries out this coagulation and formation in accordance with the particular place in the body where it resides, for [the *spiritus salis*] can be found in the entire body. The same holds true for the *spiritus sulphuris*, as well as for the *spiritus mercurii*. [But] these two have no operation in these excrements nor tartaric diseases: neither do they add or subtract from them, nor separate or form them. It is only the *spiritus salis* that does so: when it finds the *materia lapidis*, it operates upon the latter, like the heat of the sun, which is <like> *spiritus salis*. If it finds a *mucilago*, a *viscum*, or whatever, then it dries this out; and it turns into that which it is to become in its state of coagulation, in accordance with its function. But because it is not *spiritus salis*, it cannot make stone material into stone. The same holds true for other stones, for no stone is involved, except that which is transformed by the *spiritus salis* from stone *materia* into stone; which is to say that it is thus turned into its *ultima materia*. The same thing is illustrated

¹ See Grimm, **Salzstein**: After identification as “a compact mass of cooking salt,” the term is explained as referring either to minerally occurring chunks of salt or salt crystal (*sal caeduum*, *frustum salis fossilis*); to the pillar of salt into which Lot’s wife was transformed (Gen 19:26); to the salt left in the pan after boiling; or to a hard, iron-colored stone found in Braunschweig.

andere hitz/ fewr oder *digestio* in sein *vltimam materiam* bringen/ als allein der Magen der Menschen der hatt den gewalt. Darumb werden vil jrrung gefunden in der Vulcanischen art/ die da nit des weges derselben *vltima materia* zubringen. Vil seind/ die da feulen/ aber darumb ists nit *via vltimae materiae*/ sonder ein Irrsal. Darumb so thuts die hitz im leib nit/ der *spiritus Salis* der thuts. Wer weiß wie er ist/ allein der *Philosophus* weiß/ nit der Artzt. Dieweil nun die Philosophy dz also außweiset vnd also der Artzt darbey bleiben muß/ so laß ich dasselbig hie bleiben: Vnd melde weiter von der scheidung wie sie sich begibt in den nachfolgenden/ wie also auß jhr die *genera Tartari* angehn/ vnd wie sie durch den *spiritum Salis* dahin gebracht wirt/ vnd das also. | 152 |

Am ersten/ Alles das wir trincken vnd essen/ das empfach der mundt. Nun bleibt es jhm aber nit anders dann als wann einer in ein trichter geust/ vnnnd last^a durchlauffen in ein vaß: Nun aber dz durchlauffen durch den mundt gehet nit leer auß/ es behalt auch ein *Tartarum*: Dann vrsach/ im mundt ist die hitz der dawung/ vnd nit der Complexion/ noch Elementen/ noch *humorum*/ sonder allein der dawung. Die hitz der dawung ist ein ander krafft/ dann die andere hitz/ hat ein mehrer ampt. Darumb was wir in mundt bringen/ das ist gleich als wol in der dawung als werß im Magen. Es ist müglich/ das der mundt eß/ vnd behalts in jhm/ vnd verschluck nichts in Magen hinab/ als allein dasjenige so im mundt gedäwet wirt. Dann im Magen essen ist Bewrische narung: jm mundt essen ist Adelige narung.^b Die im mundt essen scheissen nit/ allein die im Magen essen/ sie seichen aber. Darumb sich vil der Heiligen also erhalten haben/ so man doch vermeint/ dieweil sie keine *stercora* geben haben das sie nit gessen haben/ so doch der mundt den gantzen leib zuversorgen genugsam. Vnd also auß solcher krafft däwet der mundt/ vnd scheidet hindan dz

^a Sudhoff (133): "last."

^b Elsewhere John the Baptist embodies the privilege of eating without the usual coarse accompaniments (H 2:71, note a).

by nutrition that cannot be brought to the state of its *ultima materia* by any other heat, fire, or *digestion*, other than that of the stomach of the human being, which has the power to effect this. This is why many errors are to be found in the vulcanic nature when it does not succeed in bringing this [process] to the state of the *ultima materia*. There are many cases of disintegration which are nonetheless not the *via ultimae materiae*, but rather an error. For this reason, the heat in the body does not effect this: the *spiritus salis* does so. Who understands about such things? Only the *philosophus* understands, not the physician. Since philosophy proves these things, and the physician must adhere to what is thus established, I will let it suffice to say only this much, and go on to speak of the separation and how it occurs in the following [chapters] : how do the *genera tartari* proceed from the [separation], and how are they brought to this state by the *spiritus salis*? It is thus.
| 152 |

First of all, everything that we drink and eat is received by the mouth. This can only happen to it in the manner of someone pouring [something] into a funnel so that it runs through it into a cask. But of course the passage through the mouth does not happen without consequences: it retains a *tartarus*. The reason for this is that in the mouth there is the heat of digestion and not that of the complexion, nor of the elements, nor *humores*: solely the heat of digestion. The heat of digestion is a different energy than that of the other heat, and it has a more important function. This is why what we introduce into the mouth is in a state of digestion just as much as if it were in the stomach. It would be possible for the mouth to eat it and retain it without swallowing it down into the stomach so that it would be digested in the mouth itself. For eating in one's stomach pertains to the peasant's nutrition; eating in the mouth is the noble's nutrition. Those who eat with their mouth do not shit; only those who eat with their stomach do so. This is why many saints have maintained themselves in this manner, whereby people thought that because they produced no *stercora*, they did not eat. However, the mouth itself is sufficient to maintain the entire body.¹ And from such energy, the mouth digests and expels natural

¹ Here P. alludes, in a generalized, theoretical manner, to the phenomenon of pseudo-ascetics or false saints thought to live without ingesting food or from the Communion wine and host. See Peter Dinzelbacher, "Falsche Heilige," *Mittelalterliche Frauenmystik* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1993), 290-91. The distinction between the way the peasants and the worthier folk eat is also reminiscent of the practice of

natürliche Excrement. Vnd aber dieweil er nichts find do er sich anhencken mag/ so bleibet er an den zehnen hangen: Dann der ander theil im mundt als rachen/ zungen/ *Vuula, gingiua*/ dieselben sind jm zu naß/ vnd zu schlupffferig/ mag nit daran hangen. Also bleibts an zehnen/ daran dann der Weinstein wächst: Nit allein vom trincken/ sondern vom essen/ nachdem vnd die art vnd Eigenschafft ist. So aber im mundt ein bleibender^a Concauitet vnd hôle wehre/ so würdt es sich in weiter *genera* begeben/ vnnd nit allein zu Weinsteinen/ wie sie dann erfunden werden: Welche form vnd Coagulation der schlupffrigen glatten stat halben nit mögen beschehen. Darumb im mundt nichts anders wirt/ dann die erste scheidung des natürlichen Excrements/ anhangend den zehnen: Darauß dann folgen/ fewlung der biller/ durchnagen der zehnen/ wehe/ schmerzen/ vnd dergleichen/ auß art der Acritet/ so einem jedlichen *Tartaro* eingeben ist. Darumb du den *Paroxysmum dentium* auß dem *Tartaro*^b mit dem *Paroxysmo calculi in vasis* vergleichen solt/ als du in seinem Capitel findest. | 153 |

Auff das also weiter/ so kompt es vom Mund in des Magens mund. Vnd aber das ist zuwissen/ das es nit gleich also schnell ins Magens bodem falt: Sondern es ist im Magen mund^c ein andere digestion zuverstan wie im Mund: Darinnen sich begibt dz im selbigen gleich so wol ein *Tartarus* angehengt wirt/ als an zehnen. Dann die *materia* darauß der Magen gemacht ist/ hat die Eigenschafft solchen *Tartarum* anzunemen/ vnd sich darinnen anhencken zulassen: darauß dann sonderliche krankheiten kommen/ als der Sodtbrennen/ trucken im grüblin/ vnd solche andere *compressiones* vnd *torturae*: Gibt auch *Paroxysmum*/ wie der *Paroxysmus calculi*. Nun aber wissen auch an dem orht/ das sich auch begibt/ das vom auffsteigen der speiß im Magen/ durch sein dampff/ offtmals ein solcher *Tartarus* geboren wirt. Als wan man den wein distilirt^d so ist der *Tartarus* so subtil/ das er mit auffsteigt: Dann vrsach/ es ist nit der weg zu scheiden sein *vltimam materiam excrementi*/ darumb so laufft er mit hinüber: Vnd

^a Sudhoff (133): “bleibende.”

^b Cf. “Vom **paroxysmo tartari** und seinem wesen, tödlich, bleiblich, unentpfntlich und unbleiblich, etc.” P. discusses diagnosis and symptoms (S 11:85); and the brief “commentaria de doloribus **dentium**” (S 5:312).

^c Sudhoff (134): “boden...magemunt.”

^d Sudhoff (134): “distillirt.”

excrements. And insofar as it finds nothing to attach itself to, it adheres to the teeth. For all the other parts of the mouth, such as the throat, the tongue, *uvula*, [or] *gingiva*: these are all too moist and slippery for it, so that it cannot adhere to them. This is why it adheres to the teeth upon which the tartar (**Weinstein**) then grows. This results not only from drinking, but also from eating in accordance with the nature and properties [of the food or the digestion]. However, if there were a stable concavity or cave in the mouth, it would transform itself into further *genera*, not only to tartar stones (**zu Weinsteinen**), the way they are found. However, because of the slippery smooth surfaces, these forms and coagulations do not come into being. In accordance with this, [we can say] that nothing transpires in the mouth other than the first separation of natural excrement, adhering to the teeth. From this results a rotting of the teeth (**biller**),¹ an eating through of the teeth, a suffering, a pain, and other things of this kind, all resulting from the nature of the acerbic quality (**Acritet**) inherent in every sort of *tartarus*. This is why you should compare the *paroxysmus dentium* resulting from the *tartarus* with the *paroxysmus calculi in vasis*, as you will read about in its chapter. | 153 |

And so from there it passes on from the mouth into the orifice of the stomach. It is also worthy of note that it does not pass right away to the very bottom of the stomach. Rather a different kind of digestion than in the mouth occurs in the orifice of the stomach. Therefore it comes about that here once again a *tartarus* can adhere. For the *materia* out of which the stomach is made has among its properties that it can accept this *tartarus* and allow the latter to adhere to it. From this, particular diseases can result, as for example, heart-burn (**Sodtbrennen**),² pressure in the pit, and other *compressiones* and *torturae* of the kind. There can also result a *paroxysmus*, as for example the *paroxysmus calculi*. But you should also know in connection with this that often a certain kind of *tartarus* can be born from the ascent of the food in the stomach by means of its vapors. Just as when wine is distilled, its *tartarus* is so subtle that it also rises. This happens because this is not the way for separating its *ultima materia excrementi*, accordingly

inducing vomiting at aristocratic festive meals in order to be able to go on partaking of the savory fare.

¹ See Grimm, **Bilern**: *dens molaris, gingiva, palatum*.

² **Sod**, the root of this word still in common use, comes from “sieden,” a boiling up of brew (Grimm).

aber so man mit dem rechten griff kompt/ als dan so scheidt sich der *Tartarus* im Brendten wein/ zu gleicher weiß wie im wein/ das man dan heist *spiritum vini*/ vnd ist *Tartarum vini*: Das ist/ er ist der Weinstein/ der außtrucknet ist mit den excrementen/ der kompt also herfür. Darumb so sich im Magen begibt dz er seudt/ vnd treibt den *Tartarum* auff/ so wirt er noch scherffer in *opificio*. Dann ein jedlich distiliert vnd digerirt ding acuir sich in seinen eigenschafften. Nun also auff das begibt sich dz der schmerzen des Sods oder Magenmunds sich vilfaltig begibt. Dann etwan ist es Calciniertes *Tartarus*/ Saltz/ vnd dergleichen Alcalisch/ wie dan sein Eigenschafft ist. Solches alles macht vnd bereidt die Natur als wol als der Mensch. Auß dem dann volget grösse oder viele der schmerzen/ vnd macht also brennen vnd sieden/ wie das wasser ein kalch. Es begibt sich auch off/ dz ein solchs brennen ins Magens mund etwan von der speiß/ etwan vom trincken/ etwan vom Saltz kompt: dise ding alle seindt zumercken. Dann nach dem vnd der *Tartarus* einer art ist/ nach dem entpfacht er auch ein *Paroxysmum* von zufallender speiß/ tranck/ kuele/ vbung oder dergleichen: Vnnd zu demselben den *Paroxysmum calculi* auch nach seiner art/ wie dan die Eigenschafft | 154 | ist.^a Also nach dem so kompt es nun in den Magen. So wissen [das es] sich off begibt das im Magenmund *Tartari* gefunden werden/ wie obsteht/ auch darbey Steine auff mancherley form/ die da schmerzen machen/ gleich als sey es auß der Gallen oder dergleichen/ die werden von den Auicennischen Artzten purgiert/ vnd von den Galenischen/ aber nit erwert. Also begibt sich auch im Magen/ das sich ein *Tartarus* wie in zehnen anhenckt von Steinen/ *Bolis* vnd dergleichen/ vnd nit vom schleim: Welche Stein vnd *Tartari* dem Magen seine wirkung brechen/ krencken und endern/ mit vil anligenden krankheiten vnd schmerzen/ wie dann von denselbigen krankheiten jhr eigen Capitel folget. Es werden auch nit allein solche *Tartara*/ [sondern Stein]^b in dem außgang/ da offtmals der stul verhalten wirt. Ist es aber nit billich hie das zu melden/ von den dingen/ so also ein lange zeit auß vnwissenheit verhalten sindt? Dann hie secht die jrrung an: Wie mancher wirt purgiert do es nit not ist/ das man *humores, viscositates*/ vnnd

^a Sudhoff (135) begins a new paragraph and omits the square brackets in its second sentence.

^b Sudhoff (135) omits square brackets: "sonder stein."

it boils over too. But if one intervenes with the proper touch, then the *tartarus* can be separated out in the distilled spirits (**Brendten wein**),¹ as well as in the wine which is called *spiritus vini*, which is *tartarus vini*. It is the tartar (**der Weinstein**), which is dried out with the excrements that thus comes forth. Therefore, if it should happen that it boils in the stomach and drives up the *tartarus*, then it becomes even more acerbic *in opificio* [in its performance]. For everything that is distilled and digested becomes more acute in its properties. From this it results that there will be many sorts of pains of burning (**des Sods**) or of the orifice of the stomach. For then there will be a calcinated *tartarus*, salt, and the kind of alcali[s], corresponding to its properties. All of these things can be prepared by nature no less than by the human being. From this result the magnitude and multiplicity of the pains, and a burning and boiling come about, as does water [with] lime. Often it happens that this sort of burning in the orifice of the stomach results either from the food or from drink or from salt: all these things should be duly noted. For in accordance with the nature of the *tartarus*, it receives a *paroxysmus* as well from the incursion of food, drink, coolness, exercise, or what have you. And with this, [it receives] the *paroxysmus calculi*, also following its nature, regardless of its property. | 154 | After this it arrives in the stomach. This is why you should know <that it> often happens that *tartari* are found in the orifice of the stomach, as explained above, and this includes stones of such various form that cause pain, just as if they were from the gall or similar. They are purged by the Avicennan physicians and by the Galenic ones, but this solution is not effective. Accordingly, it also happens in the stomach that a *tartarus* can adhere, just as the teeth can have stones, *boli*, and the like attached to them, and it is not a matter of slime. These stones and *tartari* can act upon the stomach, undermining its operation, causing its illness and altering it, with many resulting diseases and pains, as you will see in the following chapters devoted to these particular diseases. Not merely such *tartara*, <but stones> [too] are often contained in the stool. Is it not appropriate to give an account of these things here which were confined to ignorance for so long? For here you can recognize the error: You can see how many have been purged without necessity because they wanted to eliminate *humores*, *viscositates*, and other such things from the stom-

¹ See Grimm, **brenzeln**: a weak verb used by P. for distillation; “brenten wein” is the resultant ardent spirit.

anderst so im Magen ligt/ hinweg bringen wöll/ vnd aber es hilfft nit/ sondern es wirt je lenger je böser: Dann die *purgationes* nemen den *Tartarum* nit hinweg. Solt den nit billich sein/ dieweil der da ist/ von jhm zu schreiben/ vnnd anzuzeigen sein notwendig wissen: Sol auch nit verargert werden. Allein es sey dann das jhr den Calcinierten *Tartarum*, [*in*] *arenam reductum* erkennendt/ vnd wissen jhnen zu transmutiren: sonst ist es alles vmb sonst/ was jhr darinnen euch gebrauchen. Also nun weiter wie jhr vom Magen/ seine *genera Tartari* sehet/ deren vil vnd mancherley sein mögen so sich anhencken/ vnd vom *spiritu Salis* coaguliert werden: Als dan so wissen/ das do brennen/ trucken/ vnd hitz auffstehn/ vnnd vil seltzamer kranckheiten/ gleich als läge *Mola*^a [da/ als läge]^b ein Mülstein da/ oder ein Fewr/ ein Stein oder ein Klotz da: Das alles auß dem *Tartaro* kompt/ darinnen alle Regeln wie die alten haben/ vergebens seind/ vnd vmb sonst: Dann sie alle haben *reductionem Tartari* jhr lebenslang nie verstanden/ noch gewist/ vnd auch noch auff diese stund nit. Darumb so müssen sie mit schanden bestahn vnd mit laster/ vnd tödten mit jhren Recepten die krancken ehe die zeit kompt: Sie haben erdacht/ dz sie nit thun solten: Ihr weißheit | 155 | thut im aber nit anderst. Reduciers so kompstu darauß.

Damit aber die ding weiter verstanden werden/ so seind^c nur zwen weg vorhanden/ da im jedwedern *Tartarus* geboren wirt/ vnd doch vnderscheiden von einander: nemlich der eine von der speise^d der ander vom trincken. Der von der speise/ der geht zum ingeweide/ vnnd durch den Bauch auß: Der ander geht zu der Leberen vnd blasen zu/ vnnd also auch auß. Darumb nuhn weiter von dem gang durch den Bauch auß/ vnnd ingeweide am ersten zuwissen ist/ nachfolgend von dem anderen durch die blasen auß. Vor dem aber so merckend als angezeigt worden ist/ das im Mund/ im Magenmund/ vnd im Magen/ *Tartari* geboren werden: Nun wissen aber das dieselbigen kranckheiten sich in sonderheit von disen zweien scheiden/ so hernach folgen werden: Vnd nemlich do werden dieselbigen *Tartara*/ darbey einerley

^a On P.'s use of "**mola**," see H 1:284.

^b Sudhoff (136) omits square brackets: "da, als lege."

^c Sudhoff (136): "sein."

^d Sudhoff (137): "speis."

ach, but all to no avail. Instead, the longer it goes on, the worse it gets. For these *purgationes* do not extract the *tartarus*. Should it not be proper to write about this since it exists, and to disclose what needs to be known about it? This should hardly be taken amiss. For unless you recognize the calcinated tartarus, <in> *arenam reductum*, and know how to transmute it—unless you can do this, everything will be in vain that you apply in such cases. So proceeding on: as you can see with respect to the stomach [and] its *genera tartari*, of which there are so many and such a great variety that adhere and [that] are coagulated by the *spiritus salis*: you should know with respect to these things that they cause burning, pressure, and heat to ascend, as well as many peculiar diseases, just as if a *mola*,¹ <that is> a millstone, were present, or a fire, a stone, or a clump: all of this results from the *tartarus* in the treatment of which all rules (**Regeln**)² devised by the ancients are in vain and for naught. For all of [the ancients] together have in their entire lives not known nor recognized anything about the *reductionem tartari*, and indeed no one has until this very day. This is why they must be mustered with shame and disgrace now, and [why] they kill the patients before their time with their prescriptions. They have thought up things they should not be doing. Their wisdom | 155 | knows of nothing else. Have done with it and you'll find your way out.

For the sake of more clarity, there are only two paths to be considered, since in either the *tartarus* is born, and yet the two are distinct from one another: that is to say, the one from food, the other from drinking. The one that comes from food passes into the guts and passes through the belly back out. The other one passes into the liver and the bladder and exits out as well. So let us consider first the path through the belly and the guts back out; and after that, the path through the bladder and out. At the very beginning, take note of the fact that, as we have seen, *tartari* are born in the mouth, in the orifice of the mouth, and in the stomach. Now take note that the corresponding diseases are distinct in particular from these two kinds, as will be explained in the following. For indeed, these same *tartara*—in speak-

¹ See note, H 1:284, on the prehistory of the term and concept (*mola* is Latin for mill, but “millstone” conforms to the context of *tartarus*) for this usually female malady of the swollen belly. Dorn: “*Mola matricis, est abortium quid in matrice generatum.*”

² **Regeln** evokes the mentality of the *regimen sanitatis* and by association the monastic lifestyle.

ist auß beiden der speiß vnd des trancks ein *commixtura* zusammen/ vnd dz ist not zu erkennen. Dann vrsach dieser Stein/ der von der speiß *Tartaro* dahin kompt/ ist besser zu dissoluieren als der ander des trancks: Der bericht seind einerley auß dem tranck/ anderley auß dem essen/ vnd haben doch vor allen andern steinen vnd *Tartaris* ein andere art vnd eigenschafft. Darumb dieselbigen vnterscheid in der Cur/ sonderlich sollen fürgenommen werden/ dann sie ist am leichtesten vnter allen derselbigen art. Dann je weiter vom Mund zu dem *Emunctorio*/ je härter vnd je stercker die coagulation/ vnd der *spiritus Salis* ist: dann der *Tartarus* wirt je länger vnnd weiter distilliert/ subtiliert/ vnd precipitiert/ vnnd je weiter er dahin kompt/ je mehr vnnd hefftiger acht auff jhn zu haben ist. Darumb im Mund der leichteste/ im Magenmund der ander/ im Magenbodem der dritt/ vnd härteste vnder denen dreien. Nun weiter vom Magen noch härter in dem ingeweid/ noch härter aber in der Leberen/ Nieren/ vnnd Blasen/ etc. Dann der im ingeweid ist von der speiß: Darumb so ist er milder dann der ander im harn weg. Darumb so folget weiter außtheilung diser zweier strassen/ mit sampt jhrer art vnnd eigenschafft. Wiewol es hoch von nöten gewesen wehr/ das solches vor langest geschehen wehr/ vnnd nicht erst jetzt vnter mir/ so hetten dieselbigen jhr arbeit anderst angelegt/ vnnd besseren nutz geschafft/ dann mit jhrem | 156 | ploderwerck/ darinnen dan *Galenus*, *Rhasis* vnnd *Auicenna* mit jhren Commentarien plerren vnd schreien.

Wie nun die scheident krafft im Magen ligt/ zu scheiden das faule/ von dem das nit faul ist/ den khot von dem Reinen/ betreffend die speiß: So wisset das zweierley khot ist der auß der speiß genomen wirt/ nemlich von essenden dingen/ vnd von trinckenden dingen. Dann do verstanden das also/ das viel speiß ist/ die mit dem/ das sie ein speiß ist/ auch ein tranck darzu ist: Vil trencker/ die damit auch ein speiß seind/ vnd füren/ zu dem das sie trenckent. Darauß nun folget ein *generatio* des *Tartari*/ vnd nit zwo: Wiewol auß zweien der vnrsprung ist/ aber die Commixtur gibt ein *genus*/ dasselbe scheidt sich in seine *species*/ nachdem vnnd dann dieselbige art ist. Wiewol es

ing of which it is all the same whether from food or from drink—are a *commixtura* together, which must be understood [as such]. The reason for this is that this stone that comes into that condition from the food’s *tartarus*, is more readily dissolved than the other one that comes from drink. The [following] reports treat on the one hand of that which comes from drink and on the other of that which comes from food; these have in comparison with all other stones and *tartari* a peculiar nature and property of their own. For this reason, they should be distinguished with respect to the cure and taken up on their own, for it is the easiest among all [diseases] of this nature. For [the rule applies] that the greater the distance from the mouth to the *emunctorium*, the firmer and stronger is the coagulation and the *spiritus salis*. For the further the *tartarus* travels, the longer and more thoroughly it is distilled, rendered subtle, and precipitated. Hence, the further it advances, the more attention it merits. Therefore in the mouth it is easiest, in the orifice of the stomach second to that, and at the bottom of the stomach third and hardest among the three. Continuing on from the stomach, it becomes harder still in the guts, but still harder than that in the liver, kidneys, bladder, and so on. For that [stone] which is in the guts is of the food. For this reason, it is milder than the other that occurs in the path of the urine. Accordingly, one can divide up these two roads further with respect to their nature and properties. Indeed, such a thing should have happened long ago, without having to wait until now for me; but for this [all precursors] would have had to proceed with their work differently and found better application than they did with the | 156 | work of chattering, in which *Galenus*, *Rhazis*, and *Avicenna* caterwaul and carry on with their commentaries.

Since the separating power resides in the stomach for separating that which is foul from that which is not foul, the waste matter (**khot**)¹ from the pure in nourishment, let it be recalled that there are two sorts of waste matter that are extracted from nourishment: namely, from those things that are eaten and from those that are drunk. For consider as well that there are many sorts of food, which in supplying food also supply drink; many drinks which also supply food and introduce [such food] into whoever drinks them. From this there follows one single *generatio* of the *tartarus* and not two. Even though the origin is from two, their commixture yields a *genus*; the latter [then] separates into its *species*, in accordance with the nature of the same. Perhaps in this

¹ Read “Koth.”

an dem ort zuermessen ist/ das etwan die vrsach mehr vom trincken/ dann von der speise kompt: jedoch so ist es nit not vorzunemen/ vrsachen/ das ein speiß ist/ vnd nit ein tranck/ es komm dann in trinckens weiß/ oder in speiß weiß ein. Dann also ist es im tranck wege auch zuverstahn/ das ist so es käme von trincken der speise/^a das ist/ so in der speiß ist.

Nun von dem ingeweid merckend ein gemein Regel. Aller khot auß dem Magen geht hindurch: Nuhn ist aber ein lang stillstahn darinnen/ ehe es herauß gaht/ also das sichs lang verzeucht an demselbigen ort: Im selbigen hengt sich auch ein *Tartarus* an/ in massen wie obstaht. Dieser *Tartarus* macht vilerley kranckheiten im bauch die nit zuerzelen: Vnnd nemlich der mehrerteil *colica* kompt auß im/ vnnd fast schier alle grimmen/ reissen/ vnten vnnd oben im bauch/ verstopffung in stülen/ durchlauff dergleichen. Dann jhr solt das eben wissen/ das dieser *Tartarus* Paroxysmiert mit dem Stein inn der blatern: Das ist/ ein *Paroxysmus* ist da. Darumb/ thut der Stein wehe an seinem ort: so thut auch dieser *Tartarus* wehe an seinem ort: Was inn der blasen geht/ in ruckenschmerzen/ harnwinden/ etc. Das geht hie im ingeweide^b in grimmen/ reissen. Vnnd wie jhr wissen das im Stein der blasen niemands Contract wirdt/ inn den vntern gliedern vnterhalb dem gürtel: Also sollen jhrs auch wissen das hie in allen gliedern eine gleiche Contractur wirdt. | 157 | Dann nicht allein vntersich oder vbersich/ sondern durch den ganzen Leib auß/ geht diser *Tartarus*: darumb so merckend in seinem Capitel der *Colica* vrsprung wol. Aber ein grosse verführung ist von den Alten beschrieben worden in diser kranckheit. Dann es hat sich offft begeben/ das solcher *Tartarus in intestinis* ein solche constipation gemacht hat/ in dem so er als ein Weinstein ist angehangen ettlichen gedärmen/ vnnd sich abgeschellt hat auß feiste oder linde der gedärmen/ vnd sich gehauffet/ vnnd nichts hinauß gelassen/ da wider^c *purgationes*, noch *Syrupi*, noch *Clysteria*, noch anders hat mögen helffen: Auch vil malen ein Coagulation da beschehen/ die sich so lange zeit einander nach vberinander gemantelt vnd vberzogen hat/ dz am letzten der Stein so groß ist worden/ vnd auch nichts hat lassen hinabgohn/ vnnd mit

^a Sudhoff (138): “von trinkender speise.”

^b Sudhoff (138): “eingeweide.”

^c Sudhoff (138): “weder.”

context one should expect that the cause [of the *tartarus*] will proceed more from drinking than from food; nonetheless, this need not be decisive, the reason being that even if it is a food and not a drink, it can come either in the form of drinking or of food. For it can be understood also as [being] in the path of drink: even if it comes from a drinking of food, it is that which is in the food.

Now take note with respect to the guts that there is a general rule: All the waste in the stomach passes on through. However, there is a long period of standing in it before it passes on out, so that it delays a long time in the same place. In that place, a *tartarus* can become affixed, in the way that is explained above. This same *tartarus* causes more diseases in the belly than can be recounted here. In particular, the greater part of the *colica* result from this, as well as nearly all severe burning cramps (**grimmen**),¹ tearing pains, whether high or low in the belly, constipation of stool, diarrhea, and that sort of thing. For you should be well informed that this *tartarus* enters into a paroxysm with its stone in the bladder: which means that a *paroxysmus* is at hand. And just as the stone causes pain in its place, so does the *tartarus* cause pain in its place. This results in the bladder, in the form of back pains, painful obstruction of urine,² etc. This results in this case in painful cramps and tearing pains in the guts. And just as you should know that in the stone of the bladder no one's contraction arises in the lower members below the waist: you should also know that in all the members the same contraction arises. | 157 | For it does not act merely above or below itself, rather the *tartarus* passes through the entire body: this is why you should take careful note of the source of *colica* in the chapter devoted to it. However, with regard to this disease the ancients have recorded a major deception. For it has often happened that such a *tartarus in intestinis* has caused such a constipation when it attached itself as tartar (**ein Weinstein**) to certain intestines and then splintered from the fat or the softness (**linde**)³ of the intestines and then amassed and could not pass out, so that neither *purgationes*, nor *syrupi*, nor *clysteria*, nor anything else did any good. It can also frequently happen that there is a coagulation that receives new coats and layers for such a long time that at length the stone is so large that it no

¹ See Grimm, ²**Grimmen** (2).

² See Fischer, **Harnwinden**: any occurrence of urinary blockage.

³ See Grimm, **Linde**: *mollities*, "softness"; cf. Fischer: may also refer to softness of stool as a symptom of illness.

gewalt den *Monoculum*^a verhalten/ darinnen sie wachsen. Ist gleich dem Kißling/ da sich alle mal ein schleim vber den anderen anhengt/ biß zum letzten ein grosser Stein drauß wirt/ dann es ist sein increment im wasser also. Also auch dieweil so viel *genera Tartari* seind wie Kalckstein/ wie Duffstein/ rauh vnnnd glat/ vnnnd Salinisch/ Mercurialisch/ Aluminisch/ vnd dergleichen/ darumb so kommen vielerley seltzamer *Colica* (die man also nennt.) Aber habend gut acht vnd fleiß auff die ding alle/ damit jhr den *Tartarum* nit für *Colicam*, nit für *Iliacam* oder *Ventositates*^b ansehend. Dann es ist ein grosser Irrsal/ vnd steht vbel das so vil Welscher Artzt/ vnd nemlich zu Mompelier/ *Salerna*, Paris/ die da wöllen vor allen den Krantz haben/ vnd jedermann verachten/ vnd doch selbst nichts wissen noch können/ sonder öffentlich erfunden wirt/ das jhr mau vnd jhr pracht all jhr kunst ist: das ist/ jhr schwetzwerck. Sie schämen sich nit der Clystiren/ purgieren/ obs schon zum todt sey/ so muß es alles wol geraten sein: vnd berühmen sich grosser Anatomien/ so sie haben vnd gebrauchen/ vnnnd haben dannoch noch nie gesehen daß der Weinstein in zänen hangt/ ich geschweige anderst mehr. Das seind gute augen Artzt/ dörffen keins Spiegels an der Nasen. Was ist ewer sehen vnd *Anatomia*, jhr können doch ein dreck nichts mit vmbgehen/ vnd habt nit so vil augen das jhr sehent was da ist. Solches befleissen sich auch die Teutschen Guck-| 158 |gauch der Artzten auch/ vnd besehend Dieb vnd dergleichen: vnd ewer junge außgebrütete Narren/ wann sie es alles gesehn haben/ so wissen sie weniger dann vor/ also ersticken sie im dreck vnd *cadauere*,^c vnd darnach gehn die Lappen zum *Requiem*, giengen sie zun Leuten dafür.

^a *Monoculus* is whence waste exits from the intestines: “der magen zeigt an, das die natur von der frembdi jagt und treibt in magen, auf das der magen ir widerwertigs in die intestinen treibe und dornach durch den monoculum aus” (S 1:50).

^b The symptoms of “colica” are viewed macrocosmically as follows: “also dise **wirbel- und sturmwind**, es sei von welchem ort es wölle, das ist das, das das grimmen macht, das die alten colicam, **iliacam** geheissen haben” (S 1:76). The microcosmic storm winds cause the pain the ancients called colic or *iliaca*.

^c The word **cadaver** combined with references to anatomy and the foreign doctors of France or Italy expressed P.’s opposition to the new anatomical studies using corpses. (See “dissection.”)

longer lets anything pass through and forcefully occupies the *monoculus* in which they grow. It is the same as the gravel pebble that is coated with more and more slime that adheres to it until at last it has become a huge stone; for the excrement within the water is [also] that way. Moreover, since there are so many *genera tartari*, such as limestone, or tofa stone (**Duffstein**), crude or smooth, saline, mercurial, aluminous, and whatever else, many curious kinds of *colica* (as people call them) result. But pay close attention to these things so that you do not confound *tartarus* with *colica*, *iliaca*, or with *ventositates*. For it is a great error committed by many foreign physicians, whether it be in Montpellier, Salerno, [or] Paris who covet the laurels before all others and who despise any and all, and yet they themselves neither know nor master anything, so that instead it is becoming apparent that their big mouths and boasting are all the art they have, their work of chattering, that is. They are not ashamed to apply enemas [and] purgation, even if this leads to death, and everything just has to turn out well. And they boast of their great anatomies which they have and make use of, yet they have not even noticed the tartar attached to the teeth, not to mention many other things besides. Those are indeed good physicians by sight: they have no need of a mirror on their noses. What indeed is your sight and your *anatomia* worth? You cannot do shit with them! You do not have enough of an eye to make out what is in front of you. It is after this kind that the German cuckoo (**Guck-|158|gauch**)¹ physicians chase, and they examine thieves and the like. And so it is, too, with the young fools that you have hatched out: when they have seen everything, they know even less than they did before. So they suffocate in the filth and the *cadaver*; and after that, these louts go the *requiem*. If only they would go to the people instead.

¹ See Fischer, **Guckigauch**: cuckoo; proverbial for the foolishness of learning nothing new or relying on foreign nests to hatch its eggs out, etc. (cf. Grimm, “Kuckuk”).

TRACTATVS TERTIVS

Nuhn dermassen sollen jhr wissen von dem anderen weg zum Stein/ betreffend des Harns excrementen/ vnnd das also. So sichs nun begibt daß das tranck vnd speiß gereiniget ist von dem koht/ vnnd wirt geschickt vom Magen zu der Leberen: So wissend erstlich das sich der Harn generirt ausserhalb der Region des Magens: das ist/ am ersten wirt das nutriment an sich gezogen zu der Leberen/ vnd im selbigen an sich ziehen scheid sich der Vrin von dem nutriment/ in den Meserischen Adern vnd *Meatibus*. Darumb so merckend das die Leber nichts an sich zeucht/ dann das sein/ das ist/ dasjenige so vom nutriment ist/ vnd dz so vberbleibt das leufft sein harnstrassen für. Zu gleicherweiß als ein Regen/ des tropffen fallen/ wen sie sich generieren/ vnd nit dz ein gantz wasser sey/ sonder es ist ein tropffende generation/ dieselbige fällt also herab (als in seinen *Mechanicis*;) also auch da die *materia* des nutriments so zur Lebern gehört/ dieselbige ist vermischet mit dem Vrin/ vnd auß dem Vrin wirts an sich zogen/ vnd also bleibt der harn allein/ der geht durch sein eigen *virtutem expulsiuam* zu der Blatern hinauß.

Nun laß ich das nutriment stahn an dem ort/ biß in sein sondern Tractat/ wie es dann weiter im nachfolgenden Tractat begriffen wirt/ vnd handle hie vom *Tartaro vrinae*, vnd dz also. Wie er sich nun ausserhalb der region des Magens anfacht/ vnd geht durch sein *Meatus*, so henckt er auch an in denselbigen/ vnd verstopfft also die *Venas meseraicas, poros*, vnnd andere dergleichen dadurch er gehet/ dannenher dann viel *oppilationes*, vnd dergleichen *punctiones* entstahn/ die dem blut werden zugelegt/ vnd nit ist: oder anderen sachen/ vnd auch nit ist. Dann wie ein Sodbrennen/ drucken im Magenmund wirt/ also da auch. Vnd was *in intestinis* zum grimmen geht/ also da auch | 159 | in andere schmerzen/ nach art derselbigen statt/ do dann derselbig *Tartarus* ligt. So begibt sich auch vil/ das do die samlung zu groß ist/ dz vor disem *Tartaro* die narung nit hindurch mag/ alsdann so bleibts

TRACTATUS TERTIUS

Now you must be informed as well of the other path to the stone that has to do with the excrements of the urine. It is as follows. As soon as it happens that the drink and food are cleansed of their waste and [that which has been cleansed] is sent on to the liver, it is to be noted first of all that the urine is generated outside of the region of the stomach. What happens is that first of all the nutrient is attracted by the liver and in the process of this attraction the urine is separated from the nutrient in the meseraic veins and *meatus*.¹ Therefore, let it be noted that the liver attracts nothing to itself but that which pertains to it, that which is of the nutrient; and what is left over is directed into the path of the urine. It is just like a rain that falls in drops as these are generated, and not in the form of an entire body of water. It is a generation in the form of drops which falls down in this way (as is described in terms of its *mechanici*). And so it is too that the *materia* of the nutrient that belongs to the liver is mixed in with the urine, and [now] it is extracted from the urine; so that the latter remains to itself: it passes by virtue of its own *virtus expulsiva* to the bladder and back out again.

Now I will let the nutrient rest in its own place until it is taken up in another treatise, as it is to be encompassed in the treatise that follows. I will instead treat of the *tartarus urinae*, doing so in the following manner. After it takes its start outside the region of the stomach and passes through its *meatus*, it attaches itself to the same and stops up the *venae meseraicae*, the *pori*, and other things of the kind in passing through them, with the result that many *oppilationes*,² and similar *punctiones*³ arise, which are then ascribed to the blood, though this is not the case; or other things happen, which are also not the case. For just as a heart-burn and pressure can occur in the orifice of the stomach, the same can happen there too. And whatever results *in intestinis* in a burning cramp, [acts] the same way there [leading to] | 159 | other pains depending on the nature of the location in which that same *tartarus* lies. Thus it can happen frequently that the accumulation is too great, so that on account of the *tartarus* the nutrition cannot pass

¹ **Meseraic**, see H 1:144; **meatus**, see OLD: the movement of animate or inanimate things along a line on course; a passage-way or channel; the term is frequent in Pliny.

² **Oppilatio**: the action of stopping up or obstructing, or the condition of being obstructed (OED).

³ **Punctio**: action of piercing or stabbing (OLD).

im Magen/ vnd folget also hernach/ erbrechen/ kotzen vnd vnlust zum essen/ schwinen an Glidern/ vnd *Paroxysmus calculi*, das ist/ gleich wie ein Fieber mit frost vnd hitz/ als ein *Pestis, Pleurisis*,^a oder ander dergleichen kranckheiten/ so es doch alles nur *Paroxysmus Tartari* ist/ vnd nemlich das Rottlauff sein meristen vrsprung in den dingen des *Tartari* hat.

Dermassen so wissen auch/ so dise *materia nutrimenti* vnd *vrina*, wie es zusamen kompt in ein weg/ vnnnd also sein strassen laufft/ das im lauffen dz nutriment außgezogen wirt: darauß dann volget/ das in allen den äderlin so in der Lebern sind/ der harn hindurch muß/ vnd das nutriment. Nun leufft der harn für dz nutriment gar in die Lebern/ durch die Aderen hindurch gedrungen: also bleibt der harn da. So nun der harn nit schnell ist im hindurchlaufen/ oder schnell/ vnd die hitz der dāwung zu trocken vnd zu schnell/ so behalt sie den *Tartarum* darinnen: vnd so sie also nuhn die *materiam* behelt/ so ist ihr doch eben gleich als wer es an der Sonnen außgetrocknet: darumb so ist noch kein *Tartarus* da/ aber da ist *spiritus Salis*, derselb laufft mit vnd coagulierts in ein *Tartarum*, auff dieselbige form/ auff welche die *prima materia* ist genaturt. Dadurch nun in denselbigen Aderen oder *Meatibus* zuwissen ist/ daß sie da auch verstopfen/ vnd Leberkranckheiten machen. Dann jhr sehet wie die kranckheiten in der Blatern arbeiten/ fressen/ löchern/ schmerzen/ vnd andere zufallende kranckheiten machen: Also noch vil mehr sollen jhrs auch erkennen in der Leberen. Dann die Leber ist ein vrsprung viler kranckheiten/ vnd ist ein edels glid das vilen glideren dienet/ vnd fast allen: So sie leidet/ so ist es nit ein klein leiden/ sondern ein gros vnd mancherley. Darumb so ist da ein sondere geburt der Wassersucht/ ein sondere des Kaltenwehe/ ein sondere die Lebersucht: vnd also andere mehr/ das alles an seinen Capiteln gemeldet wirt/ vnd sonderlich vil *Erysipelae*. Es wer

^a Sudhoff (141): "pleuresis."

through, with the consequence that it remains in the stomach. After this there follows vomiting, retching, and a loss of appetite; [then] a wasting of the parts of the body and the *paroxysmus calculi*, which is to say, [it is] like a fever with chills and heat, like a *pestis*, [a] *pleurisis*, or other similar ailment. However, in reality all of this is nothing other than *paroxysmus tartari*; and indeed the diseases involving the reddening of the skin (**das Rotlauff**)¹ have for the most part their origin in matters of *tartarus*.

Let it be noted as well: as for this *materia nutrimenti* and *urina*, as it collects in one path and runs its course, the nutrient is extracted as it runs. From this it follows that the urine and the nutrient must pass through all the little veins that are in the liver. Now the urine runs before the nutrient into the liver, penetrating through the veins. And so the urine remains there. If the urine is not quick in passing through, or if it is quick and if the heat of digestion is too dry and acts too fast, then the *tartarus* is retained there; and since it retains the *materia*, it is as if it were to dry out in the sun. There is not yet any *tartarus* present, but there is the *spiritus salis*. The latter then runs with it and coagulates it into a *tartarus*, into the particular form to which nature assigns the *prima materia*. What is to be noted about these particular veins or *meatus* is that they get stopped up and cause liver diseases. You can see how these diseases operate in the bladder, eating away, making holes, causing pains, and bringing about other attendant diseases. You should be aware that the same thing happens in the liver, even more so. For the liver is a source of many diseases. It is a noble organ which serves many other parts of the body, indeed nearly all of them. If it suffers, this is no small matter, but rather a great one which leads to many things. For this reason you can find there a peculiar birth of dropsy (**Wassersucht**),² a particular birth of cold chills, and a particular birth of hepatitis (**Lebersucht**); and the same thing holds for others as well; all of which will be reported in its respective chapters with special attention to the forms of *erysipelas*.³ It would have been a bet-

¹ See Grimm, **Rotlauf**: diseases that manifest themselves in a reddening of the skin, known to Dioscorides and Galen (see the following note on *erysipelas*).

² See Grimm, **Wassersucht** for the range of possible diseases associated with water. Dropsy or edema is an attractive choice given its association with the unnatural accumulation of water resulting from cirrhosis of the liver, an ailment well-known in an age of heavy drinkers (see CWHHD, 689, on dropsy and edema).

³ See CWHHD, **erysipelas** (720-21): this could refer to various afflictions; St. Anthony's fire, suppurative ulcers, and gangrene were all subsumed under this heading.

der Profession der Artzten vil nützer gewesen/ sie hetten die Brillen auffgesteckt/ vnd von disem *Tartaro* besehn/ vor und ehe sie beschriben haben/ den vrsprung der Wassersucht/ vnnd dergleichen ander mehr krankheiten/ die sie auß der Leber setzen | 160 | vnd haben. Dann es wirt sich nit befinden/ daß die Wassersucht also dermassen herkommen wirt oder entspringt/ wie sie daruon plapperen. Es ist ein groß vbersehn/ vnd ein vngeschickts vbersehen/ von souiel Doctorn vnnd Herren/ Meistern/ vnnd Baccalaurien/ etc. der Hohenschulen/ daß sie nicht besser augen haben sollen/ sondern also blind Cataracten vnd fäl darauff: Mich wundert wie sie einander die Rotenhütlin^a auffsetzen/ vnd seind so blind/ ich mein sie greiffen wo der Kopff steht.

Nun also streicht der harn hindurch gegen der blateren zu/ vnd hatt etliche weg von der Leberen zu den Nieren/ dieselbigen weg halten nichts/ als allein ein rohen vnzeitigen harn. Zu gleicherweiß wie die excrementen deß Magens im Magen noch nicht trocken sind/ noch in anderen intestinen/ sondern erst im *Monoculo* hernach/ so werden sie wie sie sein sollen: vnd nemlich in der stund deß außdruckens/ so die *virtus expulsiua* jhn ingeboren wirt. Also im *Vrina* auch zu verstahn ist/ je näher der Blasen/ je subtiler vnd gerechter der Vrin: Nit das dieselbigen *Meatus* so vnterwegen seind jr narung vom Vrin nemen/ sondern allein das die werme dieselbige baß kocht vnnd schickt zu besseren vnd leuteren: Als dann auch in den *intestinis* mit den *stercoribus* auch ist/ die nemen auch kein narung vom trincken/ sondern sie habens von andern örteren hinzu zunemen. Aber das sich der *stercus* vnd der Vrin also bereiten/ das thut das ein jeglich ding zeitig wirt/ biß es kompt auff seine statt: Also der tranck auch vnd der harn/ der also sich zeitig macht biß er in die Blateren kompt/ als dann so ist er gar zeitig vnd rein. Wie ein Birn/ die vom Meyen anfacht wachsen/ vnd wächst biß in Herbst hinein/ so ist sie zeitig: was daruor ist/ so ist sie noch nit zeitig/ vnd ist noch kein Birn. Auff solchs so wissend/ das also in dem wege von der Leberen an biß zu jrem *Emunctorio* [*Tartari*]^b geboren werden/ schärpffer/ hefftiger vnd stercker/ dann im Magen/ in *Meseraicis*, oder in *Hepate*: Dann do ist

^a Sudhoff (142): "roten hütlin."

^b Sudhoff (143) omits square brackets.

ter thing for the profession of physicians to have put on its spectacles and taken note of this *tartarus* even before describing the origins of dropsy and such matters, which they attribute to the liver. | 160 | For it will not be found that dropsy has the sort of origin and arises as they claim in their chattering. It is a great oversight, an inept oversight, on the part of so many doctors and gentlemen, masters, sophomoric students, and their ilk in the universities, that they do not have better eyes, but that theirs are actually covered with cataracts and blind spots. I can scarcely even imagine how they place those little red caps on each others' heads when they are so blind that I would think they would seize their heads instead.

So now the urine passes through toward the bladder and has various passageways from the liver to the kidneys: these same passageways hold nothing except a crude untimely urine. In the same way that the excrements of the stomach are not yet dried out in the stomach, nor in the intestines, but rather only thereafter in the *monoculus*,¹ where at last they take the form intended for them in their time of being pushed out, whereby the *virtus expulsiva* is inherent in them; the same thing applies to the *urina*: the closer to the bladder, the more subtle and refined (*gerechter*)² is the urine. It is not the case that those same *meatus* are extracting nutrients from the urine along the way; it is simply that the warmth of the same is cooking it better and is suited for improving and purifying it. The same holds true of the *intestinae* with their *stercora*: they likewise take no nourishment from the drink; instead they have other places where they extract it. But the fact that the *stercus* and the urine are prepared in this way serves the purpose that each thing should be made timely so that it will reach its place. So it is with the drink and with the urine, which are made ripe until they reach the bladder, whereupon they are processed and pure. Just as a pear begins growing in May and goes on growing into the fall until it is ripe: whatever there was before that [time] was not yet timely and not yet a pear. So for this reason you should take into consideration that in the path from the liver all the way to the *emunctorium* <*tartari*> are born, becoming more acerbic, more virulent, and stronger than they are in the stomach, *in meseraicis*, or *in hepate*: for there the

¹ *Monoculus*, "the one-eyed one," is used here for anus or sphincter, elsewhere for an inner passageway.

² See Grimm, *gerecht* (1): *rectus*, "gerecht machen" as *rectificare*, refined because of alchemical context.

der Vrin etwann höher in seiner probatz reiner vnd leütterer. Vnd je lauterer er wirt/ je herter vnnnd scherpfen sein generation *Tartari* wirt: Darausß dann *opilationes* werden mit angehenckten tafelen/ bletteren/ Sandiger arth/ Kißwerck oder Steinle/ oder dergleichen/ dahin er Vrin ge| 161 |fälschet wirt. Vnnnd vil stich in seiten/ *Herisipelae*,^a *Phlegmones*, vnd *Apostemata* werden/ vnd *Vlcerationes*, die da nimer an tag kommen/ noch erfahren/ noch gesehen werden. Da were not das in solchen krankheiten der Mensch Anatomiert würdt/ vnd besehen/ auff disen *Tartarum*: Aber die Ginlöffel/ wann sie den schon sehen/ so stahnd sie wie ein Kalb vor einem Bischoff/ vnd sagen/ das ist *quaedam viscositas*: schawet lieber Herr Doctor/ ist nit ein dreck Rötelstein.^b

Nun ist das in gutem wissen der Philosophien vnnnd aller Anatomey/ das die Nieren sich vom harn nit nehren: sondern jhr narung haben/ wie das in seim Capitel steht: Vnd das der harn nicht anderst darinnen zu handeln^c hab/ als das er jhren vnflat hinweg wäschet vnd hinnimpt. Dann der Vrin ist der Nieren balsam/ die ohn den Vrin in die feülung giengen: darumb wirt hie vom Vrin geredt/ vnd nit von der eigenschafft der Nieren. Also leutert sich der Vrin darnach noch baß/ vnd geht in seine rote art zu/ das ist/ nahet dem Herbst. Nun aber ist da ein Concauitet hiebey vnd ein weite/ da er sich wol mag wie in eim Faß anhencken/ so der *spiritus Salis* zu schnell auff den *Tartarum* eilet/ also das er vom excrement kompt/ das ist/ vom Vrin: Alsdann so wirt do bletter *Tartarus*, oder Sand *Tartarus*, oder ein Stein *Tartarus*:^d das sich alles nimpt auß den Nieren^e so dann an dem orth ist/ also in jhrer eigenschafft. Dann das sollen jhr auß der *Philosophia* wissen/ daß das Exempel also ist: So einer ein Wasser trinckt das Kißlingstein gibt/ vnnnd ein solcher *Tartarus* des Wassers würd vom excrement gesetzt/ vnd gezogen/ vnd auff dasselbige so käme der *spiritus Salis* darein/ so wirt auß demselbigen *Tartaro* ein Stein vnd nit ein Blatt

^a Though Huser has *Herifipelae*, this can only be a typesetting error. Aschner translates the word “Rotlauf,” used at that time as a synonym for *erysipelas*. (Cf. Grimm, “Rotlauf”). The *Uslegung der latinischen synonyma* defines drastically: “Erysipila ist ein sucht glich der pestlilenz” (S 9:658). It is a “pestilential” affliction, identical with other ailments mentioned by P. in these writings: “De herysipela, id est schenckel vel S. Quirins buß vel S. Johans buß” (S 4:170). (See H 1:113, 261ff.)

^b Sudhoff (143) places a question mark here.

^c Sudhoff (143): “handeln.”

^d Sudhoff (143) forms compounds: “blettertartarus,” “santtartarus,” “steintartarus.”

^e Sudhoff (144): “aus der minera” (cf. Anmerkung, p. 673).

urine has become rather higher in its proof, purer and clearer. The clearer it is, the harder and more acerbic will its generation of *tartarus* become. From this result *oppilationes* with attached strata, leaves, [whether] of a sandy nature or like gravel or pebbles or what have you, into which the urine is misdirected. | 161 | And there will be many stabbing pains in the side, many occurrences of *erysipelas*, *phlegmones*,¹ and *apostemata*, as well as *ulcerationes* which do become apparent, nor are they experienced or seen. In the case of such diseases, the human being would need to be anatomized and examined with respect to this *tartarus*. Yet these simpletons, even if they were to see it, would stand there like a heifer before a bishop and utter, “this is *quaedam viscositas*.” Just look, my dear doctor, it is not a filthy *bolus armenus* (**ein dreck rötelstein**).²

Now it lies within the sound knowledge of the philosophies and of all anatomies that the kidneys are not nourished by the urine but rather have their own nourishment, as will be described in the appropriate chapter. And the urine cannot operate in any other way but in washing away their waste and removing it. For the urine is the balsam of the kidneys, which, without urine, would pass into a state of infestation. This is why we are speaking about urine in this context and not about the properties of the kidneys. After that the urine purifies itself even more and passes into its reddish phase (**rote art**),³ which is to say, it approaches its time of harvest. Now, however, there is a concavity and also an expanse where it can still adhere as in a cask, if the *spiritus salis* rushes too quickly to the *tartarus*, when it comes from the excrement, that is, that of the urine. If this happens, there results a leafy *tartarus*, or a sand *tartarus*, or a stone *tartarus*, whereby everything comes out of the kidneys which are [active] there in their property. For you should know from *philosophia* that this is the pertinent example: if someone were to drink a water that yields pebbles, and a *tartarus* of this water were to be laid down by its excrement and attracted, and if thereupon the *spiritus salis* entered into it, then that very *tarta-*

¹ See OLD, *phlegmon*: inflammation.

² See ER, “**Rötelstein**,” a synonym for *bolus armenus* (cf. H 1:147).

³ In older German, **rot**, red, was also the color attributed to gold or copper (see Grimm).

noch Schifer/ auch kein Sand: wirt er aber von eim Sandwasser/ so wirt ein Sand darauß: vnd also mit anderen formen dergleichen. Wiewol sich das begibt, dz er sich auch ansetzt mit dem schleim vnd abschelet/ dasselbige ist zu früh abbrochen: sonst so es nit beschicht/ so henckt er sich so trocken an/ das er an seim orth gantz außfüllet/ vnd also den todt bringet. Dergleichen auch so steinet er sich/ wie dann die art ist am wasser: Macht dasselbige wasser vil Steine/ so macht er auch vil: macht es grosse/ so macht ers auch groß/ rauh/ etc. alles nach | 162 | derselbigen art. Die farben nimpt er an sich vom harn/ vnd vom Nieren safft/ dz er mit schmerzen außtreibt. Etwann bleibt er in seiner eigen farben/ oder hauptfarben/ graw/ rott/ braun/ gelb/ bleich/ leberfarb/ etc. Grün/ blaw/ schwartz/ geben sie nit/ dann dieselbigen farben brechen sich in der scheidung *in orificio Stomachi*, da verlieren sie sich selbst: so ist jhr auch wenig vnd seltzam. Also wie deß^a Lands brauch ist/ speiß vnd trancks art: also sollen wir wissen die form/ gestalt vnnd *Paroxysmum* zu suchen in all wege wie dann der *Tartarus* inhalt/ vnd jhm angeboren ist.

Nun fart der Vrin in die Blasen: darinnen wissent abermal sein generation/ das er sich wol mag anhencken/ vnd hatt vaß vnd zeügs genug darzu: aber nichts bleibendts/ dann es schelt sich ab. Wiewol sich doch die wänd/ bletter vnd schifer nit abschelen/ dann sie sind zu breit: Aber die korn schelen sich ab/ so darauff wachsen/ wie Sand oder Grieß. Nun wissend hierinn dz die Sandart allein kompt auß der^b Lands art/ essens vnd trinckens art: darumb so magstu auß demselbigen wol verstahn/ auß was der Stein oder Sand komme/ nach dem vnnd du sichst die *genera lapidis, Arenae, etc.* im selbigen Land/ Dufftstein/ oder andere. Dann die form nimpt sich auß keiner anderen art/ als allein auß desselbigen Lands art gemeiner Steinen: So kompt die coagulation allein auß dem *spiritu Salis*, der bleibt in derselbigen art vnd form. Nuhn aber wie es sich begibt das ein Stein/ zwen/ oder mehr/ dergleichen viel Sand beyeinander werden/ oder wachsen: desselbigen alles merckend also ein kurtze Regel. So ein Stein wächst/ oder mehr/ so ists die vrsach/ als wenn zwey oder drey kinder geboren werden: dann es ist ein *materia* do/ vnd ein gleichnus. Zwey oder drey kinder werden auß der vrsach geboren/ dz die Natur in ein kind geordnet ist: Nun begibt es^c sich aber das duppel Natur vnd samen in einer

^a Sudhoff (144): “dis.”

^b Sudhoff (144): “des.”

^c Sudhoff (145) omits the word “es.”

rus would be a stone, not a scale nor a splinter nor sand. But if it arises from a sandy water, then sand would result; and the same applies to the other forms as well. Though it might happen that it forms up with the slime and splinters off, in that case it is broken off too early; but if this does not happen, it adheres in such a dry form that it occupies the entire place and therefore brings about death. The same applies if it petrifies, as is the nature of this in water. If that same water makes many stones, then there will be many. If it makes large ones, then there will be large ones, crude ones, etc., everything in accordance | 162 | with the nature of the same. It takes on the color from the urine and from the kidneys' sap, which it expels painfully. Sometimes it retains its own color, or the main colors—gray, red, brown, yellow, pale, liver-colored, etc., Green, blue, [or] black do not result; for these colors are extinguished in exiting *in orificio stomachi*, where they are lost, becoming few and rare. Accordingly, the custom, food, and drink of the country should help you know the form, figure, and *paroxysmus* of any sort found in the *tartarus* and inherent to it.

Now the urine proceeds into the bladder. There too you should be advised concerning its generation: it can again attach itself, since it has enough of a cask and all that is needed to carry this out: but nothing is permanent, for it splits off. However, the walls, scales, and splinters do not split off, for they are too broad; but the grains do split off that grow there like sand or gravel. You should know in connection with this that the nature of the sand comes from the nature of that country's food and drink. From it you could infer from what the stone or sand proceeds, if you have examined it in accordance with the *genera lapidis, arenae*, etc. of that country, be it tofa stone (**Dufftstein**), or what have you. For the form has no other source but the nature of the common stones in that particular land. As a result, the coagulation comes solely from the *spiritus salis*, which remains in the nature and form of the same. When it happens that one stone, or two, or a lot of sand come together or develop, you can observe a brief rule for these things: As to whether one stone develops or several—this has the same cause as that which determines whether two or three children are born: for a single *materia* is present and one likeness. Two or three children are born for the reason that nature is directed toward one child, but then you can have a double nature and seed combining into

testa versamlet sind/ als offft zwey dotter in einem Ey: zwo Nüsse in einer schalen: zwo Kästen in einer hülsen/ vnd dergleichen. Dermassen da auch im selbigen Samen zwey beyeinander seind im Stein: vnd alsdann so sie fallen vnd sich theilen/ so hencken sie sich beyde miteinander an/ vnd fassen beyde an den schleim/ so da *Tartarus* ist/ vnd nemen also zu/ einer mehr dann der ander/ | 163 | darumb einer grösser/ kleiner/ etc. dann der ander. Wann auff die grösse/ form vnd gleichnus ist nit zureden/ dann sie kommen vom *accidens*: vnd was vom *accidens* kompt dasselbige ist nit zu urtheilen in ein gleichs wesen. Also wissend auch von dem Stein in der Blasen/ das nit zwen nacheinander wachsen: das ist/ einer wächst ettlich jar/ vnd darnach so wächst ein newer. Dann als wenig ein kind nach dem andern mag empfangen werden/ als wenig auch der Stein: Aber von Grieb vnd Sand ist die gemein Regel dergleichen/ daß sie für und für wachsen/ dann sie werden der Steinen generation nit vergleicht.

Also ist nuhn gnug gesagt von der Generation deß *Tartari* im Harnweg/ wie dieselbigen entspringen: Aber wiewol mit kurzem/ vrsacht dasselbige jhr sonder Capitel/ da ein jeglichs *genus* vnd *species* sonderlich fürgehalten wirt. Damit sind also die wege angezeigt/ nemlich vom mund in Magen/ vom Magen durch den außgang zum stuel/ vnnd vom Magen zur Leberen/ Nieren/ vnd Blasen. Weiter/ wz den harn betreffend ist/ das *excrementum* der intestinen/ vnd vom Mund im Magen/ ist nichts mehr ausserhalb da/ oder vergessen worden. Darumb nun weiter in den dingen zuuerstahn ist ein anderer *Tartarus*, derselbig zeigt an von den hauptglideren/ so dieselbige mit *Tartaro* beladen werden/ auß wz vrsachen vnd materien dasselbige beschehen möge: dann es begreiffit seine sondere krankheiten: auß vrsachen/ es nimpt sich nit auß den jetz gemelten *Tartaris*, sondern ist ein frembder *Tartarus*, der also an den orten geboren wirt. Vnd wiewol dz ist/ dz er auß der speiß geursacht wirt vnd auch auß jr kompt er doch nit in massen der excrementen/ wie jetzt angezeigt ist/ sondern es hat sein anderen weg/ darumb er billich zu sönderen ist von den anderen/ vnd doch in seim Buch darinnen es ist/ dasselbig *genus*, vnd hat sein sondere hauptglider.

Nun ist anfenglich fürgehalten von der heilung/ das durch das Reducieren^a die Stein sollen vertriben werden: dann sie sind nicht zu

^a For P.'s account of an instance in which an internally generated stone can be reduced, see the later *Das Buch von den tartarischen Krankheiten*. It involves treating like with like and returning like to like: "aber von der heilung zu reden sollent

a single *testa* [vessel], just as you can have two yolks in a single egg; two nuts in a single shell; two compartments in a single hull, and so on. In the same way, there may be two together in a stone; and when they drop and come apart, they are conjoined, and both catch in the slime, which is the *tartarus*, and increase thus, one growing larger than the other | 163 | so that one is then larger, smaller, etc. than the other. We do not refer here to size, form, and semblance, for these stem from the *accidens*. Whatever results from *accidens* is not to be judged in the same way. Therefore, take note also about the stone in the bladder: it is not the case that one grows after the other; not the case that one grows for a few years and then a new one grows after that. For no more than one child can be conceived after another one, no more can this happen with the stone. When it comes to gravel and sand, the general rule is that they grow all the time, for with them it is not as with the generation of the stones.

Enough has now been said of the generation of the *tartarus* in the urinary path and about how they arise. Indeed this has been stated in brief for the reason that it is a chapter unto itself, in which each *genus* and *species* is demonstrated in particular. With this the paths have been indicated, namely: from the mouth into the stomach; from the stomach into the exit into the stool; and from the stomach to the liver, kidneys, and bladder; furthermore, what pertains to urine; the excrement of the intestines; and about the orifice in the stomach. Nothing else remains or has been forgotten. However, there is a different sort of *tartarus* which must be understood in this connection: this is a matter to be shown with reference to the main organs, when they become burdened with *tartarus*; it is a matter of the causes and material which allow this to come about. For particular diseases are involved. The reason is that this does not result from the *tartari* discussed just now but is instead a foreign *tartarus* which is born thus in these locations. Although it is indeed caused by the food and also comes out of it, nonetheless it does not occur with the sort of excrements indicated here. Rather it has its own way and is therefore properly treated separately from the others. Yet in its own book, where it is discussed, [it is of] the same *genus*; and it has its own particular main parts or organs.

At the outset mention was made of the healing process that should be pursued by reducing the stones. For they cannot be cut except

schneiden als allein in gemechten. Darumb so ist die kunst am selbigen ort in der bereitung der dingen/ die da reducirien/ vnd nit transmutieren/ noch precipitieren. Anderst ist aber die heilung von deren/ so hernach folgen wirt: darinnen auch zumercken ist/ das off ein Stein hinweg kompt/ vnd ein | 164 | ander an die statt hernach wächst: als ein Kind das dem anderen nachgeboren wirt. So ist es kein andere vrsach dann die erst/ die mag zum anderen mal aber kommen/ vnd mehr: Darauß verstanden/ das der *Tartarus* ein eusserliche kranckheit ist der wachsenden dingen/ die sich nimpt in der Erden vnnd seinen *liquoribus*, vnd sind dieselbigen *liquores*, als auß denen *Bolus*, *Lapis*, *Viscus*, *Arena*, wachsen. Vnd also in *leguminibus* vnd *frumentis*, *oleribus*, Wein/ Wasser vnnd Fleisch/ etc. in vns kommen/ vnd wie gesagt ist/ sich ansetzen: Vor welcher ansetzung kein besser hilff ist/ noch fruchtbars fürkommen/ dann *Butyrum* vnd *oleum Oliuae* gebraucht/ wie sein ordnung inhalt.

ir wissen, wie gemelt ist, das alein aus demselbigen die arzney wechst, aus dem dan der stein kompt. das ist in cruore ligt das mysterium des arcani durch den diser stein dissolvirt wird, reducirt wider in sein primam materiam.” An alchemical blood treatment follows (S 11:117).

through the application of artful craft (**in gemechten**).¹ For this reason, art is requisite in the preparation of those things that, in this case, reduce them and do not transmute or precipitate [them]. However, the cure of the things that will be discussed afterward in this context is a different matter. It is to be noted that frequently one stone is removed and another one | 164 | grows after that in its place, just as one child is born after the other one. This has the same explanation that has been provided above. It may recur after that again and again. The reason for this is that the *tartarus* is an external disease of growing things, which is caught in the earth and in its *liquores*; and these are the same *liquores* as those from which *bolus*, *lapis*, *viscus*, [and] *arena* grow; and that come into us *in leguminibus* and *frumentis*, *oleribus*, [in] wine, water, and meat, etc.; and as I have said, they become set [in us]. Against this setting there is no better remedy nor more fruitful procedure than to use *butyrum* and *oleum olivae*² in the appropriate manner.

¹ See Grimm, **Gemächt** (4a, b): Kunstarbeit; Handwerk, Kunsthandwerk.

² Butter and olive oil.

TRACTATUS QVARTVS

& Tartarus quartus.^a

Nuhn weiter von der generation des *Tartari*, so sich begibt in anderen glideren/ vnnd nemlich in der Lungen/ Gallen/ Herten/ Miltz/ Hirn vnd Nieren: Wie sich nun an den orten begibt/ das solche generation geboren wirt/ dasselbige verstanden in gemeiner Regel also. Ein jeglichs so der Mensch hat/ muß essen/ vnd seiner teglichen narung warten vnd nemen: dieselbige narung muß nun genommen werden nach dem vnd es in Magen kompt/ wie dann in seinen Capiteln gesagt wirt. So es nun in seine örter gezogen wirt/ so wissent das ein jeglich theil in seim leib jhm selbst sein eigner Mag ist/ vnd scheidt von jm dz gut ist^b oder das es nit haben wil vnd sol: vnd kein glid scheidts vnd kochts vor das ander: Allein wz der Magen thut/ das thut er der gantzen gemein: vnd was er der Leberen/ Nieren/ Blasen/ des harns halben thut/ ist auch von wegen einer gantzen gemein aller glider. Daß aber damit alles genugsam geschieden sey/ das ist es nit: sonder ein jeglichs glid bereits jhm selbst/ vnd nimpt darauß seinen lust/ vnd wirfft also hinweg von jhm/ das jhm nit dienstlich ist. Nun das es von jhm wirfft/ dasselbig sind auch *Excrementa*, vnd haben mancherley außgäng: Als die Lung/ durch sein außwerffen: das Hirn durch die Nasen: das Miltz durch die Adern: die Gall in Magen: die Nieren in die Blasen: das Hertz in ein *Chaos*.^c Also wie nun da die Hauptglider sind der narung/ sonderlich | 165 | getheilt in jhrem wesen/ so wissend also hierauff weiter/ das solche *excrementa* so do seind von den häuptglideren/ wie gemelt/ auch seind der materien/ darinnen dann die *generationes Tartari* wachsen/ vnd die manigfaltige art: Dann subtil seind die ding biß sie dahin kommen/ das sie sich da eröffnen vnd erzeugen. Vnnd last euch dieselbigen sein wie das exempel außweist. So ein ding beim höchsten distilliert ist/ vnnd aber weiter in die Volatilitet gezogen wirt ohn ein Corpus zu sein: Nun ist nichts das ohn ein Corpus zu sein gemacht wirt/ sondern wen es in seine rechte arbeit kompt/ vnd vnter seinen Meister/ so wirt allmahl sein *Corpus* gefunden. Also do auch/ weil er im Magen/ durch den stul nit gefunden wirt/ noch im harn/ sondern das *corpus Tartari* wirt gefunden *volatile*

^a Sudhoff (147) gives on one line in the characters of the text: "Tractatus quartus et tartarus quartus."

^b Sudhoff (147): "im, das nit gut ist."

^c On P.'s notions of **chaos**, see H 2:45.

TRACTATUS QUARTUS

& Tartarus quartus.

Continuing further with the generation of the *tartarus* as it occurs in all other organs of the body and in particular in the lungs, gall, heart, spleen, brain, and kidneys: since it happens that this generation comes about in these locations as well, this should be understood by the following common rule. Everything that pertains to the human being has to eat and has to have its daily sustenance and consumption: this same nourishment must be taken in the manner of its coming into the stomach, as is to be demonstrated in the appropriate chapters. When [the nourishment] is drawn into these locations, you should know that each part of the body is its own stomach, and that it separates from itself that which is not good, or which it does not care to have and should not have; and there is no part of the body that separates and cooks this for the other one except for the stomach, which performs what it does for the whole in common; and what the stomach does on behalf of the liver, kidneys, bladder, [and] urine, is done also on behalf of the entire commonality of the members. It is not the case, however, that everything has [already] been sufficiently separated. This is not so. Rather, each part of the body processes this for itself, and takes from it according to its desire, and casts away that which is of no service to it. What it casts away from itself are the *excrementa*, and they take various exits: for example, the lungs through their expulsion; the brain by way of the nose; the spleen through the veins; the gall into the stomach; the kidneys into the bladder; the heart into a *chaos*. And just as the main organs are, for nourishment, divided | 165 | in their particular natures, be advised as well that those *excrementa* which are from the main organs are, as we have seen, of that *materia* in which the *generationes tartari* grow, and that they do this in a variety of ways. For the things are subtle until they arrive at the place where they reveal and show themselves. Consider these things in the manner of this example: If a thing has been distilled to the highest degree, and is then drawn even further into a state of volatility without being a corpus; [remember still that:] there is nothing that can be made without being a corpus. On the contrary, when it is subjected to the proper procedure and subjected to its master, then indeed a *corpus* will surely be found. This is true here too. Though it is not found in the stomach, in the stool, or in the urine, the *corpus tartari* is found *volatile*; it passes into

vnd geht in die andere gemelten glider/ wie ein Brenterwein der auffsteiget/ vnnnd vermeindt wirt er habe kein *corpus* mehr: So hat er aber eins: Vnd wen^a er schon in Pellican gethan wirt vnd circuliert/ noch hat er ein *Tartarum* in jhm: Also die ding auch. Darumb so sie kommen in die rechten örter der bemelten glider/ so wirt erfunden der rechte Meister/ der do kan von einander scheiden das *corpus* vnd das *volatile*/ das ander Meister nit können/ das ist der Magen/ Lebern/ etc. der kans aber. Also wirt ein jedlich ding in seinen örtern do es hin gehört/ erfunden in seinen Eigenschaften vnd Exaltationen/ zugleichweiß als das laysch exempel außweist. Ein Mann vnd ein Fraw gehören zusammen: nun die zwey zusammen kommen/ die zusammen gehören^b vnnnd verordnet seind/ so wirt do kein Ehebruch^c: Dann vrsach/ die Anatomey vnd Concordantz ist in einem vnd bricht nit. So sie aber nit zusammen kommen/ so ist kein bestete liebe da/ sondern ein wancklende/ wie ein Rhor im Wasser: Dann ein Mann der do bulet/ der hat sein recht Weib nit nach inhalt der Anatomey/ ein Fraw die do bulet/ auch nit jhren rechten Mann. Dann ein jedlichem Menschen ist von Gott beschaffen sein lust/ der jhn nit zu einem Ehebrecher last werden. Darumb so laut das gebot auff die/ so nit zusammen gehörendt/ zuhalten das/ als gehörten sie zusammen. Darumb seind zwo Ehe: Die Gott zusammen fügt/ wie obsteht: Vnd der Mensch/ die sich selbst fügen. Die ersten halten einander/ on das gebot/ die | 166 | andern nit/ sondern^d sindt durch das gebott [gebunden]. Also hie an dem ort auch ist: So ein ding kompt in sein Coniunction vnd Concordantz seiner

^a Sudhoff (148): “wan.”

^b Sudhoff (148): “gehörent.”

^c Here stretched metaphorically, P.’s notions of **marriage** and **adultery** are extended in a way that echoes contemporaneous antipapal and antimonastic tendencies in *Von der Ehe Ordnung und Eigenschaft*: “wir sollen nit verboten, sonder die grad lassen aufsteigen, dahin sie verordnet sein” (G 2:260-61, cf. note b). Goldammer reads this as a protest against nun’s vows, which prevent the “lower” degree represented by the unwed girl from ascending to her highest degree, that of the wife and mother.

^d Sudhoff (149) inserts “sie” here.

the aforesaid organs in the way a distilled spirit (**Breanterwein**)¹ ascends. One only thinks that it no longer has a *corpus*. Yet it does have one. When it is placed in the pelican² and made to circulate, it still has a *tartarus* in it. And so it is with these things too. Thus, when they reach the appropriate locations in these aforesaid organs, the true master is encountered who is able to separate the *corpus* from what is *volatile*, which other masters, the stomach, liver, etc., could not do. But this one certainly can. Thus, each and every thing is allocated to the place where it belongs, [there to be] discovered in its properties and exaltations, just as the following profane example should show. A man and a woman belong together. When it happens that the two who belong together and are ordained to do so do come together, no adultery can occur. The reason for this is that the anatomy and concordance is as one and does not break.³ But if they do not come together [properly], there is no affirmed love at hand, but rather a shaky one, like a reed in water. For a man who whores around in this way does not possess his true wife in accordance with the content of the anatomy; [and] a woman who whores around also does not have her true husband. For to each human being, the desire has been given by God, [but] not for the purpose of becoming an adulterer. For this reason, the commandment⁴ is directed to those who do not belong together: to adhere to it as though they did belong together. In consequence, there are two different unions: the one God joins, as stated above; and the human beings who join themselves together. The first adhere to one another without the commandment; the | 166 | others do not do so, but are instead <bound> by the commandment.⁵ This applies here as well: If a thing enters into its conjunction and the concordance of its anat-

¹ See **Brendten wein** (H 1:153).

² The **pelican** is an alchemical distilling vessel (DAI).

³ The predicate **bricht nicht** repeats the root of the word adultery: “Ehebruch.”

⁴ See Mt 19:6, [Jesus speaks:] “So they are no longer two, but one flesh. Therefore what God has joined together, let no one separate” (cf. Mk 10:9). “One flesh” provides the specific sense of “anatomy.”

⁵ The implication is that the sacrament or divinely sanctioned union frees one from **the commandment** (in a biblical context, this probably refers to Dt 24, regarding conditions of divorce as a man’s lawful expulsion of his wife; and to Mt 19:3, in which Jesus speaks of husband and wife as one flesh and prohibits divorce). Those who have joined themselves by human will or base desire are still subject to divine commandment or judgment. While P.’s intention is that all things must obey God’s order, his “profane example” is at pains to link internal medicine to religious issues such as the natural reality of the sacraments or the Evangelical paradox of freedom whereby faith or love simultaneously liberates from and fulfills the commandments.

Anatomey/ so gibt es was in jhm ist: so aber das nit beschicht/ so ist es nit zubewältigen/ oder zu separiren. Darumb so man wil der Natur jhr heimlichkeit erfahren/ so muß man jhr allemal jhren Meister geben vnd lassen/ vnd in derselbigen Meisterschafft muß man mit jhr handeln vnd wandeln/ sonst ist es alles blind was auß jhr geht.

Also am ersten so wissend/ so sie nun kommen sollen an die end vnd örter/ do sie nun hingehend/ so wirt ein theil zu der Lungen geschickt. Darumb im anfang vnd ehe ich dieselbigen fürhalt/ so wissend dz gar wenig solche *Tartari* begegnet/ vnd nit grosse hauffen/ als in anderen des harn oder eingeweids strassen: Auß vrsachen/ es ist ein kleins/ das sie essen vnd trincken/ in den glideren fast ein kleins: Dann so man außrechnet die menig so der Mensch isset/ vnd zeucht ab die *stercora*/ den Vrin/ so bleibt jhm ein kleins im leib vber. Darumb so von solcher kleiner quantitet alle glider sollen gefürt werden/ der vil seind/ so muß wenig in die außtheilung gahn/ dz ist/ wenig muß jhm werden: Darumb auß solcher kleiner quantitet mag nit ein solche gemeine/ öffentliche/ tägliche wirckung/ oder Tartarisch *genus* erfunden werden/ als im harn vnd *intestinis*: Darumb ist dester baß auff sein sachen acht zuhaben mit diser generation. Darauff so wissend auch das ein kleines auch endtgegen mehr schaden thut/ als da ein grosses. So ist auch zuermessen in den dingen dz der *spiritus Salis* nit so oft kan einfallen in die wirckung: Dann er ist nit so starck als in der anderen strassen/ ssondern er muß still stahn: Dann wo er nit die vile hat/ do ist auch nit gewaltig sein stärke: Dann auß der vile der materien nimpt sich die vile des Saltzgeists.

Also auff solches folget nun vom *Tartaro* der Lungen/ vnd dz also. Ihr sehend dz offtmal in den Lungen/ nit allein im Menschen/ sondern auch im Viech/ Stein gefunden werden/ gleich wie hirschkornlin/ dz ist grißlin oder hirßgrißlin.^a Nun also im Menschen gendt die Adern darein: dieselbigen Adern sind nit Adern die in die Anatomy gendt der Blutadern/ als diser hauptglider: Darauff so folgt sein eigen Tractat

^a Sudhoff (150): "hirschgrißlin."

omy, it yields what is within it. If this does not happen in this way, it cannot be forced or separated. For this reason, if one would learn the secret mysteries of nature, one would indeed have to give and leave it to its master, and in this same mastery one would have to treat and proceed with it. Otherwise everything that comes out of it is false and without proper issue (**blind**).¹

First of all, it must be noted that when they arrive at the locations where they do belong, one part is sent to the lungs. For this reason, at the outset and even before I begin to explain these things, it must be said that very few such *tartari* are found, and there are by no means great masses of them [there], as there are in the paths of the urine or of the gut. The reason why the amount is so small is that these organs eat and drink very little. For when one calculates the amount that the human being eats and subtracts the *stercora* [and] urine, only a small amount is left in the body. Accordingly, if all the organs and parts of the body, of which there are many, are to be maintained by such a small quantity, very little must be apportioned in the distribution, indeed very little must be accorded [in each case]. As a result, out of this small quantity there will not come about the same kind of general, obvious, daily effect, or [the same] tartaric *genus* be found, as that in the urine and *intestinae*. For this reason, it is all the more important to pay close attention to one's business when it comes to this generation. Take into consideration, too, that in this case a small amount can still cause more damage than a great amount causes elsewhere. It is also to be assumed that in these instances the *spiritus salis* cannot intervene as often to have its effect. For it is not as strong here as in those other paths, but rather must remain inactive. For when it is not confronted with much, neither is its strength powerful, since it is from the quantity of the material that the magnitude of the salt spirit derives.

Let the following then be said of the *tartarus* of the lungs.² You have no doubt seen that often in the lungs, not only of human beings but also of cattle, stones are found, just like millet seeds,³ like gruel, millet gruel. Now in the human being the veins pass in there. These are not the same veins or arteries that in the anatomy enter into the blood vessels of these main organs. Subsequently, a treatise of its own

¹ See Grimm, **blind** (15): falsch, unrecht, erdichtet.

² Platter² records a number of cases of "stones" in the chest or lungs that seem to cause asthma (130).

³ See Grimm, **Hirse Korn**. This sentence is cited.

von denselbigen | 167 | Adern. Die Adern so in der Lungen sein/ seind der Magen der Lungen^a: In denselbigen Adern reiniget die Lungen dz reine vom vnreinen/ vnd was jhr nit füglich ist dz wirfts hinweg. Solche scheidung kan der Magen nit/ sie kans aber: Darumb so befindet sich ein besonder excrement in der Lungen/ dz ist in seinen *Cannis*, so durchgehend/ die allein sein Magen seind/ also geordnet von Gott/ darinnen es sich Pellicaniert vnd Circuliert/ biß dohin kompt. Dann versecht euch nit anders/ dann dz ein jedlich glid ein sondern wunderbarlich seltzamen Magen hat/ wie dann die *scientia* außweist eusserlich in der bereitung/ in welchem dz rein vom vnreinen zuscheiden/ vnterstanden wirt. Darumb so nun der Magen der Lungen also ist/ so Erhalt er in jhm/ dz jhm zusteht/ vnd wirfft dz ander durch sein röhr auß zum Mund: vnd ist ein anders sonder excrement/ dz allein in der Lungen wirdt/ vnd sonst in keinem glid: Dann besonder ist auch sein Magen. Nun Wisset aber dz in solcher scheidung des reinen vom vnreinen die Lunge den koth gibt/ vnd den *Tartarum* damit: Also sol der *Tartarus* außgeworffen werden mit dem excrement der Lungen. So aber dz nit beschicht/ sondern er scheid sich hindan/ vnd sondert sich vom excrement/ so bleibt er an derselben stat ligen/ vnd still stahn vnd henckt sich an/ fült die Rörlin auß/ die *Cannae* werden alle Weinstein/ blätter/ geschiffert/ getafelt/ oder granuliert sich/ vnd bleibt also do ligen. Nun ist diser *Tartarus* subtiler dann der *in intestinis*/ oder in der harn strassen: Dann subtiler wirt er auch gescheiden/ auß der Volatilitet in ein Corporalitet gezogen: Dann do ist gleich zu seines gleichen kommen^b darauß dann volgen auch andere krankheiten: Auch der stat halben/ so die Lungen in amptsweiß tregt: Vnd seind doch Tartarische krankheiten/ aber andere öffnung vnd wirkung haben sie. Als so dz ampt der Lungen ist/ frey auf vnd nider gahn/ den lufft zu entpfangen/ etc. So werden den die strassen des luffts verhindert mit dem *Tartaro*/ also dz vilerley krankheiten kommen/ die von den Artzten etwan *Asthma*, *Tussis*, geheissen

^a The concept developed here that there is a “stomach” in other organs is found in *De Modo Pharmacandi*, a work which anticipates the *tartarus* writings in addressing digestion, nutrition, and elimination: “also ist **ein magen** in dem herzen, einer in dem milz, einer in den nieren, einer in dem hirn, einer in der gallen und einer **in der lungen**. nun dise was sie ziehen von der essentia, ist uns verborgen. das wissen wir, das eins ietlichen glids narung im brot ligt, auch im fleisch und der gleichen. wie vilerlei aber in der speise sei und welcherlei und wie es nach den glidern des leibs ausgeteilt werden, ist uns verborgen” (S 4:441).

^b On the conformity of P.’s medicine to a proverbial thought, see H 1:182, note.

will be devoted to these blood vessels. | 167 | The veins which are in the lungs are the stomach of the lungs. In these same blood vessels, the lungs purify the pure from the impure, and whatever does not conform to them is cast aside. This is a separation that the stomach cannot perform; however, here it can be done. For this reason, a particular kind of excrement is found in the lungs, that is, in their *cannae*,¹ passing through them that are the only stomach [of the lungs], so ordained by God, to be pelicanized and circulated, until it arrives at that point. You should pay attention to the fact that each and every organ or part of the body has its own special and wondrously strange stomach, just as the *scientia* demonstrates externally in its preparations in which it undertakes to separate the pure from the impure.² Since the stomach of the lungs is thus constituted, it retains in itself what belongs there, and ejects the rest by way of its tube from the mouth. This amounts to a special kind of excrement of its own, found only in the lungs and in no other organ of the body. For its stomach is of a particular kind. But observe that in this separation of the pure from the impure, the lung gives up its waste, and in the process the *tartarus* too. Accordingly, the *tartarus* is to be cast out along with the excrement of the lungs. However, if this does not happen so that it is instead separated regressively and parted from the excrement, then it remains in the same location, without passing, and attaches itself and fills up the little tubes: then these *cannae* are all sullied and coated or granulated with tartar (**Weinstein**) scales; and it remains there. Now this *tartarus* is more subtle than that *in intestinis* or in the urinary pathway. It is more subtle in its separation from the state of volatility when it is drawn into a corporeal state. For like has associated with like; and out of this other diseases follow. This also occurs on account of the [affected] place, which the lungs in their function carry it to. These, too, are tartaric diseases, though they have a different manifestation and effect. Just as it is the function of the lungs to rise and to sink freely in order to receive the air, and so on, in this case the pathways of the air are blocked with the *tartarus*, so that many kinds of diseases result; they are designated by the physicians as *asthma* [or] *tussis* [coughing],

¹ See MLW, *canna*, *-ae*: used botanically or pharmaceutically, here suggesting straws or small organic tubes. However, the reference may also be to alchemical paraphernalia given what follows.

² This passage rests on two models of understanding: (1) the organ as a microcosm of the macrocosmic digestion of the entire body; (2) alchemy as a model for understanding digestion which presupposes (1).

werden/ so es doch allein *Tartarum* ist: Auch *anhelitus impedimentum* vnd dergleichen/ darauß dann volget *Phthisis*/ dz ist/ dz der Mensch abnimpt in solchem wesen: Dergleichen auch *Ethica febris*,^a dz alles nit anders ist als von disem *Tartaro*, der also in der Lungen ist/ wie dann in seinen Capiteln gesagt wirt. | 168 |

Nuhn weiter so ist also ein sonder Mage der zu dem Hirn steht: derselbe Mage ist ausserthhalb dem Hirn/ vnd nit im Hirn. Also kompt all sein *nutrimentum* vngescheiden für das Hirn/ das ist/ vngescheiden seiner rechten *ultima materia*/ wie sie dann an dem ort sein sol/ dienstlich vnd füglich dem Hirn. So nuhn das Hirn dasselbig annimpt vnd bey jhm hat/ so geht es auch in seine Magische arbeit: Dann so wissend/ zu gleicher weiß wie der Magen offt (nun der erste Magen) ein verderber ist aller glider/ in dem das er nit rechtfertig ist in seinem ampt: Also auch in solchem Magen der glider zu verstahn ist/ das also auß gebrestligkeiten der Mägen/ vil kranckheiten entspringen/ die alle biß hieher vergessen seind worden/ vnd dem vnuerstand befohlen. Darauff wissend/ das ein groß ist zuerkennen/ den thätlichen geist/ der des Magens ampt hat: So derselbe nichts sol/ das alle seine glider so er führen sol vnd neren/ nichts sollen. Diesen Magen/ das ist/ den ersten Magen/ den grossen Magen/ den haben sie wol geschmeckt: Es möcht jhn auch ein Bawr schmecken: Aber die Magen/ darinnen gleich so vil ligt/ die haben sie nit geschmeckt. Darbey wol zuermessen ist/ das vil kranckheiten seind/ so solcher Magen halben kommen (vnd gleich dem ersten Magen zuuerstahn) die sie in andere Capitel/ nemlich falsche Capitel/ gesetzt haben/ vnd wenig betracht wo es außtreffe/ oder wo mit sie vmbgangen. Darumb billich ist das von solchen kranckheiten sein besonder Libel vnd Buch gemacht werd/ das ich hie

^a In the Basel student notes, these terms occur in what appears to be surveys of related diseases: *anhelitus* (S 4:579), *phthisis* and *ethica* (590), *asthma* and *tussis* (592), etc.

though in reality this amounts to the *tartarus*. Another example is *impedimentum anhelitus*¹ and that sort of thing, from which *phthisis*² follows, so that the human being is reduced in his substance. The same applies as well to *ethica febris*,³ all of which has no other origin than this *tartarus* that is in the lungs, as is stated in the appropriate chapters. | 168 |

Now we will continue. There is thus also a special stomach which supports the brain. This particular stomach is outside of the brain, not within it. As a result, all of its nutrition arrives not separated at the brain, that is, not separated from its true *ultima materia*, which is the right thing in this location, being of service and suitable for the brain. When the brain accepts this same nutrient and possesses it within itself, then it embarks upon its stomach-like labor (**Magische arbeit**).⁴ For you should take note. Just as the stomach (I mean the first stomach) is often a corrupter of all the organs when it does not fulfill its function in a just manner, the same thing is to be found in those other stomachs of the organs: from the deficiencies of these stomachs many diseases result, all of which have been overlooked up until now and abandoned to incomprehension. For this reason, it is to be observed that it is a great matter to recognize the operative spirit that is entrusted with the duties of the stomach. If it does not do what it should in driving and feeding all its members, then neither will they [perform properly]. This one stomach, [by which] I mean the first stomach, the great stomach, is well known to all. Even a peasant knows what it is. But those other stomachs that are equally important are not known to anyone. Nor is it to be underestimated in this respect that there are many diseases that occur on account of those stomachs (which are to be understood in the same manner as the first stomach). However, they have been [falsely] relegated to other chapters [of the conventional medical text], into wrong chapters, and [they] have been disregarded in their proper context or with respect to their proper treatments. This is why it is appropriate that a special little work and book should be [written] about such diseases, which I will let rest in this

¹ *Anhelitus*: shortness or foulness of breath (OLD).

² *Phthisis*: a wasting away; consumption; pulmonary tuberculosis (OLD).

³ *Ethica* is a synonym for German “Schwindsucht,” consumption (cf. Grimm, “Schwindsucht”).

⁴ “**Magische arbeit**” can mean both “stomach labor” based on a clearly derived but otherwise unfamiliar adjective, or “magic labor,” implying a labor of the internal alchemist who is indeed akin to the magician.

still laß stahn. Nuhn so es also in Magen kompt des Hirns wie obsteht/ so muß derselbige Magen do sein ein Alchimist/ vnnd der scheidet der rechten scheidung/ so dem Hirn füglich/ vnd demselbigen anzunemen: Im selbigen/ so erfindt sich ein ander excrement/ nit wie die anderen/ des *Emunctorium* ist zu der Nasen auß/ vnnd ist der rotz/ so da außgaht. Darinnen wissen/ dz also des Hirns Magen ausserhalb dem Hirn ist/ vnd vor dem Hirn wirt es bereit/ vnd bereitet zu dem Hirn gezogen in die beschliessenden zellen/ darinnen es ligt. Also bleibt herausen das excrement in den Aderen/ die nach derselbigen Anatomy ligend/ des Hirns Magen inhaltend vnd seind: Dieselbigen haben jhr *Emunctorium* offenbar/ wie der erste Magen mit seim vnthern loch/ dasselbige | 169 | dient in die Nasen. Auff das wissen/ das also ausserhalb dem Hirn/ solche *Tartari* gefunden werden/ so weit vnd dann der Magen gehet in derselbigen region: Darauß dann *Phrenesis*, *Mania*, vnd dergleichen vil *Vesaniae*^a kommen vnd entspringen/ die von Artzten im blut vnd sonst beschriben seind worden zu sein/ aber fälschlich: Wie sie sich dann solcher sachen mehr pflegen/ daruon an seinen enden weiter geschriben steht.

Also weiter wissend von Nieren: Vnd wiewol das ist/ das der harn an dem ort ligt vnd ist/ so betrifft es doch die Nieren an jhrem Corpus nicht: Dann sie neren sich nit vom harn/ sondern von anderer narung wie die andern glider. Wiewol aber solches selten geschicht: Dann vrsach/ der harn vberfeuchts/ das do der *Tartarus* auß denselbigen Nieren fleust [vnd] nit mag gesundert werden von jhren excrementen/ so ist es doch gleich so wol als die andern glider darzu bereit. Nun nemen die Nieren jhr narung auch an/ nach jnhalt der außtheilung vnd derselbigen Anatomy/ so dan beschicht im Menschen/ der den menschen isset: Der also außgetheilt wirt einem jedlichen/ so jhm zusteht/ vnd dasselbige mitsampt denselbigen *excrementis*/ das sonst nimmer gescheiden mag werden/ als allein durch dasselbige glid/ das es dann

^a It is noteworthy that in the *Liber de Lunaticis*, *mania* and *vesania* appear in a rather different light, namely that of Christ's utterances ("die allegorias Christi"—S 14:45) and within an entire class of mental disturbances: "...dis buchs beschreibung, welches titel ist, von den lunaticis. wiewol nicht luna alein, iedoch aber als ein gemeiner nam und verstendig darbei bleiben, under welchen namen alle mania, vesania ligent und verstanden werden" (43).

context. When, as I said above, it [the nutrient] goes into the stomach of the brain, that same stomach must act there as an alchemist, and as a separator [serving] that true separation that is the due of the brain and must be in accordance with it. Within it there is found another sort of excrement, one not like the others. Its *emunctorium* exits out through the nose; and it amounts to the snot that exits there. In this respect then, you should be aware that the stomach of the brain is outside of the brain, and that it does its preparatory work prior to the brain and that it processes for the brain [what] is drawn to the brain [and] into the enclosing cells¹ in which it lies. Accordingly, this excrement remains outside in the other parts, residing in that anatomy which contains and constitutes the stomach of the brain. Of these, the *emunctorium* is readily apparent, just like the first stomach with its hole down below. In this capacity, the nose | 169 | is at their service. So you should be aware that outside of the brain, *tartari* of its kind are found in consequence of the fact that a stomach is present and functioning in that particular region. From this there result *phrenesis* [and] *mania*, and many *vesaniae*² of the kind [also] occur which the physicians have accounted for as if they were in the blood and with other explanations of the kind, though it is all false. How it is that more things of this sort are common will be written of further in another context.

Let us consider the kidneys as well. Although the urine is present in that location, it does not affect the kidneys in their corpus; for they do not nourish themselves from urine but from other nutrients, as do all other organs and parts of the body. It does not happen often [that *tartarus* results from this nourishment]. The reason is that the urine flushes it well so that the *tartarus* flows out of the kidneys <and> does not get separated from its excrements. Yet it is as susceptible to this as the other organs. The kidneys also receive their nourishment in accordance with their particular distribution and anatomy, in the way that the human being eats the human being. The [eaten] one is distributed to each organ and part [of the body] as that which is appropriate for it, going there together with its *excrementa* that can be separated off in

¹ On definitions of *Zelle*, see H 1:69: a storage cellar for provisions or a bee hive may be evoked.

² *Vesania*: madness, condition of being bereft of one's senses (Zedler); madness, frenzy (OLD); according to Midelfort (117), the "vesani" (i.e., the mad) are only one of five subcategories of the "privatio sensuum" which also include lunatics, the congenitally insane, those afflicted by witchcraft, and the melancholy.

ist: Also haben die Nieren auch jhre *excrementa* sonderlich/ wie andere all. Diß *excrementum* vermischt sich in den harn/ vnd gehet mit dem harn auß/ vnnd ist der *Hypostasis*: Darumb der *Hypostasis*^a die Nieren vrtheilt in jhren gebrästen/ dann er ist jhr *excrementum*/ vnnd scheidet sich vom harn hinweg bsonder in sein theil/ wie ein Oly vnd ein Wasser/ dz sich auch nicht last vermischen. Vnd wie das Oly oben schwimmt/ vnnd das Wasser vnten: Also ist die eigenschafft des *Hypostasis*/ in mitten/ oder dergleichen/ von oben herab biß gegen bodem/ sich zu theilen/ nach dem vnd er wol außgetriben wirt. Nuhn ist ein kunst den *Hypostasim* zu scheiden vom harn: Also das der *Hypostasis* in ein sonder geschir/ vnd der harn sonder gefangen wirt. Darumb auff solches der das kan/ der sicht das excrement der Nieren gründtlich: Vnd sicht darbey in bereitung vnnd scheidung desselbigen die *vltimam materiam* der Steinen. Vnnd wie dann *vltima materia* der Steinen gefunden wirt in eim ding/ im selbigen wissen auch/ | 170 | das *prima materia* auch sey desselbigen dings/ des *vltima materia* erscheint. Ein weit Irrsalding ist es/ dz gesagt wirt/ das *Hypostasis* den Magen bedeut: Aber was sollen die vnergründten sagen/ sie müssen wol etwas herfürbringen/ damit sie jhr erdicht ding erhalten mögen. Darumb so können sie wol Seich sehn vnd artzneyen/ dz sie niemandts lobt/ sondern schilt/ vnd habens dohin gebracht/ dz all Menschen die artzney fliehen/ vnd haltens für büberey vnd bescheiserey. Also haben sie die leuth mit jhren künsten betrogen/ vnd dz ein gemeiner Bawr mehr glaubens hat/ auch ein Jüd/ dann sie: Vnd so mans besicht an jhm selbst/ so können sie auch mehr dann die *Doctores*. Ist dz nit ein laster vnd ein schand/ das ein Stadtarzt soll sein in einer Stadt mit einer prouision/ vnd die krancken fliehen/ kan jhn nit helffen/ muß lassen ligen/ vnd andere die nit gestudiert haben helffen jhn? Ist das ein ehr/ so ist es doch schendtlich zu reden: Das thuts aber das ewer lehren nichts ist: jhr seidt Poeten/ Poetisch

^a Cf. the Basel writings on the analysis of urine and its residues, “Si **hypostasis** alba est, urina est falsa, et omnia iudicia ex ea itidem, si nihil dignosci potest in illa” (S 4:554).

no other way than by the respective organ or part that takes it in. In consequence, the kidneys have their own particular *excrementa*, as do all the others. This *excrementum* gets mixed into the urine and passes out with it, and is its *hypostasis*.¹ Therefore, the *hypostasis* [provides the basis for assessment] of the kidneys in their frailties, for it is their *excrementum*; and it separates from the urine into particular parts, like oil and water, which also cannot be mixed. Just as the oil floats on top and the water remains below, it is the property of the *hypostasis* to be somewhere in the middle and to separate from above down toward the bottom, after having been expelled thoroughly. It is, however, an art to separate the *hypostasis* from the urine, so that the *hypostasis* is caught in a special vessel and the urine in another. For this reason, whoever can do this can have a thorough look at the excrement of the kidneys, thereby recognizing in their process and preparation the *ultima materia* of the stones. And just as in this case the *ultima materia* of the stones is found in a state of union, you can discern likewise | 170 | that the *prima materia* of that same thing is that of which here the *ultima materia* is manifest. A great kind of error occurs when it is said that *hypostasis* refers to the stomach. But then what else are those without foundation going to say: they have to utter something or other to keep up their earthly affairs. For this reason they can examine patients and medicate them in a way that merits no praise but only condemnation. They have brought about a state of affairs in which people everywhere flee from medicine and regard it as knavery and swindle. This shows you how they have swindled people with their arts, so that even a simple peasant has more credit, even a Jew, than they have. And if you really look at the matter closely, they can perform more than the *doctores*. Is that not a shame and disgrace that you [can] have a city physician in a city, [privileged] with a provision; and [yet] the patients flee? [He] cannot help them [and] must let them lie, while others who have never even studied [medicine] have helped them? If that is [what is called] an honor, then this is a disgraceful way of speaking. But then this is all because your doctrines are worthless: You are poets.²

¹ *Hypostasis* is defined by Zedler as, “das grobe Contentum im Urin, was im Urin zu Boden fällt, und sich setzt”: “the coarse content in urine that precipitates and becomes fixed.”

² To understand the sense of this diatribe, it should be remembered that those who publicly scorned P. in Basel did so by posting an unforgotten Latin poem. Their familiarity with the poetic “art” was important for an academic physician. (Watt was indeed exemplary in this regard.) However, the Reformation was at the same time

artzneyend jhr: Vnd wan ewer noch so vil wehren/ so wißt jhr ewere eigne *Doctores* nit zu defendieren/ noch sie euch: Allein was die lange gewonheit thut/ herkommen/ vnd die ordnung der Hohenschulen/ do nichts dann gleißner vnd Schreiber auffwachsen. Dz ist ein Schreiber/ der Recept fürhelt/ vnd aber macht niemandts gesundt: Damit ist er auch ein *Doctor* des schreibens/ aber nit des gesundtmachens. Also seind jhr Schreiber dz ist Gleißner/ vnd habt ein besondere Sect/ wie die Phariseer: Dann niemandts darff in jhren handel reden. Also halten jrs auch wie die Mönchs orden seind/ die nit wissen was weiß oder schwartz sey. Ist das nit ein schand das jhr auß dem *Hypostasi* nie keinen Stein haben judiciert zuerkennen/ vnd jhre Stein sagen: Pfuy wz lehren jhr *Doctores*? allein den Narren zu kolben.

Das Hertz leidet vnd geduldet solchs auch: Nun nimpt es sein Narung auch an wie die andern glider/ deßgleichen so scheidt es seine excrementen auch von jhm. Nun ist allein von seinem *excremento*^a zu reden/ auß vrsachen dz in jhr der *Tartarus* ligt: Nun ligt dz Hertz in seiner *Capsula*, auß derselbigen kompt jhr *excrementum*, nichts bleibt in jhr. Darauff wissend daß dz Hertz am aller wenigsten fürung nimpt/ vnd am aller reinigsten/ vnd gibt sein excrement von jhm wie ein lauter wassertropff der auß den augen kompt/ in die *Capsulam*,^b darinn es ligt. Nuhn ist diß also/ das/ so | 171 | es vber sein gewicht kompt/ als dann so schwitzt es von jhm: Das aber herauß schwitzt durch die *Capsulam*/ ist lufftig vnd nit schwer sondern eines leichten geistes. Wiewol dz gesagt wirt/ die Lung blase dem Herten zu dz es küle habe: Es seind solcher vergebner reden mehr geschehn. Die küle so die Lunge macht/ dient dem gantzen leib/ vnd nit dem Herten allein: Dann ein andere hitz ist es die Leber/ ein ander das Hertz/ ein ander do/ ein ander do. Darumb ist es nit/ das alle hitz vom Herten komme/ sondern ein jedlich glid hat seine hitz von jhm selbst/ darumb ein gemeine külung da beschicht. Nuhn allein von den excrementen so wissend das/ so der *Tartarus* in der *Capsula* coaguliert wirdt/ vnd der

^a Sudhoff (154): "seinen excrementen."

^b Sudhoff (154): "capsula" in this and the next sentence.

You do your medicating poetically. And no matter how many of you there happen to be, you do not know how to defend your own *doctores*, nor they you. All [that you have in your defense is] the effect of long custom and origin, and the order of the universities where nothing but tricksters and scribblers are trained. What I call a scribbler is someone who shows off with prescriptions which do not restore health to anyone. That makes him a *doctor* in scribbling but not in healing. So that is exactly what you are: scribblers, which means tricksters. You have your own special sect, like the Pharisees. For no one has any say in their dealings. You conduct yourselves as do those orders of monks who do not know white from black. Is it not a disgrace that you have never been able to deduce the stone from the *hypostasis*, and what your stones say is: “Ugh, what do you *doctores* learn?” Nothing but the clubs of the carnival jesters.

The heart suffers and endures the same kind of thing [with the *tartarus*]: Of course it receives its nutrition just as the other organs do; and it likewise separates off from itself its excrements. We want to speak in particular now of its *excrementum* because in it lies the *tartarus*. The heart of course resides in its *capsula*.¹ From it parts the *excrementum*. Nothing stays within it. Let it be known in this regard that the heart is driven the least of all [by receiving nutrition]; and [is] the purest of all; and that it yields up its excrement like drops of water that fall from the eyes, into the *capsula* in which it is contained. However, things are in such a way that, if | 171 | it exceeds its weight, then it sweats it off from itself. What is then sweated out from the *capsula* is airy and not at all heavy, but on the contrary of a light spirit. Even though people claim that the lungs blow onto the heart so that it retains its coolness, this is the sort of vain talk that one so often hears. The coolness produced by the lungs serves the entire body, not solely the heart. For a different heat is [that of] the liver, a different one still [of] the heart; a different one here and a different one there. For this reason, it is not the case that all heat comes from the heart. Rather, it is the case that each organ has a heat of its own, for which reason a general cooling also occurs. But speaking only of the excrements, it should be noted that when the *tartarus* is coagulated in the *capsula*

delivering a powerful rebuttal to this pride of learning by resurrecting an unadorned German.

¹ See MLW, *capsula*: a medical term for a membrane that surrounds an internal organ.

spiritus Salis begreiff jhn/ so ist von stundan die *generatio Tartari* do/ in der form wie dann die ist/ des *prima materia* do ligt: Vnnd also generiert sich *Tartarus* in der *Capsula* darinnen das Hertz ligt/ darauß dann andere vil solcher kranckheiten kommen/ die mann mit vil anderen namen nent/ als *Cardiaca*, *Tremor Cordis*, vnd dergleichen/ wie dann in seinen Capiteln erzelt wirt. Nun Paroxysmieren solche kranckheiten mit dem Stein/ vnd haben denselbigen *Paroxysmum*: Vnd aber darumb das die statt anderst ist/ vnnd ligt/ darumb sie auch ander *Paroxysmos* macht: Auß der vrsachen seind sie blind/ suchen andere namen/ sagen es sey dise oder jenige kranckheit/ vnd komme von der *Melancholia*, *Cholera etc.* Vnd die Narren wissen nit/ dz sie das Hertz nit dahin bringen mögen/ das die ding darinnen seind/ die sie also dohin nemen/ vnd sagen zu sein. Aber dieweil jhn niemandts drein redt/ so haben sie gut lügen vnd beschiß fürzuhalten/ vnd jhr *humores* an die statt zusetzen. Niemand ist da der jhn dz widerspreche/ also bleiben die Narren *Doctores* der artzney/ vnd ist jhr Hertz diser Narren künsten vol/ vnd mehr dann recht Narren. So mans aber recht betrachten würdt vnd die ordnung bey ihn finden/ sie würden ettwan mit prüglen bezalt werden/ oder zu staupeu geiagt vnd noch mehr. Das seindt die Mörder/ von denen dz gebott Gottes sagt/ du solt niemandt tödten: Darumb so lehrn dz du niemandt tödtest/ oder fahr zu Acker. Es trifft fürwar alle künst an/ die den Menschen mögen tödten/ so sie nit recht gebraucht werden: Dann es ist nit allein von schwert gesagt/ sondern auch du bist darinnen begriffen: | 172 | vnnd dich werden deine *auctores* nicht erretten werden/ auff die du dich ziehest. Dann sie seind gleich so wol als du dem Hencker hingeben. Darumb so mag keiner sich mit einem andern dieb entschuldigen. Die blinden werden zusammen fallen. Ihr berümd euch grosser Anatomy/ vnnd wissend nit was jhr sehend: das jhr in der handt habt das kennen jhr nit: Als zu Nürnberg die *Doctores* so sie Apoteken visitieren/ so haben sie in der hand das/ nach dem sie fragen/ ob mans nit auch habe: sollen dann solche leuth alle Teutschen der vnseren examinieren? O jhres betrogenen examinierens vnd jhrs falschen

and the *spiritus salis* encompasses it, from that point on the *generatio tartari* takes place, and precisely in the form of that of which the *prima materia* is present. As a consequence, *tartarus* is generated in the *capsula* in which the heart resides; and from this there result many other diseases of this kind which are called by many other names such as *cardiaca*, *tremor cordis*, and many similar ones, as will be reported in the appropriate chapters. As it happens, these diseases suffer paroxysmus with the stone; they suffer the same *paroxysmus*. But because the place is different and located elsewhere, the resultant *paroxysmus* is also different. But this is why they [the erring physicians] are blind [and] seek other names, [and] say it is this or that disease, and [that it] comes from *melancholia*, *cholera*, etc. Yet these fools do not know that the heart cannot be brought to a condition of having these things which they thus designate and claim to be there. But as long as no one contradicts them, they can lie as much as they like to put on their swindle and pass off their *humores* in place [of the true cause]. No one is around who can contradict them, so they remain the jester-*doctores* of medicine, and their heart is full of these carnival arts, more so even than with real clowns. However, if anyone were to take a good look at the matter and find the proper order [they should embody], they would be paid off with blows or chased out of town on a pole, or worse. Those are the murderers about whom the commandment of God says, “You shall not kill anyone.” So then learn not to kill anyone, or go work in the fields. It applies to all the arts in truth, that if they are not properly applied, they can kill people. For it is not said solely about the sword,¹ you, too, are included [in the injunction]; | 172 | and your *auctores* will not be able to save you when you try to fall back on them. For they, no less than you, will be consigned to the executioner. This is why no one is allowed to excuse himself with some other thief. The blind will fall altogether. You boast of [your] great anatomy, and [yet you] do not even know what you are looking at. What you hold in your very own hand you do not know. In Nuremberg, when the *doctores* go to inspect the apothecaries, they hold in their hand that about which they inquire whether it is there [in stock]. Should people like that be examining all Germans about their business? Oh, their corrupt examining and false pretending! How well they are served that they

¹ A joke of the age inquired which professions were the freest. The answer was physician and executioner, since only they are rewarded instead of punished for killing (Münch 390). In stating the obvious here, P. is responding to a common lack of confidence in the healing arts.

dargebens: Wie nützet in so wol das sie bey jhres gleichen standen/ wo das nicht wehr/ wie wolten sie bestahn mit jhrem gauckelspill: Nit allein in einem/ das ist im Aussatz/ sondern mit allem falsch die ding betreffendt: Es thut woll das sie gefreundt sindt bey den Hansen/ sie wurden sonst jhren lohn wol finden.

Nun aber auß der Gallen geht auch ein *Tartarus*/ der sich nimpt auß demselbigen excrement wie die anderen. Nuhn aber behelt die Gall denselbigen *Tartarum* in jhr/ vnd gibt nit weiter: Darum so erfind sich/ das in der Gallen die *materia* der Steinen ligt: Vnd so sie vom excrement gescheiden wirt/ vnd nit außlaufft in derselbigen außtheilung/ so generiert sich dieselbige form/ wie sie dann in der Gallen hat. Darauf nun auch seine krankheiten entspringen/ dz ist dieselbigen *Paroxysmi*/ so dann der Stein/ vnd ein jedlicher Stein an jhm selbst hat: darauß dann trucken/ knütschen/ kotzen/ krimmen/ vberlauffen der Gallen/ zu seiner zeit seines *Paroxysmi* entsethet: Welcher Gallen vberlauffen nachfolgend in dem ingeweid *Colicam* macht vnd dergleichen. Aber die Artzt sagen von anderen blawen Enten/ wo der vrsprung herkompt. Allein es sey dann/ das du den Stein treffest/ sonst ist es dir alles vmbsonst: Dergleichen den vrsprung auß der Gallen setzest geboren vnd geursachet auß dem stein der darinnen sey/ vnd die Cur dermassen öffnest/ vnd sagest/ allein der Stein in der Gallen werd genommen/ sonst ist es nit müglich zu helffen. Aber jhr seidt so gantz wol gebutzt in solchen krankheiten/ dieweil mann euch ewerem blawen dunst loset vnd glaubet/ so thuts euch so sanfft/ vnd so wol/ was euch in sinn felt/ dz | 173 | muß also sein: dann billich auch/ ewer gemein ist auch also/ nach dem vnd jhr Burgermeister ist. Darauf wissend/ das jhr die krankheiten der Gallen wol erkennen vom Stein zusein/ oder ohn den Stein: vnd nemlich wissent das die Gall nit grösser feindschafft hat/ dann der excrementen/ vnd selten krank wirt/ da nit der *Tartarus* auch mitlaufft/ gescheiden oder nit. Vnd also in dem wissen auch/ das der Stein in seinem *Paroxysmo* die

stand by their colleagues. If not for that, how would they ever get by with their trickery. This applies not only to the one thing, leprosy, but to all the same falsehood. It is a good thing [for them] that they are on friendly terms with these clowns. Otherwise they would surely receive their reward!

Now from the gall bladder there also proceeds a *tartarus*, which again stems from the excrement, as with the others. However, the gall bladder retains this *tartarus* within it and does not pass it on. This is why we find that the *materia* of the stones lies in the gall bladder. If it is separated off from the excrement and does not flow out in that particular distribution, the particular form is generated which it has within the gall bladder. From this arise its diseases, that is, the particular *paroxysmi* which the stone, and indeed every stone, has in itself. From it result pressures, pinching, vomiting, irritation (**krimmen**),¹ [and] running over of the gall bladder at the time of its *paroxysmi*. This overflowing of gall is followed in the guts, causing *colica* and things of that kind. But the physicians speak about other blue ducks (**blawen Enten**),² and what their source might be. Unless you happen to hit upon the stone, all that you do will be in vain. By the same token, you would need to posit the cause and emergence from the gall bladder, from the stone which is in it, and then ascertain the corresponding cure; and you would need to conclude that unless the gall bladder is relieved of the stone, there will be no help. But then you are so consummate and polished in such diseases for whoever listens raptly to your blue fog and believes; hence you feel so suave and comfortable about whatever occurs to you, that | 173 | it has to be the case. For it only seems proper: Your community feels the same, since your mayor happens to agree. But as for all that, take heed. You had better learn to recognize whether the diseases of the gall bladder come from the stone or are distinct from the stone. You had better take note that the gall bladder has no greater enmity than with the excrements, and that it seldom falls ill unless the *tartarus* plays a role, whether separated or not. And you should know about this in addition that with its *paroxysmus* the stone expels bile, in many ways and effects that can-

¹ See Grimm, **Krimmen** (3f): the nature of this pain, whether more irritation or more cramp, is not clear.

² See Grimm, **Ente(n)** (6), “ducks,” in particular “blue” ones, were what the false preachers and their ilk preached of when they forgot to preach the gospel truth (attributed to Murner, Sebastian Franck, Luther).

Gall außtreibt/ in vil art vnd wege hie nit zubeschreiben: dieselbige art die gibt Geelsucht vnd vilerley wesen: Jetzt kompt sie/ jetzt gehet sie wider hinweg. Vnnd ein jegliche Geelsucht die nit hin will gahn von jhrer rechten Artzney der Geelsucht/ die ist mit dem *Tartaro* bemischt: vnd allein der Stein werde von jhr getriben/ sonst wirt da kein *Asallia*^a oder Genßdreck vnd anders/ etc. helfen/ darumb so haben fleiß dabey. So wissend auch das jhr des Steins *Paroxysmos* wol erkennend/ das er lämbt/ krümpt/ macht feülung/ durchsucht den gantzen Leib: Also thut er auch hie an dem ort/ das ist/ Geelsucht/ Krümme/ Lämme/ Grimmen/ vnnd drucken vmb das grüblin/ vnd dergleichen/ erbrechen/ vnd böß Magen vnd deüwung. Solches aber alles schämen sich die Artzet nit/ daß sie sagen es ist ein *Cholera*: es ist ein seltzame *Cholera*, freylich *Cholera* bey euch Narren/ aber nit bey den Erfarnen: jhr thut jhm aber genug nach dem vnd jhr leuth seind. Wie oft ist in der Gallen gefunden worden *generatio lapidis, vltima materia lapidis*? Aber jr Stockgelerten bescheissend die händ nit gern/ wann jhr wissen wie sie ligt/ so lassend jr euch bedüncken jr habt sein schon gnug.

Nuhn also wissen dermassen auch von dem Miltz/ welchs dermassen die *materiam calculi* auch in jren excrementen hat. Nuhn wirt gesagt das sich das Miltz zun augen auß purgier: das erfind sich nit. Dann wo ein außgang des *Emunctorij* ist/ da ist auch sein gesundtheit zu erlangen: Als der Magen hat sein *Emunctorium* durch den *Monoculum*, gebriecht jhm etwas so treibt mans darauß/ vnnd gehet hinauß: so aber das nit beschicht/ so muß er sein kranckheit bestahn: also auch mit dem harn in seinen strassen. So nun dz Miltz solt sein *Emunctorium* haben zun augen auß/ so müssen wir auch Artzney haben die da weinen machten/ auff das deß Miltz kranckheiten/ | 174 | *quartana, opilatio*, etc. dahinauß giengen vnd gesöndert würden. Dieweil aber das Miltz mit weinen sein kranckheit nicht vertreibt/ noch mit lachen die Leberen/ so seinds nit *Emunctoria*, sondern es ist ein anders das da weinet/ vnd das da lachet. Darumb es ein grober Irrsal in den Artzten/ daß sie vergessen haben/ dz alle

^a An ingredient in a prescription for the jaundice resulting from “Franzosen”: “und ist sein compositum also: R. *Asalliorum* unz. vj; mercurii martis haematini drach. ij.” (S 6:438).

not be described here. The same nature results in jaundice and many other kinds of things. Now it comes, now it departs again. Every sort of jaundice which is difficult to get rid of with a proper medication for jaundice is combined with the *tartarus*. Unless the stone is expelled from it, no sort of *assalia*,¹ or goose droppings, or what have you, will do any good. So be quick about it. Make sure you also recognize the *paroxysmi* of the stone: how it lames, cripples, causes putrefication, [and] strikes at the entire body. It does the same here as well, that is, [it causes] jaundice, crippling, laming, cramping, and pressures around the pit, and indeed even more things, vomiting, a bad stomach and digestion. Yet with respect to all this, the physicians are not ashamed to claim that it is actually *cholera*. A strange *cholera* indeed! For sure it is a *cholera* for fools like you, but not for the experienced. But you do enough for [the patient] by being the sort of people you are. How often has it been found in the gall bladder—the *generatio lapidis* [or] *ultima materia lapidis*? But then you, as scholars of stupidity, do not soil your hands gladly. Even when you know where it lies, you let yourselves be convinced that you already know enough about it.

Now you should also be informed about the spleen, which likewise bears the *materia calculi* [material of the stone] in its excrements. It is sometimes said that the spleen purges itself by way of the eyes. That is not the case. For wherever there is an exit of the *emunctorium*, health is to be regained there too. Thus, the stomach has its *emunctorium* by way of the *monoculus*; if it has something ailing it, then one expels it and it passes out by that route. If this does not happen, [the patient] will have to persist with the disease. So it is, too, with the urine and its avenues. If it were the case that the spleen had its *emunctorium* by way of the eyes, then we would be in need of a medication that causes weeping, so that the diseases of the spleen | 174 |, such as *quartana*, *opilatio*,² etc., would exit in that manner and be separated. But since the spleen does not expel its diseases by weeping nor the liver by laughing, these cannot be *emunctoria*. Something else does the weeping or laughing in these instances. This is why it is a crude error of the physicians that they have forgotten that all *emunctoria* have their [par-

¹ See MLW, *assalia*: of Arabic origin, a term for “sublimated” vapors which are used medicinally. Dorn: “*Assaliae vermes, dicuntur in ligno nascentes, vel inter aseres, alias teredones.*”

² *Quartana*: a kind of fever (see H 1:86); read as *opilatio*, obstruction (cf. H 1:158).

Emunctoria Artzney haben/ zum ingeweid Coloquint/ Esula: zum Magenmund Nipalen^a Precipitat: zur Leberen Pt. Mz. die Blasen mit Rettich/^b *Linaria*:^c zur Nasen/ mit Nießpuluer/ Pfersichblettern/ vnd also mit anderen. Aber zum weinen ist nie keine gewesen/ die dem Miltz sein *Emunctorium* het purgiert: wie aber die *Doctores* in allen dingen sind/ so sind sie auch darmit. Es ist auch ein puncten jhrer weißheit einer: dann also gieng *quartana* hinweg durch die augen/ so müssen sie es durch den Arß treiben/ vnnd in anderweg^d suchen lassen/ schwitzen/ vnd dergleichen: dz macht alles der Irrsal so sie tragen in der Anatomey/ Philosophhey/ vnd im liecht der Natur. Nun ist dz Miltz dem Stein geneigt/ so es empfacht von seinen excrementen denselben Stein/ oder Tartarische art: Nun ist des Miltzen Magen in seinen eignen *poris*, darinnen dāwet es/ vnd scheid sein nutriment von sein excrementen/ gehet auß den *poris* wie ein subtil wasser/ dz wol clarificiert ist/ desselbigen außgang distilliert sich in die Blasen/ wie dann an seim orth gesagt wirt. So nun also der *Tartarus* geboren wirt vnd gescheiden/ vnnd der *spiritus Salis* bey jhm/ so generiert sich der *Tartarus* darauß/ das gleich so wol *Erysipela* werden/ aber kein *Quartana*.

Darumb so wissend wie jetzt gesagt vnd fürgehalten ist von dem *Tartaro* der hauptglider/ das jhr den erkennen/ vnnd am aller ersten/ ehe jhr eim Krancken sagen/ das ist/ das jhr diesen *Tartarum* hindan scheident/ vnd jn sonderlich begreifen. Dann jhr habt je bißher ein langen bösen brauch gehabt/ der wenig außgetragen hat mit nutz/ aber wol in der mehrung deß so jhr wenden solten: vnd sonderlich aber das jr nun sagen/ dz Miltz reinige sich durch die Augen/ oder die Gall zun Ohren auß: dann sie seind beyde nicht war. Aber darumb sagends jhr/

^a Sudhoff (158): “nipaln.”

^b **Rettich** was prescribed by P. as a diuretic (S 5:296).

^c *Linaria* or flax is not cited elsewhere as an internal medication but in the treatment of wounds (S 10:71).

^d Sudhoff (158): “ander weg.”

ticular] medication: for the guts there is colocynth or *esula*;¹ for the orifice of the stomach “Nipalen” [or] precipitate; for the liver, Pt. Mz.² The bladder [is treated] with radish [or] *linaria*.³ For the nose there is sneezing powder, peach leaves, and so it is also with all other things of the kind. But there has never been anything that served to bring about a weeping which would have purged the *emunctorium* of the spleen. The *doctores* are as good here as they are in all other matters. There is one more point regarding their wisdom. If *quartana* [is supposed to be] parted by way of the eyes, they have to expel it by way of the ass, and attempt in other ways, [blood] letting, sweating, and so on. All of this results from the great error that they bear in anatomy, philosophy, and in the light of nature. The spleen is disposed to the stone when it receives the stone or the tartaric nature from its excrements. As it happens, the stomach of the spleen is located in its own *pori*. In these it digests and separates its nutrient from its excrements, passing out of the *pori*, like a subtle water which has been clarified well. Its exiting is distilled in the bladder, as is explained in its proper place. Thus, when the *tartarus* is born and separated, and the *spiritus salis* [is] with it, a *tartarus* is thereby generated from this which may well become *erysipelas*, but by no means a *quartana*.

After what has been said and demonstrated about the *tartarus* of the main organs, you now know how to recognize it and know that you must do this first and foremost, before you tell a patient what the case is. [You should know how to] separate off this *tartarus*, and comprehend it in itself. For until now, you have had a long and very bad record, which has brought little benefit but an increase of that which you should now overcome. This is notorious from the fact that you still say that the spleen purifies itself by way of the eyes or the gall bladder by way of the ears. Neither is true. But you say these

¹ *Esula*: English spurge, German Wolfsmilch; see H 1:137.

² In helpful consultation, Gundolf Keil suggests that the uncertain **Nipalen** might be a form of *nipus*, a stomach parasite, while **Pt. Mz.** abbreviates “*praecipitat(um) Marcii* or *Martii*,” i.e., precipitate of iron.

³ *Med*³ (ccxxxv) equates **Linaria** with the above mentioned *esula* or Wolfsmilch but without the “milk”: “Linaria...ist gleich dem krut genant Esula an der gestalt und an der farb: sunder allein das esula in ir hat milch/ vnd linaria kein milch.” Zedler defines *Linaria* as “Flachs-Kraut,” flax. Brunfels has high praise for “Flachß”: “Es were wol ein büch züschreiben/ wie Plinius sagt/ von dem lob dißes Krauts/ welchs in seiner nutzbarkeyt übertrifft alle kreüter” (lxxx). See NCE, “flax”: dried flax seed has medicinal uses; cf. DML, “*Linum*”; HDA, “Lein” (4, 9): flaxen material was used in sympathetic and apotropaic word magic.

das niemands erfahren kan: darumb so glaubt mans euch als einer lügen die mit gewalt beschicht. Denn wer wolt sich wider ein solchen ehrlichen hauffen der Hohen schulen legen? da alle ver| 175 |tribne *Baccalaurei, Ludimagistri, Procuratores, Poetae, Historici*, Griechischen/ Arabischen/ Chaldaischen/ Jüdischen/ Mönch/ Nonnen/ sich in erhalten/^a Hencker/ Huren vnd Hundschlager. So jhr je rechte *Doctores* werend/ so würden fürwar ewere Bücher wol sovil anzeigen/ dz euch kein Hencker vberkünstlen solt: aber dz sie nichts werd sein/ so hat der Hencker guten platz euch zu vberkünstlen vnd vber disputieren/ dz ist ewer gebrechen.

^a From “da alle vertribne...” to “Nonnen/ sich in erhalten” is edited by Peucert as: “in dem sich alle vertriebenen...Nonnen halten.” This is plausible given that Huser’s typesetter often compresses words, as here “*er* halten” into “erhalten”). The list ending with “Nonnen” may be characterized as the admirers of those that followed: “... Nonnen [die] sich in Ehre halten [sich zum Vorbild nehmen] Henker, Huren,” etc.

things because no one can find out that it is otherwise, and for this reason people believe you based on a lie that is delivered forcefully. For who would dare to contradict such an honorable crowd at the universities? When all the | 175 | expelled *baccalaurei*, *ludimagistri*, *procuratores*, *poetae*, *historici*, [all devotees of] Greek, Arabic, Chaldean, Jewish [physicians], monks [and] nuns are respected there, [as well as the] executioners, whores, and dog catchers? If you were real *doctores*, your books would contain enough [knowledge], that you could not be outdone by any executioner. But this is not the case, and therefore the executioner is in a position to outperform you in art and in disputing. That is your malady.

TRACTATVS QVINTVS

Also nun weiter/ so ist ein ander *genus Tartari*, dasselbe dz ist ausert-
halb den hauptglideren/ als im Blut/ Fleisch/ Marck/ vnd andern
dergleichen mehr/ wie dann nach der gemein zusammen gefaßt
werden. Nuhn wiewol das ist/ daß das Augewasser/ *lachrymae*, nit
verstanden werden hierinn: Dann vrsach/ es ist nicht wol zu wissen/
von wannen es kompt oder sich erhebe in seiner *materia* oder
Substantz: dann vrsach es kompt von weinen vnd von lachen/ deren
beyder vrsprung nit gewiß ist/ wo sein brunnen ligt/ auß dem es geht:
darumb so wirt am selbigen orth kein beschreibung von jhnen. So
sollen jhr nun in diesen dingen wissen/ daß das Blut/ das Marck/ dz
Fleisch/ jhrn *Tartarum* auch haben/ vnd geben: vnd darbey wissen/
in massen wie angezeigt ist/ das bey jnen vnd in jhnen jhr Magen auch
ist/ vnd alle Digestion/ mit sampt dem *spiritu Salis*: auß dem dann
folget das in denselbigen glideren gleich so wol der *Tartarus* wächst
vnd ist/ als in anderen/ dann sie haben auch die excrementen als wol/
als die/ von denen gesagt ist.

Nun ist am aller ersten von dem zusagen/ wo sie jr excrement hin
thund: Nemlich so ist es allein der schweiß/ der durch die haut geht/
der ist *excrementum sanguinis*: vnd der/ so auß dem fleisch geht ist
Cruor, der sich in die Esten stillirt: Der im marck ist/ den verzert die
tröckne des Beins/ vnd aber was nit verzert wirt/ das kompt in die
Concauitet der Glaichen vnd Ligamenten vnd anderer hülen derglei-
chen. Von diesen dreyen als von den gemeinisten vnd grössisten ist
sonderlichen zusagen: Was als dann von anderen *Tartari generibus*
sind/ wirt an seinem orth auch begriffen. Nuhn aber von disen dreyen
merckend eben vnd wol/ das treffenlich viel kranckheiten auß dem
Blut | 176 | kommen vnd entspringen/ die mit vil anderen vrsachen
erklert werden zu kommen/ dann sie kommen/ dadurch dann sie
felschlich in *Receptis* vnd *Curis* handeln. Auff solches merckend dz
genus Tartari, damit derselbigen jrrung fürkommen werd/ dadurch

TRACTATUS QUINTUS

Continuing on, there is another *genus tartari*, and this one is outside of the main organs. It is found in the blood, flesh, marrow, and other such places, since these are thus grouped together in common. However, it is not the case that the water from the eyes, *lachrymae*, are to be understood within this area. The reason for this [exclusion] is that it cannot be ascertained whence it comes or arises in its *materia* or substance. For it stems from weeping or laughing, whereby the cause of either thing is not certain with respect to the wellspring from which it issues. As a result, there will be no report about them in this context. You should know with respect to the [above] matters that blood, marrow, [and] flesh also have their own *tartarus* to which they give rise; and you should also be aware, in accordance with what has been said, that along with them and in them they also have their own stomach and the entire digestion, together with the *spiritus salis*. From this it follows that in these parts of the body as well the *tartarus* develops, just as it does in the other parts of the body, for they also have the excrements as do those things of which we have spoken.

The first thing to be noted about this is where they dispose of their excrements. This is nothing other than the sweat which passes through the skin: it is *excrementum sanguinis*. And that which proceeds from the flesh is *cruor*¹ which trickles into the branches.² That which is in the marrow is [mostly] consumed by the dryness of the bone; and that which is not consumed enters into the concavities of the joints and ligaments and other interior spaces (**hülen**) of that kind. About these three, which are the most common and largest, the following particular points must be made: Whatever is the case regarding other *genera tartari* is comprehended here as well. However, regarding these three, you should take note that especially many diseases come from and arise in the blood | 176 |; these diseases are then explained with other causes than those that produce them, with the consequence that they are treated with incorrect *receptae* and *curae*. In this regard, take careful note of the *genus tartari*, in order to prevent its being mistaken,

¹ *Cruor*: blood, gore, or blood from a wound (OLD; cf. H 1:127).

² “**der sich in die Esten stilliert**”: to gloss the unusual reflexive verb “**sich stillieren**,” Peuckert interjects into P.’s sentence, “das ist einsickert.” If it does abbreviate “distill,” P.’s unusual verb follows the overall pattern of his analysis by calling to mind an analogy between alchemical operations in a tubular distilling apparatus and comparable processes at work upon blood in a ramified circulatory system.

viel leuth zum todt verursacht werden/ auß freuenlichem unuerstand derselben Artzten.

Auff das merckend zwen weg des *Tartari*: einen in seim eigen Magen/ den anderen in seim außgang. Deß bluts außgang ist auß den Aderen durch die haut/ das ist/ durch die *poros*: des fleischs ist ein Mag im fleisch/ das ist in seinem Magen/ dergleichen in seinem außgang/ das ist vom fleisch biß in die Blatern: vnnd also im blut der eigen Mag im blut selbst/ wie hie im fleisch: Also auch vom Marck im Marck selbst/ vnd im außgang vom Marck/ das ist/ im geäder/ glidern/ beinen/ vnd anderen hülen. Solche ding/ vnnd sondere vnterscheid sollen wol gemercket werden/ vnnd nachfolgends der Tartarische *Paroxysmus*: dann vrsach/ der die *Paroxysmos Tartari* nit kennt/ der ist vnbillich in der Artzney ein Artzt genennt. Dann der Tartarische *Paroxysmus*, vnd die Tartarischen stett/ lehren vnd machen den Artzt zuerkennen die Kranckheiten/ die er nit kan gesund machen/ die er heist vnheilbar/ die sich sein vnd seiner kunst benehmen. Darumb so ist billich ein groß auffmerckung zuhaben in allen Anatomien/ vnd solcher kranckheiten vnngeschlachte arth/ auff daß das erfunden werd/ das den Artzt zu schanden bringt.

Darauff nun so wissend am aller ersten/ daß dz blut/ marck/ vnd fleisch auch an sich zeucht seine narung/ vnd in jhm selbst dāwet/ vnd scheidet von jm das nit sein ist. Nun seind aber die drey/ grosser stück drey/ daran vil ligt/ vnd der mehrer theil des Leibs an denen dreyen hangt. Darauff dann sonderlich zu mercken ist das jhr *Digestio* so scharff ist/ daß sie so subtil sich distilliert vnnd bereit/ das kein *Chaos* so klar ist/ diß ist klärer. Nuhn aber so sie kommen in jhr *separationes*, so ist jhr *excrementum* dasselbige/ das sichtbar ist/ aber beim subtilisten: das nutriment aber deren dreyen dingen ist vnsichtbar: nit als ein geist der zum Mund außgeht/ vnd leßt ein Athem mit jm der zu sehen ist/ aber nicht zu greiffen/ das ist zu entpfinden/ aber | 177 | vngreifflich: dasselbige nutriment wirt im blut/ fleisch vnnd marck/ noch subtiler geziert: vnd was in jhm ist das grob ist/ aber wiewol vnsichtbar vnd vngreifflich/ so wirt es doch noch klärer in disem Magen gemacht/ da Fleisch/ Blut vnd Marck [ist] vnnd was da ist das eim Corpus gleich ist/ muß darinnen subtiler werden: das ist/ der *Sudor*, derselbige ist sichtig vnnd greifflich/ wiewol er im Leib so

causing many people to be killed because of the frivolous incomprehension of those physicians.

In this respect, take special note of the two paths of the *tartarus*: the one in its stomach, the other in its exiting. The exit of the blood is from the veins through the skin, that is, by way of the *pori*. For the flesh there is a stomach in the flesh. What is in this stomach or in its exit proceeds from the flesh into the bladder. And in the blood there is an inherent stomach in the blood itself, as was the case with the flesh. The same applies to the marrow: it is in the marrow proper, and there is an exit from the marrow. The same is in the veins, limbs, bones, and other cavities. These matters, and their special differences, should be observed carefully, and following that, the tartaric *paroxysmus*. The reason is that whoever does not know the *paroxysmi tartari* has no business being called a physician in medicine. For the tartaric *paroxysmus* and the tartaric locations teach and allow the physician to recognize the diseases which he cannot heal, which he [therefore] calls incurable, and which deprive him of his profession and his art. For this reason it is appropriate to pay great attention to all anatomies and to the virulent nature of such diseases, so that the source of shame for physicians can be exposed.

Next, it should be noted that, first of all, the blood, marrow, and flesh draw unto themselves their nourishment and digest it within themselves and expel from themselves whatever is not theirs. These three, it must be said, are three very important parts of the body upon which much depends, so that the other parts of the body rely on the three. In connection with this, it should be noted that their digestion in particular is so acute and digests and processes so subtly that no *chaos* could be any clearer—for it is clearer still. When they enter into their *separationes*, their *excrementum* is of the same kind: visible, yet in the subtlest state. However, the nutrient of these three is invisible. It is not like a spirit which passes out of the mouth together with a breath that is visible but impalpable, which can be sensed, even though | 177 | [it is] intangible. This nutrient is adorned by being made even more subtle [than that] in blood, flesh, and marrow. Whatever [stuff] might still be coarse within it, even if it is already invisible and intangible: this same stuff is [now] rendered even clearer within the [special] stomach [which is found] wherever there <is> flesh, blood, or marrow. And whatever is there that resembles a corpus must become even subtler in those: this is the *sudor* [sweat], which is visible and tangible, but in

subtil war/ das er eim *Chaos* gleich war. Jedoch aber in seiner rechten scheidung/ die jhn zu scheiden haben/ da wirt erfunden was ein solcher *Chaos* ist: vom selbigen ist nun zu reden/ vnd nit vom nutriment/ das allein ein *spiritus* ist/ vnnd der sichtbar sündert sein excrement. Also sind auch des Fleischs vnd des Marcks nutriment nuhr ein geist ohn alle sichtbarkeit vnnd greifflichkeit/ aber die excrementen sind sichtbar: aber die subtilisten excrementen sind sie/ als im gantzen Leib sind vnter allen anderen.

Vom excrement deß Bluts wisset/ das der *Tartarus* in jhm so subtil mit^a steigt/ vnd sich einmischt/ zu gleicher weiß als im Brantenwein/ derselbig er werd distilliert vnd Circuliert/ auff das subtilist/ noch hat er in jhm den Weinstein: Der Wein sey wie subtil er wölle/ vnd werde distilliert beim reinigsten/ noch so hat er ein Weinstein in jhm: Also da auch. Wiewol die subtilisten Digestion da werden/ so ist doch *separatio* da so subtil/ daß sie nichts im nutriment leßt/ es muß hinweg: darumb so ist diser *Tartarus* subtil vnd vilfaltig in seiner *essentia*. Dann dz wissend/ das er sich Coaguliert vom *spiritu Salis*: deßgleichen auch von jhm/ vnd durch jhn/ resoluert er sich auch. Darumb so wissent in dem/ das aller *Tartarus* des Bluts/ Fleischs vnd Marcks in zwen wegen stehe/ in der Coagulation vnd Resolution. Wiewol nit weniger das ist/ das andere Digestion vielmalen resoluerten *Tartarum* auch geben: so ist es doch nit dergleichen in gleichmessiger vrsachen/ sondern auß der arth eines solchen Weinsteins: die dann hie nit soll also verstanden werden/ sondern also/ das die *separatio* vnd *digestio* so scharpff/ subtil vnd geschwind gahnd durch jhren Vulcanischen *Athanas*,^b mit sampt der Archeischen bereitung/ das ein *Tartarus*, der do zu der Coagulation geordnet ist/ gebrochen wirt/ vnd zu wasser wirt. Vnnd der so zu der resolution geht/ geordnet in jhr zu der | 178 | Coagulation geht. Als der auß Eisen

^a Sudhoff (162): “nit.”

^b For a detailed account of an application of an “*athanar*” and “*alembic*” in processing vitriol, see S 2:431.

the body it was so subtle that it resembled a *chaos*. However, in that proper separation which effects this operation [in the nutrient which has been rendered subtle], it becomes evident what a *chaos* of this kind really amounts to (of this we are speaking now, not of the nutrient): it is a *spiritus*, which visibly expels its [corresponding] excrement. This is also how it is with the nutrient of flesh or marrow: [we are dealing with] a spirit without any visible or palpable manifestation. The excrements, however, are visible, although they are also the subtlest excrements of all those found in the entire body.

About the excrement of the blood you should know that the *tartarus* within it ascends so subtly along with it and mixes itself in—in just the same way that this happens with distilled spirits (**Brantenwein**): it is likewise distilled and circulated to the very subtlest degree; yet it still has the tartar (**Weinstein**) within it. No matter how subtle the wine becomes, and no matter to what degree of purity it is distilled, it still has the tartar within it. The same is true here. Even though the subtlest digestions come about, the *separatio* is still so subtle that it leaves nothing in the nutrient: it all must be extracted. This is why a *tartarus* of this kind is so subtle and varied in its *essentia*. For you should know that it is coagulated by the *spiritus salis*; and similarly, [that] it is resolved by and through [the same *spiritus salis*]. You can therefore conclude that every *tartarus* of the blood, flesh, or marrow stands in two processes: that of coagulation and that of resolution. But it is no less the case that other [kinds of] digestion frequently yield a resolved *tartarus* as well. Yet it is not the same thing in spite of the common causation. Rather, it is a matter of the nature of the tartar (**Weinstein**). This does not have to be understood with regard to such factors in the present context. What counts is rather that the *separatio* and *digestio* are so acute and so subtle and fast progressing because of the volcanic *athanor*¹ [and because of] the process of the archeus, that a *tartarus* which goes into the coagulation is broken and turns into water. And that [material] that goes into the resolution is reordered in it to that which goes into | 178 | the coagulation. For example that [material] which would make iron (**Eisen**)² into water, and

¹ An **athanor** is an alchemical furnace (cf. H 2:67, note).

² See Grimm, “**Eisen**, mhd. *isen*”: this term was used by P. in the sense of *coagulum*; “**Eisen**, n. *ferrum*” (2): even in the sense of iron proper the word also denoted a quality of iron-like hardness; “**Eisen**, *ferreus*,” from “ice,” contrasted, but was also interchangeable, with “eisern,” “iron-like,” in the usage of P.’s period.

ein Wasser macht/ auß demselbigen Wasser wider Eisen: oder der auß Granaten^a *mucilaginem*,^b vnd auß demselbigen wider Granaten/ oder ein ander *genus*, dz solchem gleich sey machen wolt. Darauf so merckend in den dingen/ dz der *Tartarus* auß dem Element wasser kompt/ es sey das durch nutriment/ oder das durch tranck kompt: darumb so leßt er sich also resoluieren vnd Coagulieren wie obsteht. Darumb auch so geht er in sein *vltimam materiam*, dann dz wasser ist ein mutter vnd ein *Matrix* diser generation allen. Darumb nun so wissen/ so im blut/ dz ist/ in Aderen/ solch excrementen vom *Tartaro* bleiben/ so wirt das blut voller körnlin wie griesß oder reiß/ oder Breinkörnle^c sind: Also auch ausserhalb den Aderen oder *poris* solche *grana* wachsen. Vnd wiewol aber das ist/ dz mehr *resolutiones* do werden dann *coagulationes*, so gehnd sie doch alle in *coagulationem*, am letzten jres endes/ vnd jhrer zeit/ so es lang statt hat mit dem *spiritu Salis*. Nun ist aber der Rotz des bluts/ sein excrement/ vnd so er so grob ist/ vnd nit durchschwitzt/ sondern also ein Rotz bleibt/ so wisse dz der *Tartarus* vnter den excrementen ist/ dz ist/ miteinander vereinigt: da wirt keine generation mehr des *Tartari*, aber ein *stercus* vnd ein excrement/ das nit anderst zu vrtheilen ist dann auß beyder natur/ des *Tartari* vnd des excrements/ darauß dann sonderliche

^a *Granatus* is listed with *argentum vivum* and *rubinus* among the *simplicia* [q]uae ex aqua proveniunt, in tertio gradu caloris existunt” (S 4:19-20).

^b In reference, *mucilago* is both macrocosmic (as in P.’s discussions of therapeutic baths that mention the “art mucilaginis und visci bituminosi”—S 2:240), and microcosmic-pathological (“die mucilaginosische krankheit”—S 2:251). The references are related in the correspondence of etiology and therapy (“sollen ir in disem weg begreifen, das das wasser mucilaginisich ist, und ein ganzer schleim und alsdan von der mucilaginisichen art in ein corpus verkert”—318). *Mucilago* can embody an important stage of alchemical preparation (S 4:167) and an important state of medication. The “mucillaginosa remedia” encompass “[m]ucilag[o] de foenugraeco, de psillio, de cidoniis” (181). A Basel fragment contextualizes *mucilago* in a chart of *tartarus* and defines it as “phlegma, quod descendit a cibus, in modum bituminis” (S 5:140); another fragment labeled “Ex libro de mucilagine” reasons, as it were, hydraulically, “Paralysis ist, so dise mucilago der ligamenten geng anfüllet, so verlieren sie die ligamenta ire kraft oder virtutem motivam und humorem, es sei dan wo es sei” (151, cf. 307).

^c Sudhoff (163): “breikörnle.”

the same water again into iron; or that which would turn granite (**Granaten**)¹ into *mucilago*² and this back into granite; or some other *genus* similar to it. You can conclude from this that the *tartarus* comes from the element of water, and that it is engendered either through the nutrition or through what is drunk. This is why it permits itself to be resolved and coagulated in the above described manner. This is why it also passes into its *ultima materia*. For water is a mother and a *matrix* of all these generations. Hence, you should bear in mind that, when the same kind of excrements of the *tartarus* remains in the blood, that is in the veins, the blood becomes replete with small grains, as those found in gravel (**grieß**)³ or rice or fine-grained cereals (**Breünkörnle**).⁴ Such *grana* also grow outside of the veins or *pori*. And though it is the case that more *resolutiones* occur there than *coagulationes*, they all pass into *coagulatio* in the final end and when their time comes; for the *spiritus salis* has plenty of time. As it happens, the mucus of the blood is its excrement, and when it is so coarse and not saturated with sweat but instead remains mucus, you should be aware that the *tartarus* is among the excrements, which is to say combined altogether: in that case, there is no more generation of *tartarus*, but a *stercus* and an excrement that is not to be assessed in any other way than [being] of both natures: of the *tartarus* and of the ex-

¹ See Grimm, ²**Granat** (1, 3, 4): like “granite,” “Granat” has the root *granum*; it suggests a granular stone once considered among the precious minerals (mLat. *lapis granatus*). Moreover, the word was associated with the cosmic power inherent in such stones (3), and with the sores upon which their power operates (4).

² See Zedler, **Mucago, mucilago**: “ein Schleim, oder eine zähe schleimige Feuchtigkeit; solche ist dreyerlei, 1) eine natürliche, wie der Mucus intestinorum, oder der Schleim in denen Gedärmen, 2) wider die Natur, wie Mucilago tartarea, tartartscher Schleim, woraus der Gris im Urin, die Nodi im Podagra gezeuget werden, und 3) künstliche, welche durch Hülffe eines hierzu dienlichen Wassers aus eigenen Saamen, als Cydoniorum, Psyllii, &c. Wurtzeln...gezogen werden.” Zedler whose contributors often drew upon Paracelsian writings offers a gloss in the second definition: a *mucilago tartarea*, engendered “against nature” and constituting the hard granular material in urine or the nodes in gout. This is complemented by the first, indicating that a substance of the same name occurs naturally in the intestines, and by the third: it can also be produced from herbal ingredients commonly known (and cited by P.) for their medicinal uses.

³ **Grieß** can refer either to sand or gravel or to its etymological kin and cognate gruel or grits.

⁴ Neither Fischer nor Grimm lists **Breünkörnle**. “Braun” can refer to brown or brewing. “Bräunewurzel” (Grimm) is *asperula synanchica*, a remedy for angina (“Bräune”). Peuckert adopts “Breikörnlein,” Ascher “hirsenkornartige Körnlein” (millet grains), so that the consensus favors a cereal of some sort.

krankheiten wachsen auß dem blut. Darauff wissen/ dieweil solches excrement da ist/ so ist es der Natur vnterworffen/ vnd der gestalt/ daß sie das/ so nichts soll/ feület vnd zuvertreiben begert/ dz nit bey jhr sey: welches vertreiben aber der natur krankheit vnd tödtung selbst ist. Darauß dann folget das du bey jhr feülung den *Tartarum* vnd das excrement erkennen solt/ was auch das sey/ als dann suche der excrement wirckung/ hie nicht not zueröffnen.

So wissen nun weiter von dem *Tartaro* der da im fleisch geboren wirt. Das fleisch ist ein *Sulphur*, *Sal* vnd *Mercurius*, dz da Coaguliert ist in ein weiche Substantz/ vnd sein Magen ist der *liquor* der in dem fleisch ist/ derselbige ist sein *liquor* der dz fleisch in der mollification behelt. Also ist sein *liquor* sein Magen/ vnd ist dem fleisch angeborn/ vnd ein vntheilbarliche *materia* von einander: darauß dann zu mercken ist/ das vil krankheiten darauß entspringen/ vnd nemlich alle die krankheiten| 179 | die da schwinen/ oder verschwinden. Dann was da schwind das hat sein ersten vrsprung in desselbigen glids Magen: darumb so das fleisch schweint^a so wißt auch dz dieser Magen/ von dem hie gesagt wirt/ schwinet/ dz ist/ nit däwet oder die fürung hat. Darumb so wissend/ das hie im fleisch dermassen der *Tartarus* geboren wirt/ also das jhm sein *liquor* des fleischs nutriment gescheiden wirt/ vnd dieselbige scheidung so wie wider gescheiden wirt/ das ist/ im excrement die zwey von einander/ deß fleischs *excrementa*, vnd der nahrung eigen *excrementa*, als dann so wirt auch der *Tartarus* da/ wie von anderen gesagt ist. Nun weiter ist zu wissen von den örteren vnd stetten da diser *Tartarus* geboren wirt/ vnd sich legert/ vnd das also. Aller *liquor* des fleischs/ der dann ein Magen des fleischs ist/ der reinigt sich durch sein inwendig schwitzen/ welchs schwitzen in die Blasen sitzet/ das durchgeht vnd durchdringt dieselbige *Venulas*, *poros* vnd *orificia*, vnd also kompt es in die Blasen zum harn. Darumb so ist der zweifach in seiner erkandtnuß/ einer von der Narung/ vnd einer von dem *liquore* des fleischs. Der von der Narung zeigt sein weg vnd Magen an/ den er durchgeheth/ vnd so weit es in betrifft: der aber vom fleisch/ zeigt vom fleisch an so weit vnd der ganze leib ist. Darumb was krankheiten im leibe sind/ die in das

^a Sudhoff (164): "schweinet."

crement, from which [state of affairs] particular diseases develop from the blood. So be aware that as long as such an excrement is present, it is subject to nature in such a way that it is driven to spoil and expel that which should not be present, so that it does not remain in that place. However, this expulsion is the disease and deadening of nature. From this it follows that when it has thus disintegrated, you should recognize the *tartarus* and the excrement, as to whatever it is, so that you can then look into the operation of the excrement which is not something to be elucidated here.

Moreover, you should also be informed about the *tartarus* which is thus born in the flesh. Flesh consists of a *sulphur*, *sal*, and *mercurius*, which is coagulated altogether into a soft substance. Its stomach is the *liquor* that resides in the flesh. This is the same *liquor* that maintains the flesh in its state of mollification. Accordingly, its *liquor* is its stomach and inborn in the flesh and an inseparable *materia* with reference to the flesh. From this it can be deduced that many diseases arise from it; and in particular all those diseases | 179 | which entail wasting away or disappearing. For whatever wastes away has its first cause in the stomach of that same component of the body. Consequently, if the flesh wastes away, you should know as well that the stomach about which we speak here, is wasting away, which means that it is not digesting or exercising its function. You should know accordingly that here in the flesh, the *tartarus* is born in this same measure that it is parted from its *liquor*, constituting the nutrient of the flesh, and [that] this same separation, if it is separated again (which is to say that in the excrement the two things are separated from one another—the *excrementa* of the flesh and the *excrementa* of its proper nourishment), the *tartarus* will be present as a result, as has been said in the other cases. You should also know the following as to the places and locations where this *tartarus* is generated and builds up. All the *liquor* of the flesh, which is in the stomach of the flesh, purifies itself by its internal sweating. This sweating [function] resides in the bladder and passes through and penetrates the *venulae*, *pori*, and *orifica*, and thereby comes into the bladder to join the urine. For this reason it presents itself to knowledge in two different ways: one from the nutrition and the other from the *liquor* of the flesh. The one from the nutrition gives us an indication of its path and stomach through which it passes and of its extent; but the one from the flesh gives an indication [through] the flesh and to an extent that encompasses the entire body. For this reason, the diseases that are in the body and which are introduced in the

fleisch gebracht werden/ oder jhr gemeinschaftt darinn haben/ dieselben all werden im harn erfunden: die aber nit theil daran haben/ die werden in disem harn des fleischs liquors nit ersehen. Darumb so wissen auff die *Anatomia* des harns zusehen: dann in jm ist der gantz *Microcosmus* fürgebildet/ des erkandtnus löblich ist einem Artzt. Der aber dise Anatomey des harns/ die wie ein geist darinn ligt/ nit erkennt/ der betreüget einen teglichen zulauff mit seinem geschwetz/ vnd vnwarhafftigem^a anzeigen. Nun von disem harn wissen/ dz also Stein in der Blateren vnd Nieren wachsen in vil art/ die auß diesen *sudoribus* vnd *excrementis* wachsen: dieselbigen wissen durch den *Tartarum* zu erkennen in seinen eigenschafften/ mit sampt eines jeglichen *generis Cura*, [vnd] der erkendt vil mehr dann die halbe Artzney. Von solcher art vnd Steinen des *Tartari* wissend/ daß sie gefunden werden in vil örten des leibs/ offtmal ehe sie kommen in die region der Nieren vnd Blasen/ auff welches | 180 | sonderlich acht zu haben ist. Dann da werden vil opilationes mit vilerley *Chronicis morbis* in hüfften/ rucken/ lenden/ glideren/ seiten/ vnd dergleichen/ vnd seind auch der hefftigsten *genera* der Steinen an disen orten: dann vrsach/ die Coagulieren sich härter vnd grösser/ vnd viel mehr in die eck/ als zimliche rotunditet/ vnd wachsen mit mehrem hauffen vnd zufall/ vnd mit vil mehr täglichen *Paroxysmis*, als die andern/ so auß dem harn kommen/ von disen weiter merckend seine Capitel.

Dermassen sollend jhr auch wissen vom Marck/ des *liquor* ist sein eigner Mage:^b diser *liquor* ist aber ein feiste: des fleischs ist ein dünnes wasser: des bluts ist ein geist. Nun dises marcks Magen hatt gleich so wol sein digestion als andere Magen/ dienstlich demselbigen marck/ des Magen er dann ist. Nun ist sein *Tartarus* nit Coaguliert/ dann vrsach/ die feiste generiert kein coagulation/ allein die magere: darumb die feiste den *Tartarum* weret: da ist sein höchste Präseruation/ dem in solchem fürzukommen. Auff dz wissend/ so nun dises marcks *Tartarus* nit coaguliert wirt/ vnd doch gescheiden wirt/ so wirt er resoluir: dz ist/ auß jm wirt ein ander sonderer *liquor*, welcher *liquor* gleich so wol hat den jenigen *Paroxysmum*, als der coaguliert *Tartarus*, mit allen Calculischen zufällen vnd dergleichen anhängen. Nun wissend von disem Tartarischem *liquore* dz er vil krankheiten

^a Sudhoff (164): "unwarhaftigen."

^b Sudhoff (165): "magen."

flesh or associated with it are all discovered in the urine, but the ones that do not participate in this manner are not recognized in this [special] urine of the liquor of the flesh. For this reason, you should be capable of giving consideration to the *anatomia* of the urine: Within it the entire *microcosmus* is modeled, knowledge of which is a praiseworthy thing for a physician. On the other hand, whoever is not able to recognize the anatomy of the urine, which lies within it like a spirit, is swindling patients every single day with his foolish chatter and baseless diagnosis. You should know the following with respect to this urine: Since stones grow in the bladder and kidneys in many forms, developing from these *sudores* and *excrementa*, you should know how to recognize them in their properties together with every sort of *generis cura*, <and> whoever is thus knowledgeable [already] knows more than half of medicine. About these kinds of stones of the *tartarus* know that they are found in many locations in the body, often times even before they enter the region of the kidneys or bladder, which | 180 | is something that merits especially close attention. For in these cases, there arise many *opilationes*, together with many sorts of *chronici moribi*, in the hips, back, loins, limbs, sides, and so on. Moreover, there are the most violent *genera* of stones in these locations. The reason for this is that they coagulate harder and larger, and more into the corners than into the [places of] moderate rotundity; and they grow in a larger bunch and with more attendant symptoms and [result] in more daily *paroxysmi* than the others that come from the urine, and about which more will be said in the appropriate chapters.

You should know in the same way about the marrow, the *liquor* of which is its own stomach. However, this *liquor* is a fattiness. That of the flesh is a thin water. That of the blood is a spirit. Now, however, the stomach of this marrow has its own digestion, just as do the other stomachs, [but] of service to that same marrow which it serves as the stomach. Its *tartarus* is not coagulated. The reason for this is that the fattiness generates no coagulation. Only that which is lean does so. For this reason, the fattiness wards off the *tartarum*. Its highest [action of] preservation lies in its prevention of something like this. Accordingly, you should note that if the *tartarus* of the marrow is not coagulated, and is instead separated, then it is resolved. That means that from it there results another particular *liquor*. This *liquor* has the same sort of *paroxysmus* as does the coagulated *tartarus*, with all of its calcinic attendant manifestations and similar attendant conditions. You should know about this tartaric *liquor* that it causes many diseases

macht die man Gesücht heist/ Flüß vnd dergleichen/ nach der art der Länder: auch den Tropffen/ den Marckschwinen/ vnd vil der gleichen: dz alles ein Tartarischer feister *liquor* ist/ der sich in *Sciatica*, *Artetica* hinlendet. Das ist nun wol zu mercken/ das alle *Artetica*, *Sciatica*, so nit *podagra perfecta* sind/ allein *Tartareus liquor*^a ist, die in den Glaichen/ *articulis*, *scia*, *neruis*, *iuncturis*,^b etc. ligend wie ein feister safft/ vnd Paroxysmiert wie der Stein in seinen örteren: nach dem vnd dieselbige Paroxysmische art ist/ vnd inhalt. Der den Stein kan Curiren vnd weiß mit jm zuhandlen/ der heilet auch den *morbum*, der jn aber nit kan heilen der heilet auch nit dise kranckheiten: darauff wissend mit was vntüchtigen Recepten die Scribenten geschriben vnd gehandelt haben/ die sich die *Arteticam*, *Sciaticam*, *dolores iuncturatum*, zu vertreiben vnterstanden mit jren vngereimpten/ vnbequemen Artzneyen: Die sich gleich gereimt haben/ wie jhr | 181 | verstand gewesen ist: Nichts haben sie gewißt/ nichts haben sie auch außgericht. Also wissent das dieser *liquor* sich auch in vilen anderen kranckheiten mischet/ so dem leib ausserhalb Tartarischer art anligt/ vnnd sich dermassen einbildet/ das er offtmals betruglichen zuerkennen ist/ vnd schwärlich: Jedoch aber der den Tartarischen *Paroxysmum* erkent/ der weiß wo er ligt/ vnd wo er sich hat eingemiset/ vnd mit was kranckheit er gemeinschaft tregt. Dieselbige kranckheiten in der gemein all/ so also mit dem *Tartaro* seind vereinigt/ haben ein zweifachen *Paroxysmum*/ von der anderen kranckheit ein anhang jhrer art/ vnd dieselbige kranckheit ein anhang aber jhrer art/ von disem *liquore*. Solche vereinigung ist manichfaltig in dem Aussatz: Das ist die mehrer vrsach/ das die Alten sagen/ der Aussatz wer nit zu heilen/ dann sie haben den *Tartarum* nit geschmeckt/ auch sein *Curam* nit: Darumb ist es jhnen wol vnglaublich/ dann sie habens nit verstanden. Darbey wissend/ das sie nit allein ein vnleiblichen *Paroxysmum* machen/ das ist ein vnsichtigen/ sondern auch ein sichtigen/ in dem/

^a Sudhoff (166): “tartaricus liquor.”

^b The later *Buch von den tartarischen Krankheiten* devotes a chapter to the generation and expulsion of *tartarus* from the joints and other parts of the body, “Von dem tartarischen austreiben in den **iuncturis**, **articulis**, rastetis,” and discusses relevant ailments such as “**genugra**, **schiativa** und dergleichen glitsucht” (S 11:109-10). A copy of a Basel lecture on *tartarus* offers an insight into the remarkable occurrence of the same in the nerves as a result of “sperma” which is dispersed throughout the body but has its *emunctorium* only in the testicles or scrotum: “et microcosmus est illud sperma, quod est in toto corpore, et est in **nervis**, in articulis, cerebro etc. et suum emunctorium non habet, nisi in testiculis, in oseo” (S 5:36).

which one refers as rheumatic ailments (**Gesücht...Fluß**),¹ and that sort of thing, in accordance with the nature of the countries. Additional maladies are apoplexy (**Tropffen**),² wasting of the marrow (**Marckschwinen**),³ and things of that kind. All of that is a tartaric fatty *liquor* that turns to *sciatica* [and] *art[hr]etica*.⁴ It is to be clearly noted that every *art[hr]etica* [or] *sciatica* which does not consist of *podagra perfecta* is solely a *liquor tartareus* that lies in the joints, *articuli*,⁵ *scia* [hips], *nervi, juncturae* [joints], etc., in the form of a fatty juice, and suffers paroxysm as does the stone in its locations, depending on the particular nature and degree of paroxysm. Whoever knows how to cure and deal with the stone, can also heal this disease. But whoever does not know how to heal [the stone] cannot heal these diseases either. So you should be aware that the scribblers have written about and dealt with unsuitable prescriptions that claimed to get rid of *art[hr]etica*, *sciatica*, and the *dolores juncturarum* [that is, pains in the joints] by means of their senseless and unfitting medications. They made their own sense of it | 181 |, based on the sort of intelligence they had. They did not know anything: they did not accomplish anything. Therefore, you should be aware that this *liquor* also gets mixed up in other sorts of diseases which befall the body beyond the tartaric nature, extending its influence to them in a way that often makes it deceptive and difficult to recognize. Nevertheless, whoever recognizes the tartaric *paroxysmus* knows where it lies and where it mixes itself in and with what sort of disease it is associated. In general, all of these same diseases which get combined in this way with the *tartarus* have a twofold *paroxysmus* with an attendant component from the nature of the other disease, as well as the disease proper with an attendant component of its own nature, from this *liquor*. A composition of this kind occurs in many ways in the case of leprosy. This is the main reason why the ancients said that leprosy could not be healed: they had no inkling of the *tartarus* nor of its *cura*. Such a thing was beyond their belief, because they did not understand it. In this context, you should know that they [the diseases] not only cause an incorporeal *paroxysmus*, that is, an invisible one, but a visible one as well, insofar as the

¹ See Grimm, **Gesüchte** (4, 5, 6): this could have been various ailments including gout and rheumatism; **Flusz** (3c): *rheuma, catarrhus*.

² See Grimm, **Tropfen**: *gutta, apoplexia*.

³ Aschner and Peuckert both have **Markschwund**.

⁴ According to the *ODEE*, medieval Latin also knew the form *arteticus*.

⁵ A diminutive of *artus*, joint; or the portion of a limb between two joints (OLD).

so der *Tartarus* ein *liquor* ist/ wie hie im marck: Als dann so geht er in die Chiragrischen kranckheiten all/ vnd laufft mit denselbigen außgängen in dieselbige stätt vnnd ort/ hilfft dem Saltz fressen/ nagen/ löcher machen: Dann es ist auch sein art vnnd Natur/ fressen vnd nagen. Darumb das offtmal *Vlcera pinguia* gefunden werden/ die allein dieselbige feiste auß dem *Tartaro* des marcks haben: Vnd aber so er sich mit einmischet wie obsteht/ vnd ist einer Calcinirischen/ Corrosiuischen art/ so nagt er sein eigen marck/ vnd ligt in dem gebein/ vnd frist im selbigen/ vnd macht schmerzen/ denn nit zu helffen ist: Allein es wehr dann/ das der *Tartarus* fürgenommen werd/ der dann bißher verschwigen ist blieben. Darumb so ist dz marck gesund/ das die *excrementa* in beinen verzert werden/ vnd nit durchgendt in ander regionen/ das ist/ in die glaiche/ in das fleisch/ in die geäder/ in das glidwasser. So sie aber außganhd auff Tartarische art/ so wissend/ das jhr da vil kranckheiten finden werdet/ deren vrsprung falsch vnd lügenhafftig/ vnergrund/^a auch mit solchen vntüchtigen Recepten bey den Alten geschriben sind worden. | 182 |

Nun ist im glidwasser dergleichen ein Digestion/ wie von den andern gesagt ist/ in welchen je der *Tartarus* ist gescheiden/ wie obsteht/ von anderen/ vnnd sein sondere kranckheit macht. Nun ist das glidwasser ein trefflich glid des leibs/ vnd das aller entpfindlichst des ganzen leibs/ dz am wenigsten leiden oder gedulden mag. Nun ist sein *Tartari excrementum* zweifach/ eins ein *liquor*/ das ander coaguliert. Am aller ersten so ist es ein *liquor*/ vnd nach langem so coaguliert der Saltz geist in sein form/ die dann sich nimpt nach derselbigen art: dise art ist wol zumercken. Dann vil *Podagra*, *Chiragra*, *Gonagra* werden gefunden die mit dem *liquore Tartari* vermischt seind/ deren Cur noch nit gefunden ist worden: Dann sie haben den *Tartarum* nit erkent/ darumb so gebrist jhn der Cur. Solch *Podagram* sagen sie/ es sey vnheilbar. Ja den Autoren glaub/ vnd jhres gleichen. Freilich muß es jhnen vnheilbar sein/ dieweil sie die vrsach nit verstehend noch erkennend. Sie haben noch nit vil rechts gelernet/

^a Sudhoff (167): “unergrünt.”

tartarus is a *liquor*, as is the case in the marrow. For example, it goes over into all of the chiragric (**Chiragriscen**)¹ diseases and progresses with the same effects into the same locations and places [and] helps the salt to eat, gnaw away, and make holes. For its nature is also to eat and gnaw [away at things]. Therefore, [there is] often an *ulcera pinguia* [a fatty sore] that has its fattiness only from the *tartarus* of the marrow. But when it mixes itself in in the abovementioned manner, and is of a calcinary or corrosive nature, it eats into its own marrow and resides in the bones, eating away at these too, causing pains which cannot be alleviated. For the only solution would be to pay attention to the *tartarus*, about which until now silence has been maintained [in medicine]. Therefore, the marrow is healthy when the *excrementa* are consumed in the bones so that they do not pass through into other regions, that is, into the joints, the flesh, the veins, and the fluid in the joints. But when they do flow out with the tartaric nature, you need to know that you will find many diseases. Their origins have been described by the ancients wrongly, mendaciously, baselessly, and with many unsuitable prescriptions. | 182 |

In the fluid of the joints there is the same kind of digestion as in the other cases that have been described; in all of these cases, the *tartarus* is separated, as we have seen, from the other [materials], and causes its particular disease. It must also be said in this connection that the fluid of the joints is an excellent component of the body, and that it is the most sensitive thing in the entire body, which can be allowed to suffer or bear as little as possible among all. Its *excrementum tartari* is twofold: in the one case it is a *liquor* and in the other it is coagulated. At the very beginning it is a *liquor*, and after a long time it is coagulated by the salt spirit into its form, which then acquires the form of the same: this nature should be carefully observed. For many kinds of *podagra*, *chirarga*, [or] *gonagra*² are found that are mixed with the *liquor tartari*, the cure of which has yet to be found. For they [the physicians] have not yet recognized the *tartarus*, and for this reason the cure is lacking. *Podagra* of that sort, they say, is incurable. Yes, you can believe the authors of this ilk and their kind. It certainly must be incurable for them, as long as they do not understand or recognize the cause. They have learned nothing proper so far, and for this reason

¹ *Chiragra* refers to the equivalent of *podagra* (gout or arthritis) in the hand or wrist. See H 1:125.

² According to Zedler *gonagra* is the equivalent ailment of the knees (cf. H 1:125).

darumb so fehlend sie da auch desto mehr/ vnd die so jhnen anhangen/ denen dann sonderlich wol ist mit schwetzen vnd bescheisserey: Gleich vnd gleich find sich almal zusammen/ vnd wan ein bescheisser vor Adams zeiten gewesen wer/ die jtzigen würden jhn finden/ sie verliren sich nit: Vnd hetten die krancken jhre meuler zugehabt/ so hetten sie gar nix gewüst/ als was sie die krancken gelernet haben/ das haben sie/ vnd sonst nichts mehr. Das ist ein vnuolkommenes lehrnen/ das der Schuler lernt den Meister. Darumb so mag auch der kranck den Artzt nit lehren: Er red allein von seim schmerzen vnd seiner art/ im selben plerren sie/ vnd weiter wissen sie nichts mehr: Als dann öffentlich/ das sie durcheinander liegen in den kranckheiten/ vnd nemen keine auß/ sondern all/ vnd gedencken des Himmels nit/ der Concordantz nit/ vnd deren *Astra*, darinnen dz mehrist ligt. Zu dem das sie auch nit wissen was *prima* oder *vltima materia* ist/ vnd was der Mensch ist/ oder was sein leib ist/ vnd wöllen alle ding zu recht legen vnd regieren: Wissen nit was das ist/ das jhr *subiectum* ist. Darumb so ist jhr glaub groß/ aber die werck seind klein. Darumb so wissend im *Podagra* das vil Calculische *Paroxysmi* kommen. Zugleicherweiß wie der Stein/ der offtmal sein grossen *Paroxysmum* | 183 | macht/ vnd vil art an jhm hat: Also do auch im *Podagra* viel *Paroxysmi* kommen/ die nit auß des Podagrams art kommen/ sondern sie kommen auß der Steinischen art: Vnd aber sie artzneien mit Podagrischen Artzneien/ vnd machens noch hefftiger. Die Artzney die den *Tartarum* gewaltigt/ ist auch die so das *Podagram* gewaltiget/ in solchen dingen. Darumb so du das nun nit kanst heilen vnd sein *Tartarum* nemen/ so wirstu auch nit können heilen diß *Podagram*. Darumb so bleibt es lang in deinen Bücheren vngeheilt/ vnd behalt den namen in deinen Bücheren/ *Podagra est morbus incurabilis*: Dann du bist auff dem falschen grund/ darumb so schemest du dich liegens nit/ du thust auch dein bests: Vnnd so du das aller best thust/ so bistu ein betrieger am aller meisten: Dann du irrest im anfang/ vnd in der vrsachen/ vnnd

they fail in this case all the more miserably, as do those who follow them, those who are especially comfortable with their chatter and their swindling. Birds of a feather always flock together;¹ and if even prior to Adam there had been some earlier swindler, the present ones would be sure to find him out. They always stick together. And if the patients had said nothing, they [the physicians] would know nothing more than what the patients had taught them. That is what they have going for themselves. Nothing more. It is an insufficient sort of instruction in which the pupil teaches the master. This is why the patient should not be teaching the physician. The latter can only talk about his pains and his ways: they go on whining in the same vein, and know nothing beyond that. And they do this openly: lying back and forth about the diseases, leaving not a one out of it, all included—without a thought for the heavens, for the concordance, [or] for its *astra*, in which the most important things reside. It is also the case that they do not know what *prima* or *ultima materia* are, or what the human being is, or what the human body is; and they want to have all things rectified for their purposes and governed by them. They have no idea what their proper *subjectum* is. This is why their faith is great but their works are small. Therefore you, however, should be aware that in *podagra* many *paroxysmi* of stones occur. It is precisely as with the stone which often causes its great *paroxysmus* | 183 | and has many [potential] natures in it. In the same way, in *podagra* many *paroxysmi* occur that do not result from the nature of the [particular] *podagra*, but rather from the nature of the stone. Nonetheless, they medicate with podagric medication and make it even worse. The medication that can get control of the *tartarus* is the same that gets control of *podagra* in cases of this kind. If it happens then that you are unable to heal and take away the *tartarus*, neither will you be able to heal this [kind of] *podagra*. This is why in your books it always goes down as incurable, and why in those books it retains the characterization, *podagra est morbus incurabilis*. For you are proceeding on the wrong footing. You are not even ashamed that you are lying; and are just doing your best. And when you put forward your very best, you are swindling worst of all. For you are in error from the very start and with regard to causation

¹ See Wander, “**Gleich**”: P. is speaking proverbially here in words well known to such contemporaries as Luther or Sebastian Franck. “Gleich findet man bei gleich”... “Gleich und gleich gesellt sich gerne.” The prevalence of proverbial reasoning may be helpful in explaining the origins of P.’s homeopathic medicine.

spazierest mit deinen lügen in dem Rosengarten umb. Also verstanden nun die Capitel so da vom *Podagra* werden geschriben: Das ist/ die vnterscheid lernen erkennen/ was *Podagra* von jhm selbst sey/ vnnd was es sey/ so diser *Tartari liquor* in jhm steht. Sonderlich so es sich begibt das der *Tartarus* coaguliert wirt/ vnd in die steinische art gienge/ als dann so wisse/ das du Calcinierte artzneien brauchen solt: Dann dz do ein *liquor* ist anfenglich in seiner ersten Substantz/ dz geht wider in sein *liquorem*. Dise Retransmutation mustu wissen/ wilt du in der artzney ein verstandt haben: Wo nit/ so laß die klapperey sein/ vnd hör auff. Aber die pfennig/ so mit lügen gewonnen werden/ schmecken dir baß/ als mit der warheit/ das lernen die Hohenschulen.

and are cavorting around with your lies in the rose garden.¹ Thus are to be understood the chapters that are written of *podagra*. This means that you must learn to recognize the differences: what is *podagra* in itself, and what does it amount to when this sort of *liquor tartari* is present within it? Especially when it happens that the *tartarus* is coagulated and enters into the mode of the stone so that you must know that calcinated medications must be used. For if a *liquor* of this kind is initially [found] in its first substance, it passes into its [corresponding] *liquor*. This re-transmutation, as you should know, is something you must have an understanding of in medicine. If you do not, then leave off with your foolery. Put an end to it. Only the pennies you earn with lies suit you better than the truth. That is what the universities teach.

¹ Alludes to the common devotional or medical-pharmaceutical works called *Rosarium* (**Rose Garden**) See Thorndike 3:55: works of this title were ascribed among others to Arnald of Vilanova.

TRACTATUS SEXTVS

Nuhn vber dz alles/ wie angezeigt ist/ so seind noch mehr *generationes lapidis* im menschen/ die sich ausserhalb dem *Tartaro* erheben vnd wachsen/ derselbigen generation ist gleich den eusseren. Dann dieweil der mensch *Microcosmus* ist/ so seind auch in jhm die *generationes* der eusseren Welt/ mit seiner vnterscheid/ wie dann *Philosophia* vermag. Solche Generation beschehen in dem menschen/ so nit auß dem *Tartaro* den Stein erlangen: deren *digestio, separatio* etc. gut ist/ vnd der *Tartarus* mit sampt den excrementen vermischet bleibt/ vnd außgeht ohne berührung des Saltzgeists. Dieweil nuhn ein ander *genus* | 184 | vorhanden ist/ gleich dem gemelten/ jedoch aber nit mit dem Tartarischen *Paroxysmo*/ oder gestalt/ form/ etc. sondern natürlichs geberens: So wissend/ dieweil zwo *generationes* do seind auch zwo *essentiae* do. Der *Tartarus* hat in jhm ein *Paroxysmum*: Diese aber haben kein *Paroxysmum* an jhn/ allein es sey dann das da ein *Paroxysmus* wirt auß der Confin do er ligt/ sonst geschicht es nit. Darumb dieselbigen *Paroxysmi* nit dem Stein/ sondern der Confin sollen zugelegt werden/ vnd nach jr erkendt. Solcher generation begegnen den kindern vil/ auß beider art/ auß der geburt/ vnd von jhr selbst vrsach/ als dann an jhrem Capitel sonderlich wirdt fürgehalten. Das meldt ich aber hie darumb/ dz jhr in den jungen der gleichen sollen solche achtung haben: Dann sie werden offtmals also steinisch/ vnd mehr als die alten/ vnd aber sie vnd die alten/ ist ein vrsach.

Damit so merckend von der generation natürlichs lauffs ausserhalb des Tartarischen wesens. Zwo seind der generation in der materien: Das ist/ ein jedlicher stein/ der do soll geboren werden/ der muß steinige *primam materiam* haben. Darauff folget/ das solcher steiniger materien zwo seind: Nemlich eine/ die ist in vns zu gleicherweiß/^a wie eine ist in der grossen Welt: Die andere kompt in vns/ das ist so wirs in vns bringen. Als so wir ein tranck trincken/ das von der rechten steinigen art were/ vnd nit *nutrimenta*/ sondern der Stein *materia* selbst: Nun das seind zwo materien/ auß deren ein jedliche ein Stein

^a Sudhoff (170): "zugleicherweis."

TRACTATUS SEXTUS

Beyond all that has been demonstrated above, there are still further *generationes lapidis* in the human being occurring and growing in addition to *tartarus*: their generation is like that of the external ones. For, since the human being is indeed the *microcosmus*, the *generationes* within him are the same as those in the external world, though with the [kind of] distinction which *philosophia* has the capacity [to account for]. These [other] *generationes* take place in the human beings who acquire the stone in some other manner than through the *tartarus*: Their *digestio*, *separatio*, and so on is sound, and the *tartarus* remains mixed together with the excrements and passes out without coming into contact with the salt spirit. Since [in these cases] another *genus* | 184 | is present which is like the one described [above], but nonetheless lacking the tartaric *paroxysmus* or its shape, form, etc., and having instead a natural origination, you should know that we are dealing with two [distinct] *generationes* and that two distinct *essentiae* are involved. The *tartarus* has within it one *paroxysmus*. However, the [others] have no *paroxysmus* in them, not unless it happens that a *paroxysmus* results from the confines in which it is located. Otherwise nothing of the kind will happen. For this reason the *paroxysmi* in those cases should be ascribed not to the stone but to the confines, and understood accordingly. A generation of the sort occurs frequently in children, and indeed of both kinds, from birth and from a discrete cause, as will be explained in the chapter devoted to such things. I only mention it here because you should attend to such things in young patients. Very often they have lapidary symptoms, even more so than the old patients in fact do, but both for them and the old patients there is a common cause.

So take into consideration the generation that proceeds by a natural course having nothing to do with the tartaric substance. Remember that there is a twofold generation of the materials. We know that every stone which comes into being has to have a lapidary *prima material*. It follows from this that there are two kinds of lapidary materials. There is one that is in us in the same way as in the great world. The other enters into us, or put differently, we introduce it into ourselves. For example, this can happen when we drink something that is of the lapidary nature properly speaking; not *nutrimenta*, but rather the lapidary

im Menschen wirt. Das nun die Steine macht/ dz ist desselbigen Elements *Astrum*/ dasselbige *Astrum* ist der feurige Saltzgeist/ der congeliert: Vnd heist *congelatio* billicher dann *coagulatio*. Darumb so wissen nun in disen dingen/ das wir am aller ersten vier Element in vns sollen erkennen/ vnd in den vieren ein steinige materi zu sein/ das ist/ im selbigen wasser. Nun ist das feur in seim Saltzgeist/ im selbigen Element sein eigen *congelatio*: Darumb so seind vier *Astra*/ vier feur/ das ist/ ein vierfacher Feurgeist oder Saltzgeist/ so sich do ein generation herfür last/ vnd sich dohin stellet/ so ist auch dabey sein *Astrum*/ das jhn congeliert. Zu gleicher weiß wie im Himmel/ do ist kein Stein/ oder Hagelstein/ Donnerstein: wie | 185 | nuhn derselbig Stein herfür kompt/ oder wo er sich nimpt/ also wissend auch/ das jhr dise generation sollend erkennen vnd verstahn: Nit die Stein der flüsse/ der bergen/ oder bächen/ oder dergleichen/ sondern die Stein *Tonitruui*.^a Dieselbe ist die generation von der hie geschriben wirt/ vnd ist im *Microcosmo* gleich wie im Himmel.

Nuhn am ersten dieselben *generationes* der eussern Welt zubeschreiben ist notwendig. So wissend das dieselbige Stein auß den Elementen/ in jhren Steinwasseren genommen werden/ vnd aber sie seind nit Stein/ sondern ein Dawform/ das auffsteiget auß seim Element in ein anders: Vnnd das ander Element ist des Elements *ultima materia*: Also enden sich die *primae materiae* diser Steinen im Himmel. Das ist/ die stille Welt hat in jhr die generation diser seltzamen dingen. Nun ist sie ein vnsichtigs ding in der Philosophy/ aber sichtig wirt sie in der *ultima materia*. So nun die Geist des Himmels auß dem Saltz geboren/ den Himmel herschen/ so begegnen jhnen dise generation/ dieselbige ist nun die *materia*: Der geist/ die zeit/ ist der/ der sie congeliert/ in welcher congelation andere ding mitlaufen/ beschehen als die *Meteorica*^b außweiset. Nun in solcher

^a As with the paroxysm (see H 2:24, note on **microcosmus**), **tonitrus** is linked by the alchemy of the chemical understood *tria prima* to pathology (of the stroke, *gutta*, or schlag) on the one hand and meteorology on the other: “Drei ding sind, die den fulgur machen, der sulphur und das salz und das feur des firmaments. die drei machen die tonitrua, fulgura und dergleichen” (S 1:90).

^b Though meteorological reasoning is found throughout P.’s work, the most explicit writings are also the most inclusive of the full breadth of his themes covering the trinitarian nature of the *tria prima* as well as common weather phenomena: *De Meteoris* (S 13:127-206), the autograph-based *Opusculum de Meteoris* (211-41), and further materials drawn from copies (245-86). Since P. advances his meteorological theories to counter Aristotle’s errors (156, 196), the convergence of the mystical with the naturalistic is noteworthy. Thus meteorology begins with Genesis 1: the elements

materia itself. So you can see that there are two materials out of which a stone can come into being in the human body. What it is that makes the stone is the *astrum* of that particular element. That particular *astrum* is the fiery salt spirit which congeals it. It is more appropriately known as *congelatio* than as *coagulatio*. In consequence, what you should keep in mind about all these matters is that we must be able to recognize the four elements within ourselves, that there is a lapidary material in the four, and in particular in the water. It is the case that [the element of] fire is in its salt spirit, [causing] in that same element its own *congelatio*. This is why there are four *astra*, four fires, in other words a fourfold fire spirit or salt spirit, which in this case permits a generation and comes into play; and that in the process its *astrum* is involved that congeals it. This happens in the same way as it happens in the heavens when a stone, or [more precisely] a hailstone [or] thunderstone | 185 | issues forth as a stone, or just as it draws its material, so you should know how to recognize this generation and understand it. This is not the stone of the rivers, the mountains, or the streams, or anything of that kind, but rather the stone of the *tonitrus* [thunder]. Precisely that is the generation with which I am dealing here. For it is the same in the *microcosmus* as in the heavens.

It is necessary, first of all, to describe these particular *generationes* of the external world. You should be aware that these stones are drawn from the elements in [the form of] their lapidary waters (**in jhren Steinwassern**);¹ and yet they are not stone but rather a dew form which rises up from one element into another. That other element is the *ultima materia* of that element. Accordingly, the *primae materiae* of these stones end in the heavens. That is to say that the silent world has within itself the generation of these strange things. Now in philosophy it is an invisible thing; however, it becomes visible in the *ultima materia*. When it comes about that the spirits of the heavens are born from this salt in order to rule the heavens, they encounter the generation which is the same as the *materia*. The spirit, [or] time, is that which congeals them; and in this congelation other things also participate and result, as the *Meteorica* establishes. In the conjunction

¹ See Grimm, **Steinwasser**: defined as “stone-generating water” with citations primarily from P. The term can also refer to a strong or mountain stream.

zusammen tretzung solcher vereinigten Elementen/ wechst nun im Himmel der Stein/ der sich darnach gen bodem schlecht vnd felt/ wol so offft vnd mehr/ das nichts darinnen/ das man nicht mercket noch jnnen wirt. Auff das so wissen das im leib dise *Astra* vnd Element auch seind/ nit anders dann wie im Himmel. Nun ist der Mensch ein Himmel/ das ist/ alle Menschen ein Himmel/ das ist/ auß eim *limbo*/ darumb dem das/ dem ein anders begegnet: Er ist getheilt in sein theil/ vnd doch alles ein Himmel/ aber partiert im Menschen. Darauß nun folget/ das gheling auff ein stund/ auff ein minuten ein solcher Stein im menschen geboren wirt in der gestalt wie obsteht.

Notwendiger were es/ die *Mechanicam* diser generation wol auß zu suchen: Aber nit not/ vrsach/ das ein *Medicus* vorhin ein *Philosophus* sein soll/ vnd ein *Astronomus*: Darumb so versich ich mich dasselbe alles bey jhn vilfach zu sein/ darumb leichte vntrricht gnugsam ist vnd thut. Das ist aber also dz | 186 | ein jedlich Donner auß dem Saltz kompt/ vnd nichts ist als Saltz/ in *prima materia*: Vnd der geist des Saltzes congeliert sich selbst: Darumb das es mit einer vngestümmigkeit angeht/ ist des Saltzes schuldt/ so dann im Schwefel sich nit vereinigen mag. Diß Saltz aber geht in Stein/ der Schwefel in das feur/ das ist in seinen blitz:^a Der Schwefel verbrenndt im lufft zwischen dem Himmel vnd der Erden/ das Saltz aber wirt ein Stein vnd felt ein Stein herab. Nuhn seind die *primae materiae* im Menschen alle Geist/ vnd alle Gestirn/ vnd dieselbige zeit/ das ist derselbige lauff. Darauff so wissend/ welcher Mensch denselbigen Curß hat/ als dann die zeit da gibt auff wen es gefallen ist/ derselbige wirt dem Stein nit entkommen/ sondern er wirt bey jhm befunden/ vnd wachsen: Welche Stein

were created ex nihilo, “durch das wort gottes, das fiat geheißen hat” (134). The elements are “mothers”; and the *tria prima* are their “materia prima”: “dan der ursprung diser zal ist aus got am ersten” (135). Via the divine Word, the *tria prima* and four elements, P. proceeds to the plenitude and multiplicity of creation including the elemental spirits: “dan das sollen wir wissen, das got in allen elementen lebendige creaturen geschaffen hat und nichts hat lassen lër sein” (151). The celestial phenomena include portentous signs (197) as well as common weather phenomena.

^a This is the favored alchemical-trinitarian paradigm of the *tria prima* that effect thunder and lightning as well as the stroke, “des schlags”: “Drei ding sind, die den fulgur machen, der **sulphur** und das **salz** und das **feur des firmaments**. die drei machen die tonitrua, fulgura und dergleichen.” This “meteorica” is the key to human mastery of health: “dan des menschen himel ist also in des menschen hant, das der mensch in mag ausstrecken und kürzen, und das darumb, das der mensch der zerbrüchlichkeit underworfen ist. doraus wird im sein lang oder kurz leben, gesundes oder ungesundes” (*Elf Traktat*—S 1:90).

of the united elements of this kind, the stone grows in the heavens so that it can subsequently fall to and strike the earth, [an occurrence] happening so frequently that no one takes any note or is very aware of it. In connection with this, you should be aware that in the body these [same] *astra* and elements are found, not differently than they are in the heavens. The human being is thus also a heaven, which is to say that all human beings are these heavens, that is, made from a single *limbus*. This is why one thing happens to one person and something else to someone else. [The human being] is divided up [as] into its parts, and yet all are one heavens, merely distributed into the human being[s]. From this it follows that at some precise moment suddenly within some human being a stone of this kind can be born, as has been explained above.

It would be especially necessary to seek out the *mechanica* of this generation; but it not necessary [for present purposes] for the reason that a *medicus* should already have been a *philosophus* and an *astro-nomus*. Consequently, I have taken care to have been these things in many regards so that I can easily give sufficient instruction about it all. In this instance it happens to be the case that | 186 | a thunder arises from the salt, and there is nothing but salt in the *prima materia*. And the spirit of the salt congeals itself. If this happens in a violent way, the salt is responsible for the fact that in the sulphur nothing can be united. This salt passes into stone; [and] the sulphur into fire, which means into its flash. The sulphur burns up in the air between the heavens and the earth. However, the salt turns into a stone and falls as such down to earth. It is the case that the *primae materiae* in the human beings are all spirits, and all stars, and the time of these matches up with their course. For this reason you should know that whichever human being has this particular course in which the time is ripe for it to fall upon him—he will not escape the stone, but rather it will be found within him and will grow [there]. These particular stones are

sich nit vil söndern oder entformen gegen den S[t]ralsteinen/ in der schwertze/ farben/ vnnd anderem^a anhangendem wesen/ als allein in der herte/ etwan linder/ vnnd doch herter/ als alle andere Stein. Darumb so du wilt sein *Theoricam* wol wissen vnnd erkennen/ so lehrn am ersten erkennen die generation^b des Donners/ so hastu die *materiam* des Steins auch. Darumb so ist nit not von jhr vil zu sagen/ dieweil *Philosophia* an dem ort den Artzt gibt/ in dem/ das jhr lernend die vrsach do erkennen: So befил ichs weiter was not ist dem Artzt in der heilung/ in seinen Capitulen zu suchen.

Nuhn auff das wissend die endt vnd örter solcher generation/ wo sie im Menschen wechst/ oder sonst wo der ligt: Da wissend/ der gantze leib gibt die generation diß Steins/ dann es ist ein *Olympus*,^c so ist der stein *Olympi* generiert/ darumb so muß es alles zusammen genommen werden. Auff das folget nun/ das der leib so weicher ist/ ein *materiam* gibt in ein compaction/ dieselbige samlet sich zu geben im *Chaos*/ das ist in der hüle/ mitten des leibes/ zwischen der scheidel vnd den solen an füessen: Auß dem mittel geht die generation gegen dem vntersten bodem. Nun ist das mittel im Himmel im wesen der Sternen im Menschen/ in der hüle des *Diaphragmatis*: Der vnterste bodem ist die Erden/ also ist auch die *Vesica* vnd jhr region/ was vnter den Nieren ist/ vnd dieselbige stat. Vnd wie auff die Erden der Donner felt/ also in die *Vesicam* oder Nieren: | 187 | Dann do ist die *Anatomia* der Erden vnd des Wassers/ das ist der vntern globul vnd Sphær *planities*. Auf solches folget/ dieweil dise region ist *planities*^d der vntern Sphær/ das sie auch ist die stat/ die do diese generation behalten muß/ nach dem vnd^e sie felt vnnd legt: So felt sie nit in der congelation/ sondern in *liquido*: aber so schnell ist die congelation da/ das sie congeliert wirt/ so bald sie die vntere *planitiem* entpfind. Also auch ein jedlicher Stralstein/ erst in der region der vntern Sphaer

^a Sudhoff (172): “stralsteinen” ... “anderen.”

^b Sudhoff (172): “generationes.”

^c In the *Elf Traktat*, [O]lympus and “olympietet” summarize the “virtutes coelestes” which supplant the theory of the humors or “die philosopheie der complexen” (S 1:18). In the Munich “Mantischer Entwurf,” dated by Sudhoff perhaps as of 1536, the governing star that rules over what is destructible: “ist im Olympo, das hat die ding al unter im” (S 10:644). Just as Christ embodies the celestial impact in the divine sense, “Olympus” embodies or even parallels it in terms of astronomy or meteorology (S 12:230; 13:201).

^d Sudhoff (173): “planitis.”

^e Sudhoff (173) omits “vnd.”

not much different from the lightening stones (**S<t>ralsteinen**)¹ in terms of opacity, colors, and other attendant aspects, except for their being less extreme in their hardness, though still harder than all other stones. Accordingly, if you would know and understand its *theorica*, then you first need to comprehend the generation of the thunder: with that you will also have the *materia* of the stone. This is why not much needs to be said about it, insofar as *philosophia* provides us the physician as you succeed in learning how to recognize the causes in this context. In consequence, I recommend learning the rest of what the physician needs to know in the practice of healing in those chapters.

With regard to this you should come to terms with the purposes and places of this kind of generation, whether it comes about in the human being or somewhere else. You should know that the entire body gives rise to the generation of this stone; for it is a kind of *Olympus*,² so that the stone of *Olympus* is generated. For this reason, all [these] things must be considered together. From this it follows that the body, being of softer material, gives its *materia* over to compaction; [and] the latter comes together in the *chaos* in order to generate, that is, in the hull in the middle of the body, between the top of the head and the soles of the feet. Out of this center the generation proceeds toward the lowest level. As it happens, the center in the heavens in the substance of the stars is in the human being in the hull of the *diaphragma*: the lowest level is the earth, which means the *vesica* and its region, which is below the kidneys and that particular location. Just as the thunder falls to earth, so it falls into the *vesica* or kidneys. | 187 | For that is where we find the *anatomia* of earth and water, which is the *planities* [plane surface] of the lower globe and of the sphere. From this it follows that since this region [corresponds to] the *planities* of the lower sphere, it is also the place where this generation must be received when it has fallen and settled. Accordingly, it does not fall in the [state of] congelation but rather *in liquido*. Yet the congelation occurs so rapidly that it is congealed as soon as it touches the lower *planities*. And so it happens too that every lightning stone only becomes one in the region of

¹ See Grimm, **Strahlstein**: could mean on the one hand one of several kinds of crystalline precious stones and on the other a stone associated with lightning or possibly hail (*lapis fulminaris*).

² Ruland defines “Olympian spirit” as the star within that allows us to cast a shadow: “*Olympicus spiritus est astrum in homine, quod efficit, vt vmbra de se praebeat*. Das Gestirn im Menschen/ das da macht/ daß er ein Schatten von ihm gibt.” Here it is a dominant *astrum* that generates the stone. See also H 1:282.

planitie auch wirt/ der vorhin ein *liquor* ist/ das ist ein *liquor lapidis*. Die congelation geht in der frembde an/ vnd nit in seiner region/ das ist auff seim mist. Darumb wissend das ein jedliche solche generation/ do sie gefunden wirt/ nit geboren ist/ sondern ligt an einer fremden stat/ vnd nit an jhrer eigen stat: Vnd auch/ das sie nit ist wie an jhr eigen stat: Wie ein Eisen/ das im feur *liquidum* ist/ vnd aber im außguß vom feur hert vnd congeliert: Also groß ist derselbige feur-geist des Saltzes/ dz er sie schmelzt/ so lang biß er kompt in ein außguß do erhertet es. (*Vt in nostra Meteorica.*)

Nuhn wissend also darauff auch/ wie jhr sehend das die Sonne Stein gebieret/ so sie die *materiam* hat: Das ist/ so ein Wasser oder ein *liquor* ein steinigtes wesen in jhr hat/ das Stein ist/ vnd aber durch dz Wasser were resoluiert worden von seiner congelation, das ist/ das Wasser hat jhm sein congelation zerbrochen/ vnnd auffgericht/ als dann viel der Steinen seindt/ die dem Wasser dermassen nicht widerstehn mögen: Dieselbigen Stein mit sampt dem Wasser/ so es die Sonn mag außtrucknen/ so werden sie wieder Stein. Auß der vrsach wechst der Sand/ vnnd viel solcher Stein/ täglich hinzu/ vnnd mehren sich/ als die *Meteorica* außweiset. So nuhn im Menschen also ein solche dürre vorhin ist/ *Bolus, Lapis, Viscus, Arena*, etc. vnnd wirdt durchs Wasser resoluiert vnd getruncken ohn vorwissen/ dasselb ist nit anderst im leib dann wie es auff der Erden. Darauß dann folget/ treibts die Natur nit auß von^a jhr/ sondern bleibt/ so wirt dasselbig durch die inwendig truckenen geist außgetrucknet/ wie ein Wasser vom Lufft/ von der Sonnen/ etc. Vnnd wirt auch ein Stein darauß. Aber an viel örteren wirt dieser erkennt/ als ein | 188 | Stein der erden/ das ist/ wie sie dann auff Erden ligen. Also auch wissend das sich offtmal begibt/ das im Menschen die kalte winterische art so hefftig vbergehend/ das sie auß solcher art die *liquores* congeliert als ein Eiß/ vnd aber wider zerschmelzet. Dann so im Menschen der Sommer vnd der Winter ist/ so seind auch bey jhm vnnter vnnd ober *Sphaera*/ vnnd was jhr *corpora* seindt. Darauß dann folget/ gefrieren der humiditet im leib/ so auß den theilen des leibes gahnd/ die wir *Vapores* heissen/ vnd ligt im geblüte/ vnd wo feuchte ist im leibe. Dann dieselbigen *Vapores* seind das Wasser so auff erden gefrieret/ die villeicht wol mögen *humores* geheissen werden/ doch nit im alten verstand. Auß solchem gefrieren folgt hernach so es wider auff entfremt/ die kranckheiten der *Apostematum*/ plattern vnnd dergleichen/ welches die alten Scribenten

^a Sudhoff (174) omits "von."

the lower *planities* sphere, having previously been a *liquor*, that is, a *liquor lapidis*. The congelation comes about in the foreign [region] and not in its own region, that is, in its own dung heap. This is why you should be aware that every generation of this kind is not born in the place where it is found, that it lies in a foreign location and not in its own; and, moreover, that it is no longer as it was in its original location. It is as with iron which in fire turns into a *liquidum* but, in being poured out of a fiery hearth, congeals. The particular fire spirit of the salt is so great that it smelts them until it comes into a spout, whereupon it hardens. (*Ut in nostra Meteorica.*)

You should realize after that how you can see that the sun gives birth to stones if it has the *materia*. By this I mean that if water or any *liquor* has a lapidary substance in it, which is stone that had been resolved from its congelation (this implies that the water broke [the stone's] congelation and wrought it into the condition of those many kinds of stones that cannot resist water), if these particular stones are dried out together with the water by the sun, they will become stones again. For this reason the sand increases daily, as do many sorts of stone, as is shown in my *Meteorica*. If in the human being there is a desiccation of this kind, involving *bolus*, *lapis*, *viscus*, *arena*, etc., and these are resolved by water, drunk without knowledge of it, the same thing will happen in the body as on the earth. What happens then is that nature does not expel [the stone] from itself. It persists. As a consequence, these things are dried out by an internal dry spirit, as happens in water from the air, or the sun, or what have you. And thus a stone results. However, in many places this is thought to be a | 188 | stone from the earth, of the kind that lies around on the ground. You should also be aware that it often happens that in the human being the cold wintry nature passes so violently that the *liquores* by force of nature are congealed until they are like an ice, but are again melted down. For just as summer and winter are in the human being, the human being also has the lower and upper spheres within him, as well as whatever *corpora* pertain to them. From this it follows that in the body there is a freezing of the humidity exuded by the bodily organs. We call this *vapores*. They reside in the blood and wherever there is moisture in the body. For these *vapores* are [like] the water the freezes on the earth. Perhaps these might be correctly referred to as *humores*, though not in the old sense of the word. From this freezing there results, as soon as it is thawed again, the diseases of *apostemata*, of the pocks, and other things of the kind that were not understood properly

noch nit recht verstanden haben/ wie sie dann weiter beschriben werden an jhren örtern vnnd Capiteln. Der den Menschen nit in solchem Astralischem/ Temporalischem/ Essentialischem wesen erkennt/ der ist vnbilllich ein Artzt. Solcher Stein art vnd stat ist nit sonderlich/ sondern wo sie sich hinsetzt/ do geschicht sie: Nemlich in den *Emunctoriis* des Magens/ der Blateren/ der Nieren/ vnd in den wegen die do durchlauffen. Auß dem volgt nun das vil artzney seind die solche Stein resoluieren/ zerschmelzen/ zerbrechen in ein letten/ in ein meel: Dann vrsach/ es ist vorhin auch also gewesen: Darumb so wirt die andere congelation so starck nit/ das sie möge machen anderst/ dann das sie do nit widersteht/ so ein artzney darzu kompt/ die solcher resolution gewalt hatt. Es thunds aber ander Stein nit mit der artzney/ dardurch dann vil der Artzten betrogen seind worden/ haben mit Krepsaugen alle Stein wöllen vertreiben/ *Iudaico*,^a *milio Solis*,^b etc. Aber jhr narrheit ist gnugsam am tag.

^a As opposed to his more general and negative allusions to Jewish physicians, this reference in connection with treatment alludes to a specific ingredient such as the one cited in “Rec. oculorum cancrorum, lapidis lycnis, spongiae, olei ludi, **judaici**, lincis ana unz. 1 et semis, saxifragiae unz. 2, et sic de aliis” (S 2:386).

^b The herbal, vegetable, or cereal identity of *milium* [*solis*] is suggested by its citation along with poppy and lentils (“in papavere und in linsen...dergleichen in milio auch”—S 13:78). A formula for treating “scrophula” presents “sal de milio” as a cause: “scrophulae komen aus dem sal de milio, und so oft ein loch, so oft ein eigener centrum, hierin ist sein wirkung nach art salis lapillati de grandine” (S 4:255).

by the ancients. All of this will be discussed in the proper chapters and contexts. Whoever does not truly understand the human being with regard to this astral, temporal, essential nature cannot properly be called a physician. This stone does not have a particular character or location. Wherever it settles is where it develops. It might be in the *emuntoria* of the stomach, bladder, kidneys, [or] in those passages through which it happens to proceed. From this it is also evident that there are many kinds of medication that dissolve [or] melt [or] break it down into a clay, a meal. The reason for this is the same as with the preceding. Thus, this second kind of congelation is not so strong that it could bring about a condition that could not be counteracted if a medication is administered with the proper resolution within its power. But other stones cannot be treated with the medication. This has led many physicians astray as they tried to expel every stone with crabs' eyes, or *Judaico*, or with *milium solis*,¹ etc. But their foolishness is sufficiently evident already.

¹ *Judaico* must be understood here as an ablative. *Bitumen judaicum* (asphalt) is one possible specification (see Agricola³ 20; and Agricola⁴ 93ff., on its uses and sources, including the "Sea of Judea"). For *milium solis*: see Cange: *lithospermum officinale*; cf. OLD, *lithospermon*: a plant with pebble-like fruits, gromwell (Pliny 27:98, "*inter omnes herbas lithospermo nihil est mirabilius*"); gromwell are plants of the borage family with smooth, glossy, hard white nutlets (Webster).

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*PARAMIRI LIBER^a QVARTVS.
DE MATRICE.^b*

Nun vber das alles/ so ich gesagt hab/ von dem anligen der Menschen/ so ist es doch nicht alles erzelt: Denn so wir in den grund der Artzney gohnd/ so befind sich noch ein andere Theorische philosophey/ vnnd *Astronomia* im Menschen/ vber alles das so fürgehalten ist. Nun ist dieselbig allein der *Matrix* halben/ betreffent allein die Frawen. Nuh dieweil der grund weiter in diesem Buch/ nit anderst ist/ als allein zubeschreiben dieselbige *Matrix*/ vnnd jhr anliegen/ zugleichweiß wie ein Mensch/ dem sein anliegen beschrieben werden: So wissent das ich von vnsichtigen dingen rede: dann wer ist der/ der das in der *Anatomia Matricis* gesehen hab/ das so ich hernachfolgend fürhelt. Wiewol das ist/ dz an dem orth nichts sichtigs ist/ so soll es doch sichtig geurtheilt werden. In dem Lufft sehent wir nichts/ wir aber empfinden jn/ also auch in der Mutter: darumb im Lufft wir wol mögen das besehen das wir empfinden/ das wir aber nit sehent. Dann

^a A four-page draft labeled “*Zum Buch de Matrice*” begins with an abbreviated Latin salute and in a tone that suggests another formal address to Watt. The opening praises Hippocrates over Avicenna and avers that the ancient authorities did not discover everything there is to know (S 9:245-48). A numbered outline details points to be made “[d]e Matrice.” P. compares “matrix” to a tree rooted in a body from which it draws both nourishment and diseases (“Ein gut erden gibt gute beum, ein guter baum gute frucht”—247). Male and female differ in accordance with the operations of the “archeus” which also generates different diseases. “Theory” must reflect these differences (247-48). P. refers to various points of women’s health; but reproduction is clearly destined to be the focus in considering the matrix. There is a need for “zwo theorik, naturalis et abortus [miscarriage or dead foetus—OLD]” (247). Sudhoff (177) presents the title thus: “*Paramiri liber quartus de matrice.*”

^b *Matrix*, a term found throughout P.’s writings and employed in the plural to designate the elements, is so to speak the mother within the mother. P.’s microcosmic reasoning is evident in H 1:202. Relevant to the present work is its use in *Das Buch von der Gebärung der empfindlichen Dinge in der Vernunft* (S 1:243ff.; cf. *Liber de Generatione Hominis*—S 1:287ff.), where, in a manner more revealing of P.’s agenda than of his conclusion, he discusses *sperma*, *same*, *mutter*, the attractive power of the *matrix*, and its relevance to the divine source of the soul. The last is a theme that is deferred for further treatment to the anticipated works “in paramiris” (S 1:271). The post-Basel writings on “Franzosen” and its treatment also contain passages (S 6, 7) on the *matrix* and on sexual desire, reflections resumed in this and the following work.

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*PARAMIRI LIBER¹ QUARTUS.**DE MATRICE²*

Despite all that I have said about the concerns of human beings, everything has still not been told. For when we proceed [further] into the foundation of medicine, yet another theoretical philosophy and *astro-nomia* are found in the human being beyond all else that has so far been presented. This [other philosophy and astronomy] concerns only the *matrix*, and [it] has to do solely with women. The reason for this book is none other than to describe that particular matrix and its ailments as a human being whose ailments have to be accounted for. Now you should be aware that I am speaking of invisible things.³ For who could possibly have seen those things of the *anatomia matrixis* that I am going to demonstrate by means of the following presentation. Although it is the case that in this subject nothing is visible, nevertheless it [all] is to be assessed according to the mode of the visible. In [the element of] air, we see nothing, even though we sense it; and thus it is, too, with the mother:⁴ thus it is that in [the element of] air, we can observe things that we sense but do not see. For the faculty of

¹ This work is distinct among the other “**Paramiran Books**” and a rarity for P. in that it has no internal divisions. It is an essay on a single idea and its consequences: on the “mother” as a unique microcosm of the Creation, a thought which P. believes negates the opposing medicine and confirms his own.

² In classical Latin, *matrix* is a female animal kept for breeding or a parent tree (OLD). In medieval Latin, it is a stock, origin, spring, or, more auspiciously, the Mother Church (MLLM). Ruland defines the plural as the elements in their fecundity: “*Matrices rerum omnium, id est, elementa*, die Mutter aller Ding, darauß alle Ding kommen vnd wachsen.” Given this association with the elements, the *matrix* accords with P.’s microcosmic-macrocosmic reasoning and implicates “*material*” as the female source of all things. *Astrum*, *limbus*, and “sam” (seed) tend to be gendered as male.

³ In their mode of argumentation **from visible to invisible** (or here vice versa), the thematically disparate “paramiran works” follow closely, with P.’s introductory remarks here anticipating the “Invisible Diseases or Works.”

⁴ In observing that we do not see “**the mother**,” P. implicitly glosses his term *matrix*, indicating that it is a maternal reproductive faculty that cannot be seen as such but is as intimately familiar as the air we breathe.

nicht allein den augen ist das besehen befohlen/ sondern auch das empfinden. Vnnd aber in dem allein wie es gehandelt wirt/ so wirt die Anatomey hierinnen vorbehalten/ das ist/ das alle ding sollent mit rechtem natürlichem grund einander nachgehn/ vnd geführt werden/ vnd nit vnserem wänen/ meinen/ etc. heimgesetzt/ sondern dem grundt: Also/ das in dem wege besehen werde dz vnsichtbar/ als so es sichtbar würd/ [vnd] als wer es. Dann nicht allein was wir sehend/ ist der grund/ sondern das wir empfinden ist auch der grund: vnd haben aber beyde ein grund vnnd eine anweisung darzu auch. Wiewol die *Matrix* ein anders ist vnnd viel ein anders/ so ist es allein doch das: die kleinste | 190 | Welt^a ist/ ist *Matrix*: Vnd wie sie aber das ist/ darumb gebürt [sich] dasselbig zusetzen.

So sehent jhr wol/ das der Himmel beschleust beyde vnder vnd ober Sphær/ vnd vmbgibt die/ auff das nichts tödtlichs/ vnd was tödtlich vnd zergänglich ist/ hinauß gang in das eusser Reich/ das dann ist ausserhalb dem Himmel den wir sehen. Dann nichts tödtlichs vnd nichts vntödtlichs mögen gemeinschaft haben noch in eim wohnen. Also ist die grosse Welt beschlossen/ das nichts von jhr hinauß gang/ sondern in jhr bleibe/ das jhr ist/ vnd das sie ist/^b das dasselbig beschlossen sey vnd weiter einig: Also ist nun die grosse Welt. Die kleine Welt aber ist der Mensch/ derselbige ist auch beschlossen also mit einer haut/ auff das sein blut/ sein fleisch/ vnd was dann der Mensch ist/ nit in der gemeinschaft sey der grossen Welt: das ist/ dz seine Element nit berüren die eussern mit der Substantz: dann eins breche das ander. Darumb hat der Mensch die

^a In the *Buch von der Gebärung*, “matrix” and “muter” are not codified hierarchically as “smallest.” The work relevant to the emergence of the ideas of the present treatise includes one of P.’s writings on a female infirmity that Sudhoff glossed as hysteria: *Von hinfallenden Siechtagen der Mutter* or *De Caduco Matricis* (S 8:319-68). This unpolished work recollects the author’s having lectured at Basel on the same infirmity (320). It takes aim at the poets presumably honored by his Basel detractors (321), cites Christ’s authority in matters of healing (322-23), marshals the disciplines of philosophy and astronomy into the service of a new “theorik” (339), and approaches the concept of the *matrix* as the smallest microcosm by extrapolating it from the creation of Adam: “wie Adam in der welt ist empfangen, geboren etc. worden, und ist gewesen sein matrix ... also ist nun fūrohin dieselbig matrix keins kints matrix mer sonder in den frauen geschaffen, iedoch mit aller art und eigenschaft der matrix, darin Adam geborn ist und gelegen. nun ist der mensch die klein welt und hat in im die art matricis, das ist, der großen und kleinen welt...” (328). *Matrix* is first and foremost the world-womb in which Adam lay, a world which is reconstituted as the maternal womb.

^b Sudhoff (178) inserts “und.”

observation is not exclusive to the eyes, but [rather] encompasses this [other mode of] sensing also. And yet the subject of anatomy is to be restricted to the way all things are treated in context: by this I mean that all matters should follow after one another and be treated with [respect to their] proper natural ground and should not be subjected to our personal imagining [and] opining, but subjected instead to that grounding. That is, in the manner of observation in which that which is invisible is regarded as if it were to gain visibility, <and> were indeed so. For the [true] ground is not merely that which we see. It is rather the case that what we sense is also the ground; and yet both [the visible and the invisible] have a single foundation, as well as a single manifestation. Although the *matrix* is a different sort of thing, and indeed very distinct, nevertheless it can be stated quite simply: the smallest | 190 | world¹ is the *matrix*. And insofar as that is precisely what it is, it is proper to posit this as a concept.

You are aware that the heavens include two spheres, the lower and the upper, and that it encompasses them both in order that nothing which is mortal and transient should penetrate up into the outer realm, which lies outside of the heavens that we see.² For it is not possible for anything that is mortal to come together with anything that is immortal or live together with it. This is why the great world is enclosed so that nothing can penetrate out of it, so that instead everything that pertains to it must remain enclosed in it and be always one with it. That is how the great world is. The small world on the other hand is the human being: he is also enclosed by a skin so that his blood, his flesh, and whatever the human being consists of, does not enter into association with the great world; that is, so that his elements do not come into contact with the external substance: for the latter would destroy the former. This is why the human being is covered with skin, which de-

¹ Pagel (238) writes under the heading of, "The microcosmic pattern as reflected by the womb and the earth (Leonicenus, Cesalpino and Aristotle)": "Comparing the womb ('Mother') with the earth, Paracelsus views it as a cosmos in the cosmos. ... Here Paracelsus is using a symbol that was popular in his time."

² In referring to the lower and upper **Sphær**, P. uses the language of astronomy but intends the separation of upper and lower waters in Gen 1:6-7. The outer realm (**das eusser Reich**) is the eternal world.

haut vbersich/ die ist der Mensch/ dz sie scheidet die zwo Welt von einander/ die grosse vnd die kleine/ dz ist/ die Welt vnd den Menschen/ auff das zwey widerwertige ding nit zusammen in eine Welt fallen. Also bleibt die Welt in jrem gehäuse/ gantz vnd vnzerbrochen/ vnd niemandts ist im selbigen Hauß/ der sie irre oder zerbreche: Also bleibt auch der Mensch in seim Hause/ dz ist/ in seiner haut/ vnd last nichts hinein/ vnd geht auch nichts auß seinem hauß/ sondern er bleibt an seiner statt vnd ist also ein Mensch seiner haut. Nun folgt auff das/ daß der Mensch das nit allein ist/ noch die Welt allein/ sondern es ist noch eine Welt/ vnd ist die kleinste/ vnd ist die *Matrix*: dieselbe ist auch eine/ vnd ist mit eim faß gebunden/ dz ist/ sie hat jhr sonder gefäß/ haut vnd gebendt/ daß sie für sich selbst auch stehet: Vnd ist gescheid^a von der kleinen Welt. Also der Mann ist die kleine Welt: die Fraw hat im selbigen ein gebresten/ sie ist die kleinste Welt/ vnd ist ein anders dann der Mann/ vnd hat seine andere *Anathomey/ Theoricam, Causas, Rationes, Curas*: Vnnd aber/ wiewol gleich in vil kranckheiten mit dem Mann/ dz ist aber dem Artzt zu unterscheiden von einander/ das ist/ vom Mann/ dann sie ist ein andere Welt.

Die Mutter ist ein ding/ die nichts anders ist als ein be| 191 |schlossen Welt/ die sonst nicht gemeinschaftt hatt mit den andern/ vnd ist doch dieselbige. Dann die Welt ist vnd war die erste Creatur: Der Mensch war die ander: die Fraw die dritt. Also ist die Welt die gröste/ der Mannen die nächste/ der Frawen die kleinste vnd hinderste. Nuh hat die Welt jhre Philosophie vnd Kunst/ auch^b der Mann/ also auch die Frawen. In der Welt wachsen Würme/ im Mann/ also auch in der Frawen. Das aber alles/ ist also zu verstohn/ daß sie alle drey ein

^a Sudhoff (178): “gescheiden.”

^b Sudhoff (179) places in angular brackets: <auch>.

finer the human being in order to separate the two worlds from one another, the great one and the small one, that is, the world itself and the human being so the two opposing entities do not merge into a single world. Accordingly, the world remains in its housing, complete and unbroken, and there is no one in that particular house who could confound or destroy it. And so, too, the human being remains in his house, which is his skin, and nothing [essential] is allowed in nor allowed out; rather, he remains in his place and is thus a human being [defined by] his skin. After this, though, it has to be said as well that the human being is not the only one of this kind, nor the world by itself, but rather there is another world still; and it is the smallest [world], and this is the *matrix*. This is also a world, and it is encompassed by a casement, which means that it has its particular vessel, skin, and binding,¹ so that it stands on its own. And this is the boundary² of the small world. According to this, the man is the small world. The woman has in it a weakness: she is the smallest world; and [she] is something different from the man, and has another anatomy, *theorica*, [and] *causae, rationes*, [and] *curae* [of her own]. And though similar to the man in many diseases, nevertheless the physician distinguishes them from one another, for she is a different world.

The mother is an entity which is nothing less than an | 191 | enclosed world that has no communion with the other [two worlds] and yet is the same one as them. For the [macrocosmic] world is and was the first creature. The [microcosmic] human being was the second [world]; the woman is the third [world]. Therefore, the world is the greatest [of the three], that of the man the second greatest; [and] that of the woman the smallest and last (**hinderste**).³ Clearly the [great] world has its philosophy and its art. So does the man. And thus so does the woman. Worms grow in the [great] world, as well as in the man, and therefore also in the woman.⁴ All of this, however, must be

¹ See Grimm, **Gebende**: a collective noun derived from band, binding, the ribbon in the bound hair, or the wedding ribbons of women (4a, b); the term also evokes the supporting frame of a house (6).

² See Grimm, Gescheide, **Gescheid** (3): “Grenze,” *confinium*.

³ See Grimm, **hinter**, as an adjective: *posterior*; cf. 2b. Since much depends on the sense of this term, it should be noted that as a superlative it could denote “third” or “last.” What is implied is that woman was third in the order of creation recounted in Genesis: first the world, then man, finally woman. In this sense, though pejorative, it is no more so than the biblical account itself.

⁴ Why the “**Würmer**,” worms? If they are presumed to arise from spontaneous generation, this is apposite to the generative functions exercised by each world.

Creatur sind/ gleich in der *Astronomiam* vnnnd *Philosophia* vnd *Theorica*. So die Welt Würm gebiert/ so gebiert sie auch der Mensch in jhm/ also auch die Fraw: dann sie scheiden sich in den *Generatoinibus*^a nicht von einander. Darauff folget aber/ ein ander in der Welt/ ein ander im Mann/ ein ander in der Frawen. Darumb so folgt auß dem/ dieweil die Forme gibt ein ander Welt zusein/ so gibts auch das *Corpus*: Darumb auß dem *Corpus* gehet ein sonderer Monarchey der *Medicin*/ also/ das ein besondere Monarchey der Welt ist/ ein besondere des Mannes/ eine besondere der Frawen. Also werden dreyerley Artzt/ ein besonderer der Welt/ das ist/ der sie pflantzet vnd behüt vor jhren gebresten/ Reiffe/ Schnee/ etc. Ein sonderer des Mannes der jhn behüt in seinen gebresten: Also ein besonderer der Frawen/ der sie auch bewahret. Vnd wiewol die drey Monarchien geschieden sein von einander/ so ist es doch ein ding in den Monarchien: Dann sie scheiden sich nicht von einander in der kunst/ sonderen die kunst begreiff sie mit einander in eim.

Der anfang der leer zu diser Kunst ist die Welt/ die begreiff seine vier Elementen/ wie sie in jrer Mutter ligen: Das mittel ist der Mensch/ der begreiff die *Concordantz*^b jhrer beider: Die dritte leer vnd die letzt ist die Fraw: Jetzt ist der Artzt in seinen *Theoricis Rationibus*, etc. gantz vnnnd vollkommen: Ausserhalb deren/ was ist der *Medicus*? Also weiter wissent in den dingen/ dz die Fraw eine sonderer Welt ist. Vnd wie das fleisch des Menschen die Erden ist/ vnd aber ein andere *Ratio, Causa, Physica*, Also auch mit den Frawen: Vnd wie das blut das Element Wasser ist/ also auch mit der andern [vnd] Form vnd *Corpora* seind: Vnd aber kein anders als das Element allein. | 192 | Wiewol der Mensch in drey stück gesetzt ist/ *Merc. Sulph. Sal*: Also ist in die drey ein jegliche Welt gesetzt. Das fleisch ist *Sal, Mercurius, Sulphur*, die Erden ist auch *Sulphur, Sal* vnd *Mercurius*.

^a For P.'s paradigmatic reading of the **generation of worms** in the body from the two causes of "sperma der mannen" and "feulung," see "Von Würmen" (S 1:110-20). The seemingly spontaneous generation of worms exemplifies the generative powers of the heavens to fashion living images: "der himel aber, der ir meister ist, der nimpt faul ding und macht lebendig bilder doraus..." (115).

^b On the central meaning of **concordanz** in the divine mission of the physician in whose hand the heavens are placed, see *Elf Traktat* (S 1:40-41): "Darumb so folgen zwen weg in der heilung. einer ist, das man den regen gebe, der do vom mitteln himel komme, den regen, den der öber enzeucht nach gleicher sphaer und concordanz. dan das ist die ursach, dorumb got den artz beschaffen hat, nit sein person alein, sonder den himel in seiner hant, der den artz macht." On "concordanz" in association with conception and the power of the stars, see S 10:645, 650.

understood in the following sense: all three are creatures, equivalent in [regard to] *astronomia* and *philosophia*, and *theorica*. Since the world generates worms, so does the human being in himself, and so also does the woman: for they do not distinguish themselves from one another in these *generationes*. But from this it follows further that it [i.e., this generation] is one thing in the world, another in the man, and another yet again in the woman. And because of this it is not only the form that makes us speak of another world, but in terms of the *corpus* as well. For this reason, a particular monarchy of medicine proceeds from the corpus, in the sense that there is one particular monarchy of the world, one particular one of the man, and one particular one of the woman. Accordingly, there will be three [kinds of] physician: a particular one for the world, that is, one who does the planting and the guarding against its frailties, such as frost, snow, etc. There will be a particular one for the man, one that safeguards him against his peculiar frailties. Hence, [there is also] a particular [monarchy of medicine or of the physician] for the woman that safeguards her. And although the three monarchies are distinct from one another, nevertheless the same business prevails in the monarchies: for they are not distinct in terms of art. Rather the [medical] art encompasses them all together within one [field].

The beginning of the doctrine of this art is the world: it encompasses the four elements in the way that they reside in their mother. The intermediate [part of the doctrine] is the human being: it encompasses the concordance of the two [microcosm and macrocosm]. The third and final doctrine is [that of] the woman. Now the physician is whole and perfect in his *rationes theoricae*, etc. Beyond these things what is the *medicus*? You should know as well in these matters that the woman is a particular world [unto itself]. Just as the flesh of the man is [the element of] earth, though nevertheless there is a different *ratio*, *causa*, [and] *physica* [with respect to the man], so it is, too, with women. And just as the blood is the element of water, so it is as well with the other [elements and their] form[s] and *corpora*: none of these things are anything but the element itself. | 192 | Just as the human being is cast in three components, *mercurius*, *sulphur*, [and] *sal*, each of the other worlds is likewise cast in the three. The flesh is *sal*, *mercurius*, *sulphur*. The earth is these three. So is the blood. The sea is

Though distinct, all three worlds are still comparable. Worms may also signify the mortality informing the life and generative power of all three transient worlds.

das Blut ist *Mercurius, Sulphur* vnnnd *Sal*: das Meer ist auch *Mercurius, Sulphur, Sal*: vnd also fort mit den andern. Die *Elementa* scheiden sich vnd theilen sich/ denn vrsach/ sie sind Mütter/ darumb so müssen sie getheilet sein: Ihre *Corpora* aber bleibend *Mercurius, Sulphur, Sal*. Nun die Frawe ist ein anders/ ist aber auch *Mercurius, Sulphur, Sal*, als wol als die Welt/ als wol als der Mann. Darumb so wissent von jhr/ dieweil sie das ist in diser Substantz ein solch *Corpus*, daß sie ein Welt ist: daß sie aber anderst ist dann die Welt/ dann der Mann/ anderst ist auch jhr *Physica*. Vnd darumb daß sie ein Welt ist/ darumb ist sie gleich in den kranckheiten dem Menschen vnd der Welt/ anderst aber/ vnd vnderscheiden: dann sie hatt ein ander *officium*: ein jeglichs besonder *officium* scheidt die *Physica, Theorica* von der andern. Darumb/ ob wol die Frawen *Hydropisin, Icteritiam, Paralyisin,*^a *Colicam*, etc. vberkompt vnd gewinnt/ der Mann auch: Anders ist aber die Monarchey vber den Mann/ anderst vber die Fraw. Dann die Fraw scheid sich auß dem Mann so viel/ so viel sie auß jm ist/ das ist so viel gehet jhr am gewicht ab. Auß dem Mann ist sie/ anderst ist sie aber/ darumb anderst ist auch jr *Anatomia* vnd *Philosophia, Theorica* vnd *Physica*, vnd aber gleichmässig den andern zweyen/ dann sie ist/ die kleinest vnd die hinderste Welt. Vnd so weit dich *Matrix* lehrt die Frawen von dem Mann zu erkennen vnd zu haben: so weit soltu auch jr kranckheit von Mannes kranckheiten scheiden/ vnd betrachten/ das der Welt nicht^b möglich ist/ das dem Mann möglich ist: das dem Mann nit möglich ist/ das der Frawen möglich ist. Darumb/ dieweil sich das scheidt/ so scheid sich all jhr kranckheit in dem auch.

So vns nuh die augen/ das ampt der Körper gibt/ ein ander *Philosophiam* der Medicin für zunemen gegen der Frawen. Ihre kranckheiten nit zu vergleichen deß Mannes kranckheiten/ vnd sich doch auff gleichnuß der zeichen nit zuverlassen. Dann wiewol Ein tod in Mannen vnd in Frawen/ auch eine kranckheit in Mannen vnnnd in Frawen: anderst aber ist der Mann/ | 193 | anderst ist die Fraw/ dem Artzt zuerkennen. Dem tod vnnnd dem elend/ ist es gleich ein durst/

^a The Basel *Libri Paragaphorum* treated *paralysis* under the heading “*de gutta*”: “*gutta paralysis est et apoplexia, contractio membrorum*” (S 5:244ff.). Paralysis differs from apoplexy in attacking only local parts of the body and making them lame (“*paralysis scheidet sich von apoplexia, das es kein membrum principale angreift*”—246).

^b Sudhoff (180): “nichts.”

also the three. And so it is as well with the other things. The *elementa* separate and part from one another. The reason for this is that they are mothers. Being this, they must undergo separation. However, their *corpora* remain *mercurius, sulphur, [and] sal*. It is indeed true that the woman is a distinct [sort of being]; and yet she is also *mercurius, sulphur, [and] sal*, just as is the world, and just as is the man. Therefore, you should know [this] about her: though she exists as such in this [threefold] substance as a *corpus* of her particular kind, she is a world unto herself. She is different from the [great] world, different from the man, different as well in her *physica*. Because she is a world unto herself, she is similar in diseases to the human being and to the world, but also separate and distinct. For she has a different *officium*. In each case, a particular *officium* distinguishes the *physica* [and] *theorica* from that of the others. Therefore, though the women can be overcome and conquered by *hydropsis, icteritia, paralysis, [and] colica*, just as the man can be, notwithstanding, their power over the man is different from over the woman. For the woman is distinct from the man to the degree that she stems from him; which is to say, she weighs that much less than him. She stems from the man, but she is different; for this reason, her *anatomia* and *philosophia*, [her] *theorica* and *physica* are all distinct as well, and nonetheless proportionate to the other two; for she is the smallest and last world. And to the extent that *matrix* teaches you how to recognize and possess [the specific nature of] the woman [as distinct] from the man; to that same degree you should distinguish her diseases from those of the man and regard them separately. What is not possible for the [great] world is possible for the man. What is not possible for the man is possible for the woman. Since a distinction of this sort exists, all of her diseases will be distinct by the same token.

Therefore the [evidence of our] eyes reveals to us the function of the bodies so that we can adopt a different *philosophia* of medicine with respect to women. We are not to compare her diseases with those of the man, nor are we to rely on the similarity of the signs. For although men and women suffer the same death, and [in this sense] there is also a common disease of men and women; nevertheless, the man is not the same | 193 | as the woman, about which the physician should be informed. With respect to death and suffering it is the same. There is thirst and hunger in either. And yet the thirst of the man is

ein hunger in beyden: anderst aber ist es^a der durst des Mannes dann der Frawen/ anderst auch der hunger. Dann so den Mann hungert/ so hungert die mittel Welt/ so die Frawen hungert/ so hungert die letzt Welt: dann die letzte ist anderst dann die erste oder mittel. So weit eine Mutter ist gescheiden von jrem Sohn/ so weit stohnd auch die ding von einander. Darumb auff diß gebürt sich nit anzusehen/ den Irr[s]jal der Alten Scribenten/ die aber^b verführen: setzen die Frawen vnnd den Mann in jhren kranckheiten gleich/ als ein *Paralysis*, ein *Apoplexia*, ein *Caducus*, etc. Das aber falsch ist. Anders ist die wurtzen der Frawen/ anders des Mannes: darumb ist auch die Medicin in dem verstand der vrsachen/ vnd in dem wissen der Cur. Wiewol am letzten herfürbricht/ das *Menstruum*^c vnd dergleichen: Solchs seind kranckheiten/ die dann gescheiden werden sonderlich vom Mann: dieselbige vnderscheidung ist zu den Bawren auch möglich zu machen/ dann er weiß was die Fraw ist/ das er nicht ist. Also wils aber der Artzt nicht/ sonder der verführer der Artzney/ vnnd der verführer der Krancken. Dieweil der Artzt nicht spricht/ des Mannes *Apoplexia* kompt also her/ von dem *Subiecto*, des und des/ so allein dem Mann/ also vnd also geschaffen vnd geben ist: der Frawen *Apoplexia* kompt in seiner wurtzen her auß der Matrix/ die also vnd also ligt in jhrem *Subiecto*: So ist der Artzt kein Artzt. Dann zwo sind der Artzneyen auff Erden/ den Frawen vnnd den Mannen: der Frawen ist ein andere/ der Mannen ist ein andere: Der Frawen seind jre Artzneyen gut/ dem Manne^d die seinen: der aber die vnderscheidt nicht hatt/ der hatt sein Kunst für die Wassersucht gleich allen. Also ist der grundt der Artzney/ er mag sie nicht auff beyde Creaturen ziehen: allein mit seim mund/ aber nit mit den wercken. Warumb helt die Welt inne/ das Kraut ist Fräwisch/ das ist Männisch? Darumb halt sie es inne/ das

^a Sudhoff (181) omits “es.”

^b Sudhoff (181) has “da” in place of “aber.”

^c In certain contexts, P.’s discussion of *menstruum* and *matrix* pertain to a more practical gynecology, concerned with such matters as: “De tentigine [*tentigo* is “immoderate sexual tumescence”—OLD] obscura et prava, hoc est noli me tangere in matrice” (S 4:343-46); “De mola matricis” (348-50); “De exitura” (351-55); and “De doloribus matricis” (S 5:258-61). In other contexts, the speculative-theoretical associations of *menstruum* or *matrix* with the female magical imagination are predominant. See *De Virtute Imaginativa*: “die selbige imagination aber nimpt ir corpus aus irem menstroo, und das selbige menstruum speculirt sie in mitteln himel und in die vulcanische undern regiones” (S 4:314). Woman’s imagination exceeds man’s with the results that under certain circumstances hers can even generate or magnify pestilence (315).

^d Sudhoff (182): “mannen.”

different from that of the woman; and different is the hunger as well. For if the man is hungry, the intermediate world is hungry. If the woman is hungry, it is the last world that is hungry. The last is different from the first and the intermediate. As much as a mother is distinct from her son, this is how far removed these things are from one another. For this very reason, it is unfitting to accord respect to the errors of the ancient authors who led people astray in assuming that women and men were alike in their diseases, so that there was [thought to be], for example, a single *paralysis*, a single *apoplexia*, a single *caducus*, etc. For that was surely false. Women have one root, men another; and so it is with medicine, too, with regard to causes and in the knowledge of cures. Of course, with respect to the last [topic], you will hear about the *menstruum* and that sort of thing. Such things are diseases that are distinct from [those of] the man. A differentiation of that kind could even be made by the peasants. For [even the peasant] knows what a woman is that he is not. But this is not the physician, but rather the seducer of medicine and of patients. Unless the physician can pronounce in a manner of stating that the *apoplexia* of the man comes from such and such a cause, deriving from the *subjectum* in this way or that, as is found in the man alone who has been created and endowed thus; [and] that the *apoplexia* of the woman stems from its root, from the matrix, which is constituted thus and thus in its *subjectum*—unless that is the nature of the explanation, the physician is not worthy of the name. For there are two kinds of medicine on earth, of women and men. Women's [medicine] is of one kind, men's of another. Female medications are good for women, male medications for men. Whoever has no command of the difference has only one cure for every kind of dropsy, the same for all. The foundation of medicine is of such a nature that [the same] does not apply to both creatures. With one's mouth one can perform that way, but not with one's works. Why else should it be the case that the world recognizes that this herb is female and that one is male? For the same reason, it must

anderst vnd anderst auch die kranckheiten sind. Wer es ein ding/ was dörfft die Natur in der Artzney gespalten sein? Darumb ist sie gespalten/ das zwo Welt da sein im Menschen/ die Frawen vnnnd der Mann.^a Darumb daß sie nicht gleich in den kranckheiten seind/ darumb | 194 | so ist die Artzney gescheiden. Da sihe den betrug/ wie die Artzney im falsch bißher gestanden ist. Darumb so führet die Recept der Mannen auß jhren Artzneyen/ der Frawen auß jhren Anatomien/ vnnnd weicht nicht auß der Anatomey: dann niemandts weicht darauß/ dann die vnverstendigen/ die dann sind anfenger vnd wurtzen der bescheisserey.

Nun ist billich weiter von dem anzuzeigen: dann nicht klein wirt es ligen in den ohren/ meines widertheils. Die Fraw ist der Welt neher/ dann der Mann: Vnnnd der Mann ist weiter von jhr in der Anatomey des ampts halben/ vnnnd das also. Die Welt ist die vier Elementen/ als die *Philosophia* außweist. Nuh ist sie die/ die da gibt in jhren vier Elementen dem Menschen sein nahrung: der Lufft ist ein speiß deß Menschen/ der Himmel die ander die Erden die dritte/ dz Wasser die vierdte. Die vier [speisen] muß der Mensch täglich haben/ vnd mag nicht ohn sein. Auß dem wirt nun der Mensch erhalten: denn da wächst jhm sein nahrung/ vnd was er noht ist. Nuhn also auff das/ so der Mensch empfangen wirt/ so ist er in der Matrix. Nuh ist der Sam^b des Menschen/ der Mensch selbst: so muß er nun auch die speiß haben/ als einem Menschen zustehet. Er ist nicht in der eussern Welt/ sondern in der letzten Welt/ darumb so speist jhn die eusser nicht/ sondern die inner: Darumb so muß jhn die inner speisen. In der vrsachen ist die Fraw der Welt/ gleich ein Mutter/ aber der Mann nicht: darumb bist kein Mutter. Dieweil nuhn der Mensch nicht in der Welt wachst vnd getheilet wirt/ sondern in der kleinsten Welt/ da ist die Welt/ dz er wirt: So muß dieselbe Welt auch dem^c menschen seine nahrung geben/ so lange biß er in die grosse Welt kompt. Dieweil nun die *Matrix* also dieselbige Welt ist/^d darinnen Himmel vnd Erden/ Lufft vnd Wasser ist/ so den menschen nehret/ von seiner geburt/ an die Welt: So ist nuhn die Fraw ein anders/ in allem jhren leib/ denn der Mann: dann die nahrung der kinder gehet auß jhr/ nicht auß dem

^a Sudhoff (182): “der frauen und der man.”

^b For an apposite discussion of the **samen** as a universal agency of generation, as a human seed, distinct from “sperma,” and for its role in conception, see *Das Buch von der Gebärung* (S 1:252ff., 260).

^c Sudhoff (183): “den.”

^d Sudhoff (183) omits “ist.”

be recognized that there are diseases of various sorts. If all things were the same, how could nature be bifurcated? But it is [indeed] bifurcated, so that there are surely also two worlds within the human being: woman and man. And because they are not the same in their diseases, | 194 | medicine is subdivided as well. Therefore you can see the swindle [that has been] perpetrated by the physicians in their falsehood up until this time. In consequence of this, you should deduce the prescriptions for men from the medications appropriate for them, and those for women from their [peculiar] anatomies; and you should not deviate from anatomy. It is only those without comprehension who do so, those who are the inventors and root of all swindling.

Now, this disquisition has to advance further, and what I have to say will not ring softly in the ears of my opponents: Woman is nearer to the world [i.e., the macrocosm] than man; and man is further removed from it in his anatomy on account of his function. And indeed this is so for the following reasons. The world consists of the four elements, as *philosophia* demonstrates. However, she is the one who in her four elements gives the human being his nutrition: The air is one sustenance of the human being; the heavens a second; the earth a third; [and] water the fourth. The human being must have these four <nourishments> on a daily basis and cannot do without them. This is what sustains the human being. For him, his particular nutrition grows and with it whatever else he is in need of. In addition, after the human being has been conceived, he or she is in the matrix. Moreover, the seed of the human being is nothing but the human being himself. It also needs to have the nutrition which is required for the human being. He is [at that point still] not in the external world but in the last world instead; and for this very reason the inner one must nourish him. With respect to such causes, the woman is, as it were, a mother of the world. But the man is not. This is why you are not a mother. Since the human being does not grow and is not individualized in the [great] world, but rather in the smallest world, it is the world that he must grow into. Thus, this [smallest] world is the one that must give the human being his sustenance until he at last comes into the great world. Since the *matrix* is this very world, including within itself heavens and earth, air and water, which nourishes the human being from his birth into this world, it follows that woman is another sort of being in her entire body than man. The nourishment of children comes from her,

Mann. Hatt Gott zwey gemacht/ vnd das eine zu einer Welt/ den Samen zu beschliessen/ so hat er auch die *Anatomiam, Philosophiam, Physicam*, gespalten von einander/ in dem/ daß der Mann sehe wie groß sein herkommen sey. Darumb so ist die Fraw ein | 195 | ander *Subiectum* dann der Mann. Dann jhr wurtzen dienet zu der nahrung: des Mannes stehet still im Mann. So weit sich von einander scheiden der Birnbaum vnd sein wesen von der Erden: also auch die Fraw vnd der Mann.^a Der Mann ist der Sam: er ist der Sam des Mannes vnnd der Frawen/ dann der Samen^b ist sein vnd in jhm/ aber die fürbringung entscheidens/ ist die Fraw. Ein baum gibt sich selbst/ doch das er in die Erden gesetzt werde/ sonst verdirbt er in jhm selbst: was denn der Sam ist/ das wächst auß jhm. Nuhn gibt die Erden den Baum auß dem Samen: wie vnd was arth/ krafft vnnd macht/ ist offenbar: mit solcher gleichnussen/ arth vnd krafft/ gebiert auch die Fraw das Kind/ es sey weders es wölle/ Männlein oder Frewlein.

Nuhn auff das folget/ dieweil die Frawen ein Acker ist/ so muß sie sein wie der Acker in der Welt/ der ist selb vierdt/ das ist/ die vier Element. Der Acker ist die Erden/ in der geseet wirt: Also ist die *Matrix* die Erden/ vnd ist sein besonder faß. Nuhn wächst auß der Erden nichts/ es seyen dann die andern drey darbey/ nemlich das wasser. Das wasser der Frawen ist das blut. Nun muß der Lufft da sein vnd das Feuer/ die zwey sind die zwen Himmel/ *Chaos* vnd *Astra*. Vnd wie durch die Sonn/ Mon/ Stern/ Lufft/ die frucht der Erden sichtbar erfunden werden/ daß sie die machen wachsen: also mag auch nichts wachsen in der Mutter/ es sey dann das solche Element auch beyhändig sind. So nuhn die Element also sollen sein vnd müssen/ so wiß in den dingen/ daß du solt das nicht anderst verstehen/ dann das sie anders sind dann der Mann/ oder der Mann in jhm hatt/ dann sie dienen all auff die nahrung: darumb daß sie auff die nahrung dienen/ ist es anders/ dann daß sie nicht auff die nahrung dienen. Darumb so ist der Mensch zweyfach in der Welt: ein ander leib ist der Mann/ vnnd ein ander Ampt: ein ander Leib ist der Frawen Leib/ vnd ein ander Ampt: also ein ander Welt/ also auch ein ander Monarchy in jedtwederer erkantnuß/ von den dingen so von jhnen zu wissen not ist. Vnd wie die Erden vnd der Baw^c nit ein art haben/ noch wesen in jrer

^a Directly or indirectly, P.'s discussion of male and female presupposes the Genesis account of Adam and Eve (cf. S 1:279ff.).

^b Sudhoff (183): "sam."

^c Sudhoff (184): "baum."

and not from the man. Because God has made [these] two, the one into a world which encloses the seed, he has also bifurcated the *anatomia*, *philosophia*, [and] *physica*, in order that the man should see how great was his origin. For this reason, the woman is a | 195 | different *subjectum* than the man. For her root serves the purpose of nourishment. The man's [root] resides inactively in the man. As far removed as a pear tree and its essence are from earth: that is how things stand with the woman and the man. The man is the seed. He is the seed of both the man and the woman, for the seed is his and it is within him. However, the bringing forth of the fruit (**entscheidens**)¹ is [reserved for] the woman. A tree gives rise to itself, yet [only] because it has been planted in the earth. Otherwise it would rot in itself. That which is its seed grows out of it. The earth produces the tree out of the seed. How that happens and [by] what nature, force, and power is obvious. In the same likeness, nature, and power, the woman gives birth to the child, of whatever kind it happens to be, a man child or a woman child.

From this it follows further that the woman is a field and as such must be like the field in the [great] world, which is quaternary, that is, [consisting of] the four elements. The field is the earth in which [seed] is sown. Therefore, the *matrix* is the earth and is its special vessel. However, nothing grows from the earth unless the other three are present, for example water. The water of the woman is blood. The [element of] air must also be present, as [that of] fire. These two are the two heavens: *chaos* and *astra*. And just as it becomes visibly evident that the sun, moon, stars, [and] air cause the fruits of the earth to grow; nor can anything grow in the mother unless these elements are at hand. Since it is the case that the elements are properly and necessarily involved in matters in this way, you should know that it can only be concluded that they are different [in woman] than [in] man; or [different] from that [which] the man has within him. For they all serve the purposes of nourishment. This being the case, it is a different matter from when they do not serve such a purpose. In consequence the human being is twofold in the world: one body is the man with his one function; another is woman's body with another function: and therefore also another world, and another monarchy with respect to every sort of knowledge of the things that pertain thereto. Just as the

¹ See Grimm, **entscheiden**, *entscheidete*, *entscheidet*: *evaginare*, *frumenta vaginis exeunt*; here used as a redundant genitive substantive.

Substantz vnd *Corporibus*, also weit ist die Fraw vnd der Mann von einander gescheiden. | 196 |

Nun schaw wie groß die jrung ist in erkanntnuß der kranckheiten des Mannes vnd der Frawen/ das nicht nach gleichen zeichen/ soll gleich vrsach vnnnd Artzney bestellet oder gehalten werden: Sondern anzusehen den grund vnd die vrsachen/ wz ein jeglichs ist/ oder wie weit es von einander sey. Das wer von den alten Artzten vnnnd Scribenten wol geredt gewesen/ daß sie hetten betracht/ das ein Fraw/ allen kranckheiten/ so der Mann hatt/ auch vnderworffen ist/ dann sie ist auß jhm: Vnd vber dz alles/ noch mehr kranckheiten/ vnd sollich kranckheiten/ so dem Mann vnmüglich sind zu verstehen: vnd daß sie dasselbige wol gelehret hetten. Dieweil sie aber der Frawen/ jhre kranckheiten/ so sie dann haben wie der Mann/ in ein Capitel vnd Cur gesetzt: das ist die arbeit vnnnd das werck daß sie verfür hat/ daß sie solchs nicht Philosophisch betracht haben vnd fürgenommen. Wiewol die Fraw auß dem Mann gemacht/ aber der Mann nicht blieben/ sondern ein Frawe geworden: Darumb/ so sie auß dem Mann ist/ vnnnd aber der Mann nicht blieben/ sondern ein Fraw geworden/ solt billich hernach folgen/ das auch jhr kranckheit nimmer Männisch/ sondern Fräwisch sein sollen vnnnd erkannt werden: Also vnnnd dieweil die Fraw anderst dann der Mann ist/ also auch ir kranckheit so weit vom Mann gescheiden. Darbey solten sie auch betracht haben/ daß die Göttliche fürsichtigkeit die Anatomey in allen^a wachsenden dingen gespalten hatt/ in Weiblein vnnnd Männlein/ nit umb sonst: dem Artzt zu einem spiegel/ dz er hie im Liecht der Natur sehe/ wz er handeln solt. Aber dz alles vnangesehen/ hat er das Liecht der Natur aussen gelassen/ seiner fantasy glauben geben/ vnd die Artzney dahin gebracht/ als einer der durch ein mauren sehen wil was innerhalb ist: wie das selbige möglich ist/ also ist auch diß möglich. Von dem zuschreiben hat es sein eigen Buch/ wie alle Künste erfunden sind

^a Sudhoff (185) has “aller” instead of “in allen.”

earth and its cultivation (**Baw**)¹ do not have the same nature in their substance and *corpora*: that is how far removed the woman is from the man. | 196 |

Therefore, observe how great are the errors in the understanding of the diseases of the man and the woman. It is not the case that the same signs call for the same diagnosis and for application of the same causes and medication. It is instead necessary to consider the foundation and causes with respect to what each is, or [in consideration of just] how far they [the male and female] are removed from one another. It would have been a fine state of affairs if only the ancient physicians and authors had spoken with respect for the fact that a woman is subjected to all the same diseases as the man because she stems from him; and yet beyond this to even more diseases besides, and indeed to diseases of a kind that the man cannot possibly understand: if only they [the ancients] had taught about such matters! But instead they placed the diseases of women, which they are thought to have like the man, in the same chapter and cure. This was the labor and the work that led them astray so that they did not consider and approach these matters philosophically. Because woman was made from man, but did not remain like the man, becoming woman instead: precisely for this reason it should be fitting to conclude that her diseases are no longer to be understood as constituted as male [in nature] but rather as female. Because woman is different from man, her diseases are equally far removed from those of the man. In this connection it should also be noted that divine providence has bifurcated the anatomy in all things that grow: into female and male. This has not happened for nothing. It should be like a mirror for the physician, so that he can see in the light of nature how he should proceed. However, to the extent that all this went unnoticed, he has instead disregarded the light of nature and given credence to his fantasy and put medicine into the position of someone who wants to see through a wall [to] what lies within it: to the degree that that is [im]possible, so is that [of which I speak].² To write about these things would require a book of its own

¹ See Grimm, **Bau**: land or countryside as opposed to city; or the cultivation of what pertains to it (5, 6). Note that this extends P.'s allusion to woman as the field and man as the seed sown into it. Sudhoff interprets this plausibly as "baum," tree (cf. vis-à-vis). The thrust of the metaphor would be the same.

² The seemingly loose reasoning is bound to contemporary religious thinking. The "light of nature" "sees" what it knows from the biblical account of creation, while the physicians who credit the ancient authorities are devoted to groundless speculation

worden: nemlich nit durch solch speculieren/ sondern durch sichtige erfahrungheit vor den augen: Nicht auß erfahrungheit der fantasye/ sondern auß dem liecht der Natur. Der/ der ein ding sicht/ der hats erfahren: der es nicht sicht/ der hats nicht erfahren. Also bezeugen auch wir nichts anders/ als allein was wir sehen: vnnd sonderlich in der Artzney/ da sehend wir zwo | 197 | Anatomien in der grossen Welt/ in allen natürlichen gewächsen: Also auch zwo im Menschen/ der Frawen vnd des Mannes. Dieweil wir das sehend/ so haben wir den anfang darauff zugründen: Das ein ander Monarchey der Frawen ist/ ein ander der Mannen/ vnd nicht ein weg in beiden. Vnnd vber das alles/ die sonderen^a zufell/ so ein Fraw vber den Mann hat/ zuerkennen auß jhrer selbst Monarchey/ vnnd nicht auß der andern: Vnnd das auch dieselben kranckheiten/ so vber die andern gemeinen kranckheiten seindt/ gemeinschaftt haben vnd mitlauffen/ vnd eingeleibt seindt allen kranckheiten so die Frawen haben: Welchs mitlauffen ein ander *Physicam* gibt/ das der falsche hauff der Artzten noch nicht geschmeckt hat: Wie roh vnd vnzeitig das ist/ ist gut zu erkennen.

Darumb du Artzt/ thu das Plerr von den augen/ vnd die verführische secten hinweg: Sichstu nicht/ mit was Irrsal du gehandelt hast in den Capiteln/ da du fur ein kranckheit setzest den Mann vnd die Frawen? Das ist/ das du betrachten solt/ wie hernach folget/ den vrsprung aller Frawenkranckheiten^b entspringen in Frawen/ vnd nicht in Mannen. Darumb/ so bleibt ein mal jhr *Physica*/ von den Mannen gescheiden. Dergleichen so ist auch ein ander Anatomy in den Frawen als in den Mannen: Vrsacht aber die besonder *Physica*. Darumb laß dich nicht beduncken/ darumb das wie das Hirn/ Hertz/ Lebern/ etc. im Mann ist/ also auch in Frawen sey: Sondern das nim für dich/ daß das Hirn in der Frawen/ Frawen hirn ist/ vnd nicht Mannes hirn/ jhr Hertz/ Frawenhertz/ vnd nicht Mannen hertz: Das ist ein vnderscheid/ der dir vor den augen liegen soll. Besich eusserlich die Frawen gegen dem Mann/ vnd sich was eins gegen dem anderen sey? vnd schaw/ ob du nicht findest/ dz ein Fraw ein besonders vom Mann/ vnd ein Mann ein besonders von der Frawen? Seind die ding besondert/ so seind viel

^a Sudhoff (185): “besonderen.”

^b Sudhoff (186) varies Huser’s compounds here and in the subsequent lines as follows: “frauenkrankheit,” “frauenhirn,” “manneshirn,” “frauenherz,” “mannesherz.”

on how all the arts were invented: not by means of such speculation but rather through manifest observation of what lies before one's eyes. Not from experience of fantasy, but rather from the light of nature. Whoever sees a thing has experience of it. Whoever does not see it has no experience of it. For this reason we testify to nothing in any other way than what we see. This is especially the case in medicine, where we see two | 197 | anatomies in the great world, in all natural things that grow; and thus also two in the human being, that of the woman and that of the man. Since this is what we do see, we have to make our first foundation with that. There is one monarchy of woman and another of the men, and things are not the same in both. And as for everything else that pertains to what a woman has above what a man has, we understand it from the particular monarchy, not from that of the other one. And [this also implies] that the same diseases which go beyond the common ones have things in common and accompany one another and are integrated with all the [other] diseases that women have. This accompaniment makes for a different *physica*, which is something that the dishonest pack of physicians has not the least inkling about. It is important to recognize just how crude and immature this state of affairs is.

Therefore, you physician, relieve your eyes of the strain of your caterwauling and put those seductive sects behind you. Can you not see with what sort of errors you are dealing in those chapters in which you posit the same disease in men and women? By this I mean that you should consider in what follows the origin of all women's diseases, [those that occur] in women and not in men. This is so because their *physica* remains separate from that of men. This is why there is also a different anatomy in women than in men, which corresponds to that particular *physica*. For this reason, do not suppose that as the brain, the heart, the liver, etc. are in the man, so must they be in woman. Consider instead that the brain in women is a female brain and not a male brain, the heart a female heart and not a male heart. This is a difference that should lie clearly before your eyes. Compare the woman with the man externally. Do you see how the one compares with the other? And look also whether or not you notice that a woman is distinct from a man and a man from a woman? If these things are indeed distinguished, then how much more are those [other]

in claiming to see what lies behind the wall of the enclosed (female) body. This is also the error of the blind anatomists, incapable of "seeing" the generative function per se.

mehr gesondert die ding/ so der *Physica* noch mehr anhangen. So nun die Fraw ein anders ist/ so stehet sie auff einer andern wurtzen: Die wurtz ist *Matrix*/ von jhren wegen ist sie beschaffen: So sie nuhn von der Matrix wegen beschaffen ist/ so ist sie auch auff sie gesetzt/ darauff/ von des^a wegen sie beschaffen ist/ vnd den namen hat: So ist sie von wegen der Matrix/ | 198 | so muß sie auß jhr da sein/ muß auch all jhr arth/ Condition vnd dergleichen auß jhr haben. Das vnterscheidet nun Fraw vnd Mann/ dz der Mann als ein Mann wechst/ auß Männischer art/ vnd die Fraw auß Frawischer art/ dz ist auß der Matrix auff die der Mann nit gesetzt ist/ sondern die Fraw [ist drauff gesetzt]^b So sie nun auß der Mutter ist/ so wachsen auch alle glider auß jr/ vnd alles was sie in jhr hat/ ist auß der Matrix gehandhabt vnd geregirt. Daraus folget nun/ dz auch all jhr krankheiten auß jhr seind/ dz ist/ mit der wurtzen auß jhr geboren werden: In dem scheiden sie sich von einander/ dz alle krankheiten der Frawen auß der Mutter conditionirt seind/ genaturt vnd gewidmet: Der Mann aber nicht/ sondern auß Männischer art.^c Darbey secht/ wie weit eins von dem anderen standt/ dz *Paralysis* der Frawen/ vnd dz der Mannen. Vnd wiewol das ist/ das gleiche zeichen fallen/ ist billich: Ist die Frawe nicht ein Mensch? Ja: der Mann auch? Ja: Ist nicht billich das sie sich vergleichen als Menschen: aber vorbehalten die *Physica*/ vnd sondere arth der Monarchey.

Sol das nicht ein vnterscheid sein/ so ein Fraw ein *Matrix* leiblich heist/ vnd ist *Matrix*/ vnd der Mann nicht/ das auch all jhr krankheiten *Matricis* seind: Dann sie mag nicht Männische Element haben/ sie ist ein Fraw vnd ist ein Matrix. Vnd wiewol aber die namen der Frawenkrankheiten/ mit den Mannen gleich mögen vereinigt/ vnd genent vnd geheissen werden: So ist es doch nicht anders als allein/ sie heissen beide Menschen/ vnd seindt Menschen/ aber in der vnterscheidt wie obstehet. Das aber darumb auß dem folget/ dieweil gleiche zeichen begegnen/ beide Menschen seindt/ das darumb jhr beider arth ein arth sein sol/ vnd jhr beider wesen ein wesen/^d das

^a Sudhoff (186): “der.”

^b Sudhoff (186) omits square brackets.

^c Sudhoff (187): “aus der mennischen art.”

^d Sudhoff (187) adds emphasis: “ir beider art ein art sein sol und ir beider wesen ein wesen.”

things distinct which pertain to *physica*. Since the woman is something different, she truly stands upon a different root. That root is *matrix*. On its account, she has been created. To the extent that she has been created on account of the matrix, she is also grounded in that for the sake of which she has been created and has the name. Since she exists on account of the matrix | 198 |, she must also be of it and must owe her entire nature, condition, and the like, to it as well. What distinguishes woman from man is that the man develops as a man, from a male nature, and the woman from a female nature, which is to say, from the matrix. The man is not founded upon it. Rather, the woman <is founded on it>. Since she does stem from the mother, all her parts grow from it and everything she has within her is taken and governed by the matrix. From this it follows, moreover, that all of her diseases are like that, which is to say that they emerge from it along with the root. They are distinct from one another insofar as all diseases of the woman are conditioned from the mother, and have their nature and their endowment (**gewidmet**)¹ from this. Not so, however, with the man, who stems instead from a male nature. Just take note of how far the one is removed from the other one: [for example] the *paralysis*² of women and that of the men. And if it is the case that the same signs are found, this is only fitting. Is woman not also a human being? Yes. Is the man not also one? Of course. Is it therefore not appropriate that they should resemble one another as human beings? [And] yet, the [respective] *physica* [of each] is reserved, and the special nature of the monarchy.

Should this not be a difference that a woman is called a *matrix* in a physical sense, and [that she indeed] is *matrix*, while the man is not, so that all her diseases are likewise of the *matrix*. For she should not have male elements. She is a woman and is a matrix. And even though the names of the women's diseases might be combined with those of the men's so that they are called and designated alike, this happens for no other reason than that the two are both called human beings, and are human beings, though with the difference described above. But it does not follow from this that, given the same signs [in either case and the fact that] both are human beings, they would in consequence have the same nature. Nor does it follow that their essence should be the

¹ See Grimm, **widmen** (1) [cf. *widmung* (1)]: the term, translated as “ausstattung,” has a specific female context referring to marriage.

² On the states of **paralysis**, see note on “*syncope*” (H 1:227).

folget nicht: Sondern die vnterscheidt muß für vnd für gehalten werden/ das die Fraw auff der Matrix stehet/ vnd auß jhr wächst vnd gewachsen ist/ auch das die *Matrix* jhr wurtz ist. Darumb so ist sie auch das erst/ das der Artzt betrachten sol in jhren kranckheiten: Denn auß jhr wachsen sie/ vnd nicht auß Männischen krefften/ sondern auß Matricischen krefften. Auß diesen krefften mustu die *Physicam*, *Causas* vnd *Indicia* ziehen/ sonst ist es alles vnbsonst/ was du handelst. | 199 | Vnd wie du wissen solst/ das ein wurtzen ist/ auß der alle kranckheiten geboren werden in Mannen: Also ist auch in Frawen eine. Deine geschrifften aber weisen auß/ das du der wurtzen keine verstant noch erkennest: Dann du hettest dich ehe selbst in ein finger gebissen/ ehe du die lügen herfür gebracht hetst. Nuhn sihe die wurtzen des Mannes kranckheiten/ vnnd besihe die wurtzen der Frawen kranckheiten/ vnnd sitze darüber vnnd rechens auß/ wie du bestohn wirst/ mit deiner *Physica* vnnd *Causis* vnnd *Indiciis*. Allein es sey dann/ das du den Frawen gebest jhr sondere wurtzen/ den Mannen jhr sondere/ vnnd wissest die Artzney/ das sie gespalten ist/ den Mannen ein theil/ den Frawen den andern theil/ sonst wirstu kein Artzt sein/ sondern ein verführer: Darzu du nit viel künst darffest mit liegen vnnd tellerschlecken/ wie dann ewer aller arth ist vnnd studieren auff den Hohen Schulen/ etc. Das exempel wirdt dir nicht fehlen in der Monarchey vnnd *Physica*. Zu gleicher weiß/ wie auß einer wurtzen des Birnbaums die Bieren wächst/ vnnd auß einer wurtzen des Apffelbaums die Apffel wachsen/ vnnd was da wächst/ nach seiner wurtz schmecket: Also da auch die kranckheit von der wurtzen nicht gescheiden wirt/ sondern sie bleibt ein ding mit dem/ auß dem sie wächst. Vnd wiewol die Birne weith von der wurtzen ist/ so ist sie doch auß der wurtzen: Also auch mit *Colica*, wiewol wie weit von der Mutter ist/ so ist sie doch auß der Matrix/ vnd alle ander kranckheiten.

Es ist euch noch eine Frage fürzuhalten/ so jedoch der grundt herfür soll gestellt werden: Ob die kranckheiten in der gemein/ beider Frawen vnd Mannen/ so sich ettlichs theils vergleichen/ von Mannen oder Frawen hie seindt? Daruon ist weiter zu reden. Es befindt sich kein kranckheit im Mann/ vor dem vnd ehe die Fraw beschaffen ist worden: Sich befindt auch nicht/ das der Mann/ der ohn die Fraw geboren ist/ kranck/ oder mit den kranckheiten/ so dann von seinen kindern/ biß auff vns herkommen seindt/ beladen gewesen: Sondern allein/ das er den todtt erlitten hat/ der nicht von Frawen kommen ist/ oder natürlich geboren. Darauß dann zuwissen ist/ dieweil alle

same. Rather, their difference must be emphasized again and again. The woman stands on [the foundation of] the matrix and grows from it and has done so, so that the *matrix* is her root. For this reason, it is the first thing that the physician should consider in her diseases. For they emerge from it, and not from the male powers, but rather from the powers of the matrix. From these powers you should deduce the *physica*, *causae*, and *indicia*; [for] otherwise, all else will be in vain that you undertake. | 199 | And just as you should be aware that there is one root from which all diseases emerge in men, so also is there in women one. However, your writings prove that you neither understand nor recognize even one of these roots. For [if that were so], then you would have bitten yourself in the finger rather than setting forth such lies. Just consider now the root of the male diseases and regard the root of the female diseases; and sit and ponder over it: How will you make do with your *physica* and your *causae* and your *indicia*? There is no other way than to concede to women their particular root [and] to men theirs. Medicine should acknowledge that it is divided, with one particular division devoted to men and the other to women. Otherwise you will not be a physician but simply a seducer. In addition you have little mastery of art with your lying and penurious scheming, this being what your entire character and study amount to at the universities. You will not lack for your [fitting] example in the monarchy and *physica*. It is no different than the way pears grow from the root of the pear tree, and apples from the root of the apple tree, and whatever grows in that way has its taste from its root. In the same way, the disease is not something different from the root, but remains united with that out of which it grows. And although the pear is far removed from the root, nonetheless it is of the root. So it is too with *colica*, for it is far removed from the mother, [and] nevertheless it is from the matrix, and so it is with all other diseases.

One other question is to be urged upon you for which the foundation needs to be presented here. [The question is] whether those diseases that are common to both men and women, [and] which are in many respects comparable, are of women or of men. More will be said about this. No disease is found in the man prior to the creation of the woman. It is also not the case that the man who is born without the woman [is] sick or laden with those diseases which have been passed on by his children all the way down to us. Rather, it is only the case that he who did not come from woman or was [not] born naturally has suffered death. From this we should infer the knowledge that, since all

krankheiten erst nachfolgendt kommen seindt/ das auß den | 200 |
 Frawen alle vnserer krankheit herkommen/ vnnd vnser gebresten/
 elend vnd jamer. So nun auß den Frawen mehr zuerkennen ist all
 vnserer krankheiten herkommen/ denn auß den Mannen/ so wer
 billicher das wir ein solche vrsach für vns nemen/ vnd von der ersten
 wurtzen redten/ wie auß jhr die krankheiten fiend: Wir also auch
 nicht allein mit blut vnnd fleisch auß der Mutter kommen/ sondern
 auch darauß/ mit allem vnserm ellend der krankheiten. So das nun
 also ist/ so muß als dann hernach folgen/ was des Mannes krank-
 heiten seindt/ vnd was der Frawen/ vnd wie sie gemeinschafft der
 Mannen^a tragen: Das da ein vnterscheidt sey/ dieweil die kreuter vnnd
 Artzney gespalten ist: Nemlich also/ das im Mann der Sahmen des
 Mannes bleibt als ein Mann: Vnd darumb/ das der Mann gesondert ist/
 so ist auch ein *Transmutatio* in jhm/ die jhn sondert von der Frawen:
 Wie jhn sondert die form von der Frawen/ mit derselbigen form wirt
 auch sein wesen gesondert/ vnd bleibt ein Mann/ vnd wirdt ein Mann/
 also auch bleibt die Fraw/ vnd wirdt ein Fraw. Von der formierung
 vnd seinen freyheiten solstu wissen. Noch aber ist der ersten wurtzen
 aller krankheiten nichts vergeben/ in deme das sie nicht von der
 Frawen kommen. Dann im Mann/ wirdt kein ander wurtzen gefunden/
 dann die wurtzen auß der Frawen/ die aber mit der formierung in ein
 ander *Physicam* gebracht ist/ welcher *Physica* vergessen ist worden
 bey den alten Scribenten/ vnnd das nicht vnbillich/ damit jhre
 nachfolger wissen/ wz für grundt je vnd je in jhnen allen gewesen sey/
 vnd mit was grundt sie bißher gewandelt haben.

Ein jedlich ding das im andern wechst/ das ist von dem/ darinn es
 wächst/ gesondert. Nun ist der Mensch nichts anders in der Frawen/
 als ein fisch im wasser/ der wächst im selben vnd lebt im selben/ ohne
 das mag er nicht sein: Nun ist er wol des wassers/ das ist/ er ist seiner
 arth/ aber jedoch so ist er das wasser nicht/ darumb so ist er ein
 anders. Wie nuhn das Wasser vnnd der Fisch gescheiden seindt von
 einander/ vnnd seind in einander/ also auch der Mensch in der
 Frawen: Die Fraw ist nichts anders/ dann wie das Meer/ in dem viel

^a Sufhoff (189): "namen."

diseases only came afterward, it is from | 200 | women that all our diseases, frailties, suffering, and woes have originated.¹ Since more can be discerned about the origin of all our diseases from women than from men, it would be appropriate that we consider such a cause and that we speak of the first root and how the diseases descend from it: about the fact that we do not come from the mother only in our flesh and blood, [but] with all the misery of our diseases. Since this is how it is, we must next discuss what are the diseases of the man and what are the diseases of the woman, and how it is that they share things in common in men. [We should discuss the fact] that there is a difference, since the herbs and medications are divided, so that in the man the seed of the man remains a man; and that because the man is set apart, there is a *transmutatio* in him which distinguishes him from women—just as his form is distinct from that of women, and with that form his essence is also distinguished, and remains male and turns into it; and similarly with the female, which turns into what it is.² You should also be aware of the formation and its freedoms.³ With the first root of all diseases not everything has yet been expended in the sense that it does not [all] come from the woman. For in the man no other root is to be found but the root that comes from the woman, which, however, through the formation is brought into another *physica*. This *physica* has been forgotten by the ancient writers, and not without reason. For from that [omission] their successors have been able to see what sort of foundation was to be found in all of them, and upon what sort of foundation they have proceeded ever since.

Each and every thing that grows out of another thing is distinguished from the thing from which it grows. The human being in the woman is no different from a fish in the water: He grows and lives in the same [element], and cannot exist without it. He is indeed of the water, that is, he is of its kind; and yet he is not the water and therefore is something else. Since the water and the fish are distinct from one another and are in one another, so it is too with the human being in the woman: The woman is like nothing else but that sea in which

¹ The first part of this statement alludes to the notion that Adam before the fall, or more precisely before the creation of woman, did not suffer from those diseases that have plagued humankind until now; the second part of this statement appears to contradict this, but must be interpreted to mean that only the pre-lapsarian Adam suffered without true necessity.

² That is, the male or female herb or medication remains such in transmutation.

³ See H 2:6; 1:281, **Freiheit** as the special character or prerogative of an estate.

fische seind. So nun die Fraw das Meer vnd nichts anders ist/ vnd | 201 | der Mensch in jhr der fisch/ allein in der geburt gescheiden: Das darumb geschicht/ das der Mensch sich selbst erkenne/ wem er gleich sey/ [das er sey] ein thier der Welt. Aber das er ein Seel hat/ darumb wirdt er geboren/ das dem fisch nicht ist. So nuhn dem fisch ein anders zustehet als dem Wasser/ dem Wasser ein anders als dem fisch: So ist nuhn hierauff billich/ das der Artzt solch gleichnuß mercke/ das er ein Sahm ist/ vnd die Fraw der Acker. Vnnd wiewol sie auch ein Sahm ist/ aber auß dem Mann: Sie bleibt aber nicht ein Mann/ sondern sie wirdt ein Fraw: Jetzt ist sie dem Sahmen entrunnen/ vnd nimmer nach dem Sahmen zu vrtheilen. Dann wie sie ein Mann war in Adam/ aber da sie in des Werckmeisters hand kommen/ da war kein Mann mehr da/ kein Adams Ripp mehr: Darumb so ist bey jhnen das zuverstohn vnnd zuerkennen/ das sie sollen vom Artzt in ein sondere Monarchey gefürt werden/ mit einer andern *Theorica* vnnd *Physical*/ vnnd die augen baß auffthun. Dann sie fälschlich schreiben: Das ist ein Capittel von *Icteritia*/ den Frawen vnnd Mannen gleich an zunemen. Es ist eine falsche probierung/ so wir das wöllen durch ein andern probieren/ durch *Galenum*, *Auicennam*, *Rasin*, etc. Es stehet kein prob bey jhnen/ noch bey euch/ noch bey mir: Es stehet in der *Philosophia*/ im grundt des Liechts der Natur: Im selben sollen die ding alle probiert werden/ vnnd nicht durch die schwätzer vnnd klapperer/ wie obgemeldt seind/ die jhren grundt vnnd fundament auff jhren tolln kopff gesetzt haben/ damit sie betriegen was jhre stimme höret.

Was soll man sagen von der *Matrice*/ das sie vnsichtbar ist/ vnnd niemand sicht jhr erst *Materiam*: denn wer kan das sehen/ das vor jhm gewesen ist? Wir alle kommen auß der Matrix/ nie keiner hatts aber gesehen/ dann sie ist gewesen vor dem Menschen. Vnnd wiewol der Mensch auß jhr kompt/ vnnd für vnnd für geboren/ noch hatts keiner gesehen. Die Welt ist auß der Matrix geboren/ der Mensch auch/ vnnd also für vnd für/ was da ist ein Creatur/ dasselbe alles ist auß der Matrix. Darauff ist not/ was *Matrix* sey zu beschreiben.^a Nuhn ist

^a In one of the writings classed by Sudhoff as spurious, *Liber Azoth, sive de Ligno et Linea Vitae* (S 14:547-97), this speculation encompassing human generation, *matrix*, *limbus aeternus*, birth, and cosmogony are developed further, combining biblicalism with alchemy and a gender-specific phrenology.

there are many fish. Since the woman is the sea and nothing but the sea and | 201 | the human being is the fish within her, merely separated in its birth, it is as it is for the purpose that the human being should recognize himself and to whom he bears a resemblance: <that he is> an animal in the world. However, he has been born to have a soul, which is not the case with the fish. Since one thing is appropriate for the fish and another thing for the water and vice versa, the physician should learn from this that he [the male] is a seed and the woman is the field. Even though she is also a seed, but one from the man, she does not remain as a man, but rather becomes a woman. With that she has escaped from the seed and can never again be assessed in accordance with the seed. For though she was a man in Adam, after she was taken in hand by the master craftsman, [she] was no longer a man, nor any longer a rib of Adam's. For this reason, it should be understood and recognized in [regard to] them [women], that they are to be placed by the physician into a distinct monarchy with its own *theorica* and *physica*. One should open one's eyes [to this state of affairs]. For they write fallaciously that there is only a single chapter on *icteritia* to be applied the same to women and men. It is a false sort of demonstration to want to prove this by [citing] *Galenus*, *Avicenna*, *Rhasiz*, etc. They can no more find a proof of this than could you or I. It is a matter of *philosophia*, within the foundation of the light of nature: All things should be tested by it, and not by these chatterers and rattlers. [Or] as I have said above, by those who have instituted their foundation on their own foolish heads so as to swindle whomever hears their voice.

What then are we to say about the fact that the *matrix* is invisible and no one sees its first *materia*: for who could see something like that which existed prior to oneself? All of us come from the matrix. However, none of us has ever seen it, for it was there before the human being. Even though the human being was born from it and always is born from it, none has yet seen it. The world is born from the matrix. So is the human being. And so it happens again and again: whatever sort of creature exists, all is from the matrix. For this reason it is necessary to characterize what the *matrix* is.¹ *Matrix* is that from which

¹ An important interpretation of P.'s conjunction of Genesis with human generation and gynecology with cosmogony is found in ch. 4-10 of Jacob Boehme's *Von den drey Principien Göttliches Wesens* (1618); it is explicated in my *Boehme: An Intellectual Biography of the 17th-Century Philosopher and Mystic* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991), 102ff.

Matrix die/ auß welcher der Mensch wachst/ vnd ist: | 202 | Darumb so müssen da vnsichtig sein/ alles/ das da ist in den vier Elementen. Zu gleicher weise wie die Welt *Matrix* ist aller wachsenden dingen: Also ist auch *Matrix* im leibe dieselbig/ mit gleicher Anatomey zuhalten. Vor dem vnd Himmel vnd Erden beschaffen wardt/ da schwebet der Geist Gottes auff dem Wasser/^a vnnnd wardt ob jhm tragen: Diß wasser war *Matrix*. Dann in dem Wasser wardt beschaffen Himmel vnnnd Erden/ vnnnd in keiner andern *Matrix* nicht. In deren wardt der Geist Gottes tragen/ das ist/ der Geist Gottes der im Menschen ist/ den alle andere Creaturen nicht haben. Von des Geists wegen/ das er nicht allein were/ nun im selbigen ist der Mensch beschaffen/ vnnnd der Geist des Herren in jhm: Darumb so kompt der Geist Gottes in Menschen/ vnd ist von Gott/ gehet auch zum selbigen wider. Da nun also die Welt nichts war/ sondern ein Wasser/ vnd der Geist des Herren war auff dem Wasser/ do wardt das Wasser zu der Welt/ das ist nun^b *Matrix* der Welt/ vnnnd in jhm weiter alle geschöpff. Nun waß es noch alles ein *Matrix* des Menschen/ in der beschuff Gott dem Menschen/ seim Geist ein behausung in das fleisch: Dieselbige Menschen *Matrix* war die gantze Welt/ sein Sahmen war der *Limbus*/ ein Sahmen darinn die gantze Welt stundt. Das ist nun des ersten Menschen herkommen. Weiter ist der Mensch von derselbigen *Matrix* gescheiden/ vnd auß jhm/ jhm selbst sein eigen *Matrix* gemacht/ das ist/ die Frawen/ welche nun forthin nichts anders ist/ als viel als die gantze Welt: Vnd der Geist des Herren ist in jhr/ der sich einbildet vnnnd setzt in jhr frucht. Zu gleicher weiß wie er tragen wirdt auff dem Wasser/ also tragen wir Menschen jhn auff Erden vnd auffm Wasser/

^a P.'s *Astronomia Magna* begins by citing Gen 1:1-2 to derive a paradigm for the elements and the spirit that rules in them and in the human being: "erstlich ist ein leib erschaffen der obern und undern sphaerae, also das das firmament ein leiblichs wesen hab, auch die element in beiden, himel und erden. das corpus ist der anfang gewesen aller ding, nach dem ist geschaffen worden demselbigen corpus sein lebendiger geist, welcher aus dem corpus und durch das corpus sein wirkung volbringt, das dan got in dasselbig verordnet hat" (S 12:14). Like *Astronomia Magna*, *De Meteoris* then extends this from the elemental creation to the human being: "als fleisch und blut ist nicht der mensch, der geist ist aber der mensch. also seind vier sêl oder geist, einer der erden, der ander das wasser, der dritte der luft, der vierdte der himel" (S 13:138-39). The projection of Genesis 1:2 onto the human genesis to yield a paradigm of birth takes on a more mythic dimension in the *Liber Azoth* (included in Sudhoff's edition among the spurious works): "der geist gotes ward getragen in beschaffung der Welt und Adams auf wasser, und das wasser war der zaun des paradeis, aber der geist gotes war die lust und frucht des guten baumes zu solchem garten..." (S 14:568ff.).

^b Sudhoff (191) inserts "die."

the human being grows and is. | 202 | For this very reason everything must be invisibly present which is in the four elements. In the same way that the world is the *matrix* of all things that grow, so too there is [a corresponding] *matrix* in the body, to be taken as having the same anatomy. Before heaven and earth were created, the spirit of God hovered upon the water¹ and was carried by it. This water was *matrix*. For in this water heavens and earth were created, nor in any other *matrix* other than this. In it the spirit of God was carried, that is, the spirit of God that is in the human being, which all the other creatures do not have. On account of this spirit, so that it would not be alone, the human being has been created in it, and the spirit of the Lord within him. For this reason, the spirit of God enters into the human being; and it is from God and it will also return to him. When the world was a nothingness, nothing except a water, and the spirit of the Lord was upon the water, the water turned into the world, which is the *matrix* of the world, and in it are all further creatures. Now it was yet again a *matrix* of the human being, in which God created for the human being, for his spirit, a housing in flesh. This same *matrix* of the human being was the entire world; his seed was the *limbus*, a seed in which the entire world was present. That is the origin of the first human being. Furthermore, the human being was separated from this same *matrix*, and out of himself [and] for him a matrix of his own has been made. That is the woman who from then on is nothing other than the entire world: and the spirit of the Lord is in her, which forms itself (**sich einbildet**) and instills fruit in her. In the same way as it is carried upon the water; so too do we human beings carry it [the spirit of God] on earth upon

¹ Gen 1:1-2, "In the beginning when God created the heavens and the earth, the earth was a formless void and darkness covered the face of the deep, while a wind from God swept over the face of the waters." Vulgate: "*In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram. Terra autem inanis et vacua, et tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi, et Spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas.*" Luther: "AM ANFANG SCHUFF GOTT HIMEL VND ERDEN. Vnd die Erde war wüst vnd leer/ vnd es war finster auff der Tieffe/ **Vnd der Geist Gottes schwebet auff dem Wasser.**"

welchen Geist nie keiner gesehen hat noch gesicht: Vnd ist der/ der da ist in der Matrix der Menschen/ das ist in der Frawen. Darumb sie nicht sollen zu Hurerey gebraucht werden/ denn da ist der Geist/ der von dem Herren kompt/ zu dem er auch wider gehet.

Nuhn ist in der Frawen der *Limbus* nicht/ aber der Geist: Was ist der *Limbus* als der Sahmen? Zugleicher weise wie er auß Gott gemacht vnnnd genommen ist worden/ vnnnd ein Mensch darauß gemacht: In solcher gestalt sollen jhr auch | 203 | wissen/ hat er an seine stadt gesetzt den Mann/ also/ das er der *Limbus* selbest ist/ vnnnd den Menschen selbst macht/ nach der bildung/ so Gott erstlich gemacht hatt. Vnnnd darumb aber/ das jhm nicht zustehet/ auß der Erden/ Leim/ etc. den Menschen zu machen/ vnnnd jhm das leben zugeben: Darumb hat jhm Gott eine sondere Matrix verordnet/ die er hat/ vnnnd ein andern *Limbum*/ denselbigen also zu seelen: Also bleibt der Mensch in der natur der Welt. Vnnnd wie Gott den Himmel beschlossen hatt/ vnnnd er war im Himmel/ vnd machet den Menschen im Himmel: Also durch das sollen wir auch wissen/ das wir nit mögen den Menschen geben/ wir seind dann in der Matrix/ nach dem vnnnd der möglichkeit zustehet: Denn Gott ist auß seinem stul nicht gar kommen/ allein sein handt: Also auch der Mensch/ kompt auch nit gar auß seinem stul/ allein was da verordnet ist. Also seindt drey *Matrices*: Die erste das Wasser/ auff dem der Geist des Herren tragen ward/ vnnnd dasselbe war die *Matrix*/ in der Himmel vnd Erden beschaffen worden: Darnach ward Himmel vnnnd Erden/ vnnnd die *Matrix Adae*/ der durch die hand Gottes gemacht wurd: Vnd auß dem Mann ward die Fraw/ ein *Matrix* aller Menschen/ biß in dz ende der Welt. Was beschluß die erste *Matrix*? das Reich Gottes vmbgab den Geist Gottes: Die Welt beschleust dz ewige dz darumb gehet: Die Fraw beschleust jhr eigen haut/ dann was in derselbigen ist/ das ist *Matrix*. Darumb ist jhr leib nicht zu vergleichen den Mannen/ wiewol er vom Manne kompt: Darumb stehet er jhm gleich in der Bildnuß: Dann die bildtnuß muß er empfahen/ das ist/ das er jhm gleich sicht: Aber in allen dingen weither gescheiden/ mit seinem wesen/ eigenschafft/ natur/ vnnnd proprietet. Denn der Mann leidet als ein Mann/ die Fraw leidet als ein Fraw/ vnd leiden beyde als zwo Creaturen die Gott lieb seindt. Darumb so beweist ers mit der zweyfachen Artzney/ so er gegeben hatt: Den Mannen die Mannische Artzney/ den Frawen die Frawische Artzney. Darauß nun der Artzt

the water—a spirit that no one has yet seen nor will see. And this is the one that is present in the matrix of human beings, which is to say in women. For this reason they should not be misused for whorish purposes. For the spirit is present there which comes from the Lord and returns to him.

Now the *limbus* is not in the woman, but the spirit is [in her]. What is the *limbus* but the seed? In the same way that it has been taken and made from God and a human being has been made out of it, you should know also that in such a form | 203 | he put the man in his place so that he is the *limbus* itself and [God] made the human being following the formation which God made at the very first. And indeed because it would have been unfitting to make the human being out of earth, glue, etc., and [then] to give him life. For this reason, God ordained a special *matrix* for him, which he possesses, and a different sort of *limbus*, a kind for souls. Accordingly, the human being remains in the nature of the world. And just as God has enclosed the heavens and he himself was in the heavens and he makes the human being in the heavens, for this same reason we should be aware that we cannot give birth to the human being unless we are in the matrix in the way that this became specifically possible. For God did not depart from his seat, but rather only his hand: for the same reason the human being does not depart from his [assigned] seat; only that which has been assigned to does. In consequence there are three *matrices*: the first is the water upon which the spirit of the Lord is carried, and this same [water] was the *matrix* in which the heavens and the earth were created. After this there came into being the heavens and the earth and the *matrix Adae* [the matrix from which Adam was made], which came into being through the hand of God; and out of the man arose woman — a *matrix* of all human beings until the very end of the world. What was it that enclosed the first *matrix*? The realm of God surrounded the spirit of God: the world encloses the eternal [spirit] by surrounding it. The woman is enclosed by her own skin, for what lies within it is *matrix*. For this reason her body is not to be compared to men, even though it comes from the man. This is why they are alike in image (**Bildnuß**): for he must receive the image in order to be like it, yet in all things distinct with its essence, qualities, nature, and propriety. The man suffers as a man. The woman suffers as a woman. Both suffer as two creatures that are dear to God. This is to be attested to with the twofold medicine which he has given: to the men the male medicine, to the women the female medicine. The physician should act in accor-

handlen sol/ dann jhn hatt Gott beschaffen/ nicht der Mensch: Darumb ist er von trew wegen gegeben/ vnnd nicht von falsch wegen/ der die gnade hat/ dem hilfft er. | 204 |

Dieweil nun der *Limbus* ist *Prima materia* des Menschen/ so muß der Artzt wissen was der *Limbus* sey. Dann was der *Limbus* ist/ das ist auch der Mensch: Der den *Limbum* erkent/ der weiß was der Mensch ist. Also sol der Artzt geboren werden. Nuhn ist der *Limbus* Himmel vnd Erden/ ober vnnd vnder Sphær/ die vier Element/ vnd was in jhr ist: Darumb er billich den namen hat/ *Microcosmus*, denn er ist die gantze Welt. Darauß nun folget/ dieweil er ist dasselbige/ so muß der Artzt die beide Sphær vnten vnd oben erkennen/ in jhrem Element vnnd wesen/ eigenschafft vnd Natur. So er nun die kennet/ so weiß er was dem Menschen gebrist in seinen nöten: Dann der/ den Gott geschaffen hat/ muß mehr wissen dann der/ den der Mensch auffsetzt. Darumb ist bey jhm das wissen vnd erkantnus: Wann sie gehet auß Gott/ nicht auß dem Menschen. Das ist nun vom Sahmen geredt. Nuhn aber was die Materien hie betreffent ist/ wissent das Gott auß der Matrix/ selbst ohn ander hinzuthun oder mittels den Menschen beschaffen hat/ hatt jhn auß der Matrix genommen/ vnd ein Menschen aus jhm gemacht: Das nun forthin nimmer mehr also ist/ sondern er hat jhm den *Limbum* gegeben in sein natur/ dz er selbst sey der *Limbus*, dz ist/ dz er sey sein selbst Sohn: Vnd so er den Sohn haben wil/ so hat er jhm sein Matrix geben/ das ist/ die Frawen. Also nun fürhin auß zweyen/ nit auß eim/ wird der Mensch: nimmer auß der Mutter selbst gemacht/ sondern auß dem Mann/ aber in die Matrix gesetzt. Darumb/ so werden nun fürhin sein zwey/ aber eins/ zwey fleisch/ aber eins/ nit zwey: Das ist so vil/ sie beyde geben den Menschen/ vnd keins allein: Darumb seind zwey in eim/ vnd ist nur eins/ wiewol zwey. Also wirdt der Mensch gemacht auß dem *Limbo*, dz der Mann ist/ vnd in der Matrix aber gebildet/ genaturt/ auffgericht/ zugleich weiß wie obstehet/ als in der grossen Welt der erste Mensch.

Darumb so ist noth fürhin/ zwo kranckheiten zu erkennen/ auff die vrsach wie angezeigt ist/ in der geberung der kinder: Ein angeborne oder zufallende dem *Limbo*, ein angeborne oder zufallende auß der *Matrice*. Diese vnterscheidt ist die vrsache/ darumb ich euch die

dance with this. For God has made him [the physician], the human being has not. This is why [the physician] has been given [to us] for faith, not falsehood. Whoever has grace will be helped by him. | 204 |

Since the *limbus* is [the] *prima materia* of the human being, the physician must know what the *limbus* is. For what the *limbus* is, is what the human being is. Whoever understands the *limbus* knows also what the human being is. This is how the physician should be brought into being. Now the *limbus* is heavens and earth, the upper and lower sphere, the four elements, and whatever is within it [the world]. This is why he properly bears the name *microcosmus*, for he is the entire world. From this it follows that insofar as he indeed is this, the physician must know both spheres, [the ones] above and below, in their element and essence, their properties and nature. If he does know these, then he understands what ails the human being in his times of need. He who was made by God must know more than he who is raised up by man. This is why he [the physician] has the knowledge and understanding: it proceeds from God and not from the human being. That is spoken about the seed. As regards the materials in this case, you should know that God has created the human being from the matrix, without any other addition, or by means of the human being, [he] has taken it [the materials] out of the matrix and made out of it a human being. But forever after, it is not to be so. Rather, he [God] has given to him [the human being] the *limbus* in his nature so that he himself should be the *limbus*, which is to say, that he should be [as if] his own son. And should he want the son, he has given him his matrix, that is, the woman. Thus, from then on it is from two, not from one, that the human being comes into being: no longer made from the mother herself, but rather from the man, though placed into the matrix. This is why from then on there are to be two, and yet one, two flesh, yet one and not two. This is as much as to say that these two yield the human being, and not one alone. For this reason there are two in one, and it is only one, though [it is] two. Thus is the human being made from the *limbus*, so that there is the man, and [yet he is] formed in the matrix, given its nature and constructed, just as has been described above; just as it was with the first human being in the great world.

This is why from now on it will be necessary to understand two [kinds of] disease with respect to the cause, as shown, in the generation of children: the one either inborn or accruing to the *limbus*, the other inborn or accruing from the *matrix*. This difference is why I

Generation fürgelegt habe/ | 205 | damit dem Irrsal fürkommen werde. Nun ist die *Matrix* sichtbar gemacht/ aber jhr eigenschafft seind vnsichtbar: Denn der die Frawen sicht/ der sicht *Matricem viri*, das ist/ die Welt darinnen er geboren wirdt. Aber was das sey/ das den Menschen fabriciert/ das sicht niemandts. Dann zugleich er wie Gott den Menschen beschuff nach seiner bildtнуß/ derselbige thuts noch: das ist/ der Geist des Herren an dem orth/ der da schwebet auff dem wasser/ vnnd das wasser ist ein behalter deß Samens/ auß dem der Mensch wachst/ welcher Sam ist der *Limbus*. Nuhn aber *Matrix* ist vnsichtbar in seinem wesen: was vnsichtbar ist/ das leidet nichts/ darumb wir von den vnsichtbarn dingen nicht reden wöllen. Das aber sichtbar ist/ dz ist die Fraw/ dieselbige ist gesetzt in die drey Substantz/ *Sulphur*, *Sal* vnd *Mercurium*, wie dann alle *Corpora* in den standen: Dann was da sol greifflich gebraucht werden/ das muß sichtbar sein vnd empfindlich/ darumb so steht sie auch in den dreyen. Nun ist deren dreyen *Prima materia* vnsichtbar/ aber *ultima* ist sichtbar/ vnd ist der gantze leib der Frawen. Von der *ultima materia* ist zu reden vnd Philosophieren/ auff das jhr Monarchey gefunden werden: dann auff das/ seind all jr kranckheiten auß den dreyen: das ist/ was da ist *ultima materia* der vorgemelten *primae materiae*, das ist/ *prima materia* derselben kranckheiten. Darumb so ist am ersten das zu wissen/ das da seind drey Substantz/ welche drey die kranckheiten geben: als sie dann den Frawen zufallen/ wissent vnd vnwissent/ vergangen/ gegenwertig/ auch die/ so noch zukünfftig sind. Darinnen zu mercken ist das die Frawen den eussern Gestirn allen/ wie der Mann/ vnderworffen sind/ doch in gespaltener *Physica*. Zu gleicher weiß als ein Brot/ das für vns ligt/ ist allen thieren ein speiß gesetzt: isset es der Mensch/ so wirt sein fleisch darauß/ isset es der Fisch/ so wirt sein Fischfleisch darauß. Nuh^a sich wie die zwey fleisch von einander sind/ so weit ist auch die *Theorica* solcher Impression/ Infection/ etc. von einander zu erkennen. Darumb billich ist dieselbe spaltung anzusehen: dieweil Artzney vnnd alle Kreuter den vnterscheid haben/ so sols auch der Artzt haben/ der mit warheit handelt vnd nit mit lügen.

Dieweil nuhn der Artzt gefelet hatt/ der die *Matricem*, so | 206 | vnden im Leibe ligt/ für die gantze geschrieben hat/ vnd weiter die Fraw mit jhrem wesen entschlossen/ vnnd ausserhalb demselbigen die Fraw dem Mann vergleicht: das ist das plerr so jhm für den augen

^a Sudhoff (195): “nun.”

have presented to you the [nature of] generation, | 205 | in order to prevent error. The *matrix* is created visible. However, its properties are invisible. For whoever looks at woman, sees the *matrix viri*,¹ that is, the world in which he was born. But what it is that fabricates the human being is seen by no one. For just as God created the human being in his image, he still does so now. By this I mean the spirit of the Lord in that place where it hovers on the water, and the water is a vessel of the seed from which the human being grows, and this seed is the *limbus*. However, the *matrix* is invisible in its nature. What is invisible does not suffer anything, for which reason we do not intend to speak of invisible things. What is visible is the woman, who is cast in three substances: *sulphur*, *sal*, and *mercurius*; just as all [other] *corpora* also subsist in these three. For that which should be taken up tangibly must be visible and sensible; for this very reason it subsists in the three. The *prima materia* of the three is invisible; however, their *ultima* is visible and is the entire body of the woman. We should speak and philosophize about the *ultima materia*, so that its monarchy is found. For that is the source of all her diseases from these three. By this I mean that the *ultima materia* of those aforesaid *primae materiae* is the *prima materia* of those very diseases. This is why we should know first of all that there are three substances, which three yield the diseases that accrue to women, whether known or unknown, whether past, present or even those that are still in the future. It is to be noted in this regard that the women are subject to all the same external stars as is the man, yet in [accordance with] a bifurcated *physica*. In the same way that a bread which is placed before us is instituted as a nourishment for all animals: if the human being eats it, then it turns into his flesh; if a fish eats it, then it turns into the flesh of a fish. As far apart as the two kinds of flesh are from one another, equally far apart is the *theorica* of this kind of [astral] *impression* [or] *infection*, etc. to be construed. This is why it is proper to take heed of this same division. Herbs and all medications possess this same differentiation. Consequently the physician should adhere to it in order to act in truth and not with lies.

Since physician[s have] made a mistake in having | 206 | characterized the *matrix* which lies in the lower body as the real thing, and in other ways having disclosed woman in her nature and equated the woman with the man without regard for [her] nature, this is just [their]

¹ The matrix of the man.

hengt: hat vergessen/ daß die Welt ein Loch hatt/ dadurch Gottes hand auß dem Himmel in sie greiff/ vnd macht in jhr was er will: Vnd das er also die Frawen/ zu einer Welt gemacht hat/ in der der Mensch geboren soll werden: vnd das der Mann da ist an der statt Gottes/ darumb so muß er den griff auch haben/ der nit anderst zuverstohn ist/ als allein/ wie Gott von seinem Reich/ in die Welt der Himmel vnd Erden griffen hat/ vnd den *Limbum* genommen/ vnd den Menschen gemacht: Also auch der mit der Frawen handelt. So aber dz ein jrrung brechte/ Gott nam allein den *Limbum*, das ist/ an eim ort/ nit von allen orten: So wissent das noch niemandts dasselbe verstanden hat noch gewist/ als allein/ das der Mensch ist die Welt/ vnd der *Limbus* die ganze Welt. Also in der Mutter ist es auch also/ das die ganze Frawe die *Matrix* ist: denn auß allen jhren gliedern ist des menschen Acker genommen. Vnd wie die Erde von allen Elementen muß erhalten werden/ das ist/ auß allen krefftigen der ganzen Welt: also auch der Mensch auß dem ganzen leib der Frawen. Der *Centrum*^a aber ist der/ darinnen gehandelt wirt/ das ist auch der zugang/ von allem^b eussern vmbkreiß: Vnd was natur die *Matrix* ist/ das ist auch das *Centrum*, der ist auch der ganze Leib/ das Hertz/ Lebern/ Miltz/ etc. was da ist/ Blut vnd Fleisch. Nuhn besecht/ wie weit es von einander sey *Matrix* vnd *Vir*: also weit ist auch der Frawen Blut vnd des Mannes Blut gescheiden. Wiewol sie beyde roth sind/ was gehet das den^c Artzt an? die Bawren sehents für Ein Blut an/ der Artzt aber nicht/ er sey dann mit der Bawren Adern getaufft worden: das ist/ er wene er sey ein Artzt/ so er doch seine *Scientiam* als ein Bawr versteht: mit solchen ist nichts zu handeln/ dann sie vergessen/ das ein vnderscheid ist zwischen Metallen/ Steinen/ Holtz/ etc. so ist sie hie auch. Wiewol Ein Mensch Mann vnd Frawen/ zwo form vnd figuren aber/ also auch

^a The term *centrum* applies P.'s conceptualization of the cosmos to the microcosm in order to account for the inexplicable communication and interaction of all parts of the body by equating it with the predictable, and therefore seemingly explicable, "machina mundi": "der lauf der geisten des leiblichen gestirns ist von seim ursprung, das ist von seim stam zu end des selbigen glides und hinwider zu dem stam als zu seinem centro gleich als ein reflex" (S 1:209). In a second use (closer to the humanism of Pico della Mirandola), the human being is not merely centered but *the* center of the world: "er ist quintum esse totius machinae mundi, er ist der centrum, in den alle sphaer ir radios gießen" (S 12:454). The *Uslegung der latinischen Synonyma* offers an improbably lapidary definition: "Centrum ist der anfang in der krankheit" (S 9:659).

^b Sudhoff (196): "dem."

^c Sudhoff (196): "dem."

intolerable droning on and on, which makes them unable to see, so [that they] have forgotten that there is a hole in the world through which the hand of God reaches in out of the heavens and makes of it what he wills; and in this way he has made woman into a world in which the human being is to be born; and the man is present in place of God, so that he must have this reach, which is to be understood in no other way than that God has reached [in] from his realm into the world of heavens and earth, and has taken the *limbus* and made the human being. This is what [God] has done with woman. Since the erroneous view might arise that God had taken only this *limbus*, by which I mean, only in one place and not in all, let it be noted that until now no one has understood this: the human being is the world; the *limbus* the entire world. So it is also the case in the mother, that the entire woman is the *matrix*; for from all parts of her the source or field of the human being is taken. Just as the earth is maintained by all the elements, by which I mean by all the forces of the entire world, so, too, does the human being stem from the entire body of the woman. The *centrum*, however, is that in which the action is effected. This is also the access from the entire circumference. Moreover, of whatever nature the *matrix* is, the same is the *centrum* which is the entire body: the heart, the liver, the spleen, etc., whatever there is—flesh and blood. Now consider how far apart they are: *matrix* and *vir*. That is how far the blood of the woman is removed from the blood of the man. Certainly both are red, but what does the physician care about that? The peasants see it as the same blood, the physician does not, not unless he happens to have been baptized with the veins of the peasants, which is to say that he imagines himself as a physician, but only has the kind of *scientia* which a peasant understands. You cannot do anything with that sort, for they forget that there is a difference between metals, stones, wood, etc. It is the same thing here. Although a human being is both man and woman, nevertheless, this is in two

zwo arth: die Frawe für eine sondere Monarchey/ in gemeiner vnd besonderer krankheit.

Wie sich die krefft des Meers erzeigen/ dz da aufflaufft/ | 207 | auffsteiget/ seine tagzeit/ also auch die Monarchey. Nuhn was ist die vrsach des Meers auffsteigen? die ists/ daß das Meer verzert/ was in es kompt/ desselben tod ist es. Also werden alle Wasser gefressen vnd getödtet im Meer/ vnd sterben im selbigen/ wie der Mensch in der Erden. Was nuhn verzehrt vnnd tödt/ dasselbe hatt sein Operation/ durch die es das zerbricht/ das in es kompt. Sein Operation ist alle tage ein mal. Zu gleicher weise wie der Mensch der da isset/ der dāwet die speiß die er isset: vnd so ers empfangen hatt/ vnd sich gesetzt hatt in die Operation/ dasselbige zu consumieren/ so bleet sich der bauch auff. Also das Meer seine wirckung hat/ dann im Meer ist der tod des wassers/ vnd kompt kein wasser mehr auß dem Meer/ es stirbet alles in jhm/ wie alle Erdgewächs in der Erden sterben. Wie nuhn also das Meer sein außwerffen hat vnnd sein nidergang: Dermassen versehen euch auch in der Frawen zu sein/ von des wegen/ daß sie ein Mutter der Kinder: das Meer ist ein Mutter der Wasser. Diweil nun die Fraw ein Mutter ist/ so gebiert sie jhr selbst solche Fließ/ deren auffbeümen ist zu vier wochen einmal/ mit seinem außgang/ damit der Mensch begabt ist/ das nichts todts in jhm bleibe/ sondern weicht von jhm vnd auß jhm/ das dann im Meer nicht beschicht. Also ist das *Menstruum* ein Excrement der zulauffenden dingen in die Matrix/ darinn zu sterben/ welche auß geworffen werden. Irrig hatt der Artzt gesetzt/ der auß jhm selbst geschriben hatt/ das diß Excrement/ *Menstruum*, sey ein Blüe der Frawen/ wie ein Baum: Das ist ein feiner Artzt/ der ein *stercus* für ein blüe ansicht. Der Frawen blüe ist/ so sie empfach/ in derselben stunde ist das blüe da: Vnnd darnach nach aller blüe so folgt die Frucht hernach/ das ist das Kind. Wissend jhr Artzt nit/ das ein jeglicher Baum der da blüet/ auß der frucht blüet/ so auß jhm brechen will? Vnd der Baum der nit frucht in jhm hat/ der blüet nit: vnnd die Frawe blüet nach ewerem sagen/ vnd hat aber kein frucht in jhr: das ist/ die Jungfrawen blüen nach ewerem sagen/ wo ist jhr frucht? keine ist da/ darumb ist es *Excrementum*.

Wiewol das ein grober fehler ist/ der da vbel zieret die Galienischen/ Auicennischen Artzt/ vnnd jhre nachfolger/ das ein

forms and figures, thus also two natures. The woman has her special monarchy in the common and in the special diseases.

Just as the powers of the sea manifest themselves, in flowing up | 207 | [and in] ascending, [in] tides, so it is with this monarchy too. Now what is the cause of the rising of the sea? It is that [by] which the sea consumes what comes into it, [it is] the death of that thing. So it is that all waters are consumed and killed by the sea and die in it, as the human being is [buried and consumed] in the earth. That which consumes and kills has its operation by which it breaks whatever comes into it. Its operation is once a day. In the same way the human being who eats digests the food that he eats. As soon as he has received it and has entered into the operation of consuming it, the stomach swells up. In the same way does the sea show its operation. For in the sea is the death of the water; and no more water comes out of the sea; it all perishes within it; just as everything that grows upon the earth dies in the earth. Just as the sea has its rising and its falling: in the same way you should understand [what happens] in woman because she is a mother of children: the sea is a mother of the waters. Since the woman is a mother, she gives birth of herself to such flows, the rising of which is once every four weeks, with its exiting, in order that the human being should be endowed with the quality that nothing dead remains within him but rather that it departs from him, which does not happen in the sea. Thus, the *menstruum* is an excrement of the things incurred by the matrix, which die in it and are cast out. In error, the physician has set down, writing from his own inspiration, that this excrement, *menstruum*, is a blossoming (**Blü**e)¹ of women, as with a tree: that is a fine physician indeed who regards a *stercus* as a blossom! The blossoming of women is when they conceive: at that point their blossoming is there. After this, following all their blossoming, comes the fruit which is the child. Do you physicians not know that any tree that blossoms does so from the fruit that wants to break forth from it? The tree that has no fruit within it does not blossom. And yet from what you say, the woman can blossom without having any fruit in her. Does this mean that virgins blossom, as you say, without their fruit? There is none. For this reason it [has to be] *excrementum*.

Although it is a crude sort of error that thus adorns the Galenic [and] Avicennan physicians and their followers—that claims that a

¹ See Grimm, **Blü**he or Geblühe: blossoming as part of the cycle of bearing fruit.

| 208 | Jungfraw soll blüen/ ohn ein Mann/ auß dem das blüe gehet: so sie je soll blüen/ so müst sie auch frucht geben: Auß dem folget nun/ daß die Kinder ohne Mann würden. O jhr thorenden Doctores/ was lehrt jhr mit ewer vnerfahrenen *Scientia*, treffent euch selbst/ wie dann solcher leut arth ist? Wissent jr nicht/ daß die *Matrix* nichts anders ist/ dann *Microcosma*. Nuhn sie sol gebereren/ so muß sie rein darzu sein: das ist die reinigung/ das aller vnflat zu dem gang gehet. Vnnd allein es sey dann das die reinigung gantz sey vnd gerecht/ vnnd das gestorben gange herauß/ sonst empfaht sie nicht: Vnd sie bleibt rein/ biß im auffhören der Milch: welche Milch nicht kompt auß dem *Menstruo*, sondern sie kompt auß den *Mamillis*, also darauff gewidmet vnd gemacht. Vnd dieweil die schwängere vnd säugere da ist/ dieweil ist kein Excrement da: dann alle ding sind still vnnd weichen diser zeit: Da wachst auch nichts vnflatiges/ das auß begere zu gohn. Dann also ist die natur der Frawen/ so bald sie empfaht/ so [bald]^a ist sie transmutiert/ vnd alle ding sind da wie ein Sommer in dem da kein Schnee/ Reiff/ etc. Winter ist/ sondern alle freud vnd lust: Solchen lust hat auch die *Matrix*, vnd solche Sommerliche zeit. Darumb so stohnd alle *Excrementa* still/ biß der Winter wirt/ vnnd sein Reiff/ sein Schnee/ etc. Als dann so gehnt die *Excrementa* wider. Da muß verstanden werden *tempus pariendi*, was es für Condition/ Proportion habe/ etc. von demselben soll der Artzt reden. Dann so er die nit weiß/ so ist vmb sonst alles daruon er gesagt. Es ist ein blinde einfürung/ daß das *Menstruum* soll milch geben/ vnnd soll sein die nahrung des Kinds: O jhr Fantasten/ erforschent die Natur baß/ ehe jhr schreiben.^b Die ding alle werden in der Philosophey baß erkleret/ da von der Geberung des Menschen^c geschrieben stehet.

Damit so wissent hie die *Anatomiam Matricis*, was der gantze Leib der Frawen sey: daß das kind in der Mutter/ sein nahrung hatt auß den Brüsten ausserhalb der Mutter: auß den Brüsten von der besten Edelsten milch/ nicht von Excrementen die sie *Menstruum* heissen/ dem kein Gifft auff Erden gleichen mag/ schädlicher vnd strenger/ vnd solte ein speise sein des Kindes? Wie grob vnd vn geschlacht ist das geredt/ daß | 209 | der Mensch auß solchem Gifft/ da nichts schädli-

^a Sudhoff (198) omits square brackets.

^b Sudhoff (198) punctuates with an exclamation point.

^c This probably refers to *Von der Gebärung des Menschen* (S 1:287ff.).

| 208 | virgin should blossom without a man—from whom the blossom proceeds, should it [actually] happen in this way, then she would have to bear fruit. It would follow that children would be born without the man. Oh, you foolish doctors, what are you teaching with your inexperienced *scientia*—are you not striking home at yourselves, as is the way with such people as you? Do you not know that the *matrix* is nothing other than *microcosma*. If it should give birth, then it must be pure for this purpose. That is the purification by which all filth is cleared out of the way. And unless it is the case that the purification is complete and correct and that that which has died passes out, she will not conceive. Moreover, she remains pure until the milk stops. The milk does not come from the *menstruum*; it comes from the *mamillae* which are endowed and made for this very purpose. And as long as the pregnant and feeding [state] is present, there is no excrement present. For all things are calm and in avoidance in this time. Neither does anything filthy grow that would come from desire. For thus is the nature of the woman that as <soon> as she conceives, she is transmuted and all things are then present as if in a summer in which there is no snow, frost, etc. [or] winter, but rather nothing but joy and happiness. Such happiness does the *matrix* enjoy too, and such a summery period. For this reason, all the *excrementa* are halted until it is again winter with its frost, its snow, and so on. Then the *excrementa* result again. Thus one must understand the *tempus pariendi*¹ and the sort of condition [and] proportion that it has—about this the physician should speak. For if he is not aware of this, everything that he says is in vain. It is a blind disquisition that [says] that the *menstruum* should yield milk and provide nourishment for the child. Oh, you fantasts! Study nature better than that before you write! All these things are explained better by [the true] philosophy, in which there is the discussion of the generation of the human being.

Accordingly, you should understand here the *anatomia matricis* [and know] what the entire body of the woman is; that the child has its nutrition in the mother, out of the breasts that are outside the mother—from the breasts the best and noblest milk, and not from the excrements which they call *menstruum*, which no poison on earth can equal in being harmful and severe—and yet that is supposed to be the nourishment of a child? How coarse and uncouth has it been said that | 209 | the human being [is nourished] from such poison, than which

¹ *Tempus pariendi*: time of giving birth (OLD).

chers innen ist/ als diß Excrement der Frawen/ vnd auch andern so es geben wirt/ vnd nimpt weiter keine transmutation an zu guten dingen: Das ist/ kein Gifft wirt ein speiß/ sondern bleibt ein Gifft vnd keine speise. Welcher Vatter ist/ der seim Kind Stein vor Brot gebe/ oder Schlangen? Keiner: Gott noch weniger/ dz betrachten. Das ist aber war/ das die natur in jrem Gifft stille stehet vnd verhalten wirt/ wie die Sonn still stünd [vnd]^a behalten ward zu den zeiten *Iosua*: Also stehet auch still aller lauff der Natur/ von der zeit der empfengnuß/ biß in auffhörung des Kinds notturfft zu verendern/ vnd sey dem Menschen gleich zu erneren. Das ist auch war/ daß sich in der geburt außreinigt/ das nichts soll: das ist das/ daß du meinst es werde Milch darauß: es würde ehe ein Wasserkalb darauß. Das ist Göttliche trew/ das solcher wüst^b dem Kind nit schadet vnd vor jhm beschirmet ist: vnd du sagest es nehre sich davon/ So nuh kein ding vom vnflat ernehret ist worden/ sondern von reinen dingen/ es sein Beume/ Kreuter/ Wurtzen/ etc. Es wirt alles von subtilen *liquoribus, rore, pluuiis,*^c etc. ernehret vnd erhalten. Vber das alles/ das Kind in der narung ist: denn am kind ligt mehr/ denn am Kraut im Felde/ vnnd ist das zertiste ding. Darumb ist es in seiner Mutter vnd jhrer Brust befohlen/ biß sein stercke da ist/ von wegen der subtilisten speiß. Was ist nun derselbige fluß im Baum/ als sein selbst *Sperma*? Alle ding reinigen sich durch den schaum/ also reiniget sich auch die Natur durch den schaum/ auff das dem Kind seine speise rein werde: vnnd du sagst dieser schaum sey eine speiß/ *Menstruum* sey die Milch/ vnd bleib *in Matrice*, biß das Kind geboren werde/ so werde milch darauß: da spürt man wol/ mit was *Philosophia* du gewesen bist. Das außlaufft/ merckent eben auff/ ist der schaum von dem köcht/ daß das kind gessen hat in Mutter Leibe/ vnd von der Brust saugen muß: Nun sihe du/ wie sich die Excrementen verscheümen. Habt jhr nicht so viel verstandes/ so man trincken

^a Sudhoff (199) has “stil” instead of “stille,” “stund” for “stünd” and no square brackets.

^b Sudhoff (199): “wust.”

^c **Regen, tau** (rain, dew) are macrocosmic terms for rejuvenating or excessive bodily fluids (S 1:36f.).

nothing is more noxious than this excrement of the woman; so that in others to whom it is given it undergoes no further transmutation to turn into good things.¹ This means that no poison [of that kind] can become a nourishment but remains poison rather than food. What father would give his child stones in place of bread, or snakes? None. And God even less. Consider that. However, it is true that nature is halted and checked in its poison, just as the sun stood still <and> was checked in the time of Joshua. And so it is that the entire course of nature stands still from the time of conception until such time as the child's needs stop and it changes and is nourished like a [fully developed] human being. It is also true that in birth everything is cleaned out that has no place [being where it is]; so that if you should imagine that it turns into milk, it would be more likely to turn into a sea monster. That is [a matter of] divine faith that this sort of desolation does not harm the child and is shielded away. And yet you say that it is nourished by it, even though nothing has ever been nourished by filth, but only by things that are pure, such as trees, herbs, roots, etc. Thus it is really nourished and maintained entirely by subtle *liquores, ros, pluvia*,² etc. That and more is in the nourishment of the child; for the child is more valuable than the herbs in the field and is the most sensitive of all things. For this reason it is commended to its mother and her breast, until its strength is present, in order to receive the subtlest nourishment. What is it that flows in the tree, if not its own *sperma*? All things clean themselves by means of scum, and so does nature purify itself by means of scum, so that the nourishment of the child will be pure. And you claim that this scum is a nourishment; that *mestruum* is milk and remains *in matrice* until the child is born, and that it then turns into milk. One certainly notices in this with what sort of *philosophia* you have been washed. That which runs out, take note, is the scum of the decoction (**köcht**)³ that the child has eaten in its mother's body and must suck at her breast. Now you see how the excrements foam up. Are you so uncomprehending that you can imagine

¹ P. is deflecting the suggestion that *mestruum* could ever be used in any sort of medication.

² *Liquores, ros, pluvia*: liquids, dew, rain (OLD).

³ See Grimm, **Köchet**: meaning cooked "dish," this suggests in P. both the culinary and digestive and the alchemical (cf. H 1:147).

verscheumen wolte/ es bliebe am letzten gar nichts da? das sind *Stoici austeri, etc.*

Darumb ist nun billich/ fürzuhalten der Frawen krankheiten vnd gesundheit in einer sondern Monarchey/ dieweil sie | 210 | so weith von den Mannen gescheiden ist: Nit allein der Brust halben/ der Mutter halben/ *Menstrui* halben/ sondern auch von wegen des gantzen Leibes/ der von der Brust wegen/ der Matrix wegen/ des *Menstrui* wegen geschaffen ist. Darumb so er von jhret wegen geschaffen ist/ so ist er auch nach jhrer art geschaffen/ vnnnd nicht nach einer frembden arth/ das ist/ nach Männischer art. Vnd ob etwann ein Artzney den Frawen vnd Mannen gleich hülff/ als in der *Peste*, Kaltenwehe/ etc. so wiß/ das alles in den dingen/ allein auß Narcotischer art geschicht/ Stupefacirender arth/^a Diaphoretischer arth/ etc. die alle nicht von dem rechten vrsprung der geordneten Artzney da seindt. Darumb/ daß sie nicht auß der rechten ordnung kommen/ von des wegen/ so hilffts heüt vnnnd morgen nit/ in der *Peste*, in der andern nit/ daruon an seinem Capitel weiter gemelt wirt/ etc. Dieweil nun die rechte ordnung soll gebraucht werden: ist nuh billich/ die Frawen mit jhrer gesundheit/ mit jrer krankheit zu besondern von Mannen: Vnd das Exemepel fürnemen/ Das ein Fraw ist wie der Baum/ der da sein frucht tregt/ vnnnd der Mann ist wie die frucht/ die der Baum tregt. Also zu verstehen: der Baum muß vil haben biß er erhalten wirt/ auff das er das möge geben/ darumb er ist. Nun besecht/ wie vil gebresten dem Baum zustehen mag/ vnnnd wie wenig der Birnen: so viel ist auch die Fraw vber den Mann. Der Mann ist gegen jhr/ wie ein Biern^b gegen jrem Baum/ die felt ab/ aber last den Baum stehen. Nuhn der Baum tregt weiter sorg auff andere frucht/ auff sein lengers leben: darumb so muß er viel haben/ viel leiden/ vil tragen/ von wegen seiner frucht/ daß die wol vnd glücklichen kommen. Darumb ermessent eben/ wollend jhr Artzt sein/ was das Exemepel inhalt/ vnd wie es zu verstehen sey: sonst wirt auß ewer keinem nimmermehr kein guter Artzt. Darumb so besehent die Monarchey besonder/ darinnen jhr sehet/ was sonder noth ist dem Baum/ das der Bieren nit noth ist: Was der Biren noth ist/ dem Baum nit noth ist. Ist das ein eusserlich anzeigen: so ist es mit den Frawen vnd Mannen auch also. Darbey

^a P. professed to know varieties of *narcotica* and *stupefactiva*, “von got geordnet” for lessening many sorts of pains (S 2:93f.).

^b Sudhoff (200-01) has “biren” for “Bier(e)n,” “verstan” or “verston” for “versteh(e)n,” and “knebli” and “megdli” for “Knäble” and “Mägde.”

that the drinking would be a flushing away so that nothing at all would remain? Those are indeed *Stoici austeri*,¹ etc.

For this reason it is appropriate to discuss the diseases and health of women in a particular monarchy, because they | 210 | are so far removed from men—and not only on account of the breasts which mothers have, or on account of the *menstruum*, but indeed because of their entire body which was created because of breasts, the matrix, [and] the *menstruum*. This is why it is not only created for this but also in accordance with its nature, and not in accordance with another nature, not in accordance with male nature. And even though a medication might help women and men equally, as for example in *pestis* [pestilence], in the cold chills, etc., you should be aware that everything in such cases happens only from the nature of the narcotic, stupefying, [or] diaphoretic, etc., none of which represent the proper ground of a well ordered medicine. Because they do not come from the proper order [having an effect] on its account, it does not help today and tomorrow, [not] in the *pestis*, nor in those other [diseases], about which more will be said in the appropriate chapter. Since the proper order should be maintained, it is only fitting that women should be separated from men with respect to health and disease. Consider this example: that a woman is like a tree that bears its fruit and the man is like the fruit which the tree bears. This is to be understood as follows: the tree requires much for its maintenance in order to yield that for which it exists. Take note of how many ailments may accrue to the tree and how few are the pears: in that relation does the woman surpass the man. The man compares to her as a pear to a tree: it falls off, and the tree remains standing. But then the tree is concerned with bearing other fruit in relation to its longer life: for this reason it requires much, suffers much, bears much [fruit], all on account of its fruit, in order that they should arrive healthy and happy. For this reason, take note, if you call yourselves physicians, what this example conveys and how must be understood: otherwise none of you will ever turn into a good physician. For this reason, give special attention to this monarchy in which it becomes apparent what the particular needs of the tree and of its pears are. What is necessary for the pears is not necessary for the tree. That is an external illustration: it is the same way with women and men as well. In the same context, you should

¹ *Austericus*, austere, severe, pungent: “austere Stoics”: pagan philosophers, ignorant of the divine mercy.

merckend die vnderscheid zwischen Knäblein vnnnd Mägdlein gleich zu verstehn/ als die Bieren/ vnd sein kernen/ so in der Birn ist: Wie die zwo arth von einander sein/ also | 211 | seind auch von einander Knäble vnd Mägdle: das befilch ich der *Philosophia*.

Habend jhr nie betracht in euch selbst/ wie der Mensch [von]^a oben ist/ nemlich auß dem *Limbo* herab: aber der Mann/ die Frawe nicht. Die ander Creatur ist die Frawe/ vnnnd ist nicht die erste/ auch nicht mit dem ersten: darumb ist sie vnter dem Mann. So sie nuhn die ander Creatur ist/ nicht auß dem *Limbo*, so ist sie auch ein ander Leib: Denn solt sie sein der Leib wie Adam/ so wer sie auch auß demselben *Limbo* gemacht worden. Darumb aber/ daß sie ein ander Monarchey führen soll/ so ist sie nachfolgent gemacht auß eim lebendigen fleisch/ das fleisch gewesen ist: vnnnd aber auß dem fleisch/ ein ander fleisch gemacht/ wie auß dem *Limbo* ein fleisch ist worden/ daß/ das nicht gesein ist/ das darauß geworden ist. Also ist die Fraw auß des Mannes fleisch: sie ist aber dasselbige nicht blieben/ sondern als weit vom Manne/ als weit der Mann vom Leimen/ auß dem er geworden ist. Das vrsacht ein newe *Theoricam* zu machen von der Frawen/ vnd sie zu besöndern in ein sondere *Physicam*: Vnd zu lügnern zustellen die jenigen/ so das setzen den Frawen vnd Mannen gleich. Wiewol sie doch höflich herfür kommen/ außgenommen was *Matricem*, dareinn das Kind gelegt wirt/ vnnnd dieselbigen notturfft/ anrüret.

Nun secht dieselbige notturfft an/ dz sie den gantzen leib muß haben: vnd ein tropfen bluts ist nit im leib/ dz nit ein notturfft sey zu der Matrix/ darumb sie es vnbillich söndern. Sie habens aber nit verstanden/ vnd die jungen wollens nit verstehn. Wie wol vnd sanfft thut es euch/ so jr sagen/ das sagt *Galenus*, das sagt *Auicenna*, etc. damit so sind jr rein/ jetzt habt jhrs troffen. Wöllen jr meinen/ darumb/ ob sie schon das sagen/ dz [es] war sey? Legen am ersten für den *Auctorem*, dz er warhafftig sey/ darnach so beschent dann jhn: es wirt dich aber zu hart ankommen. Dieweil man aber den faulen Autoren^b glauben gibt/ vnd für das Euangelium halt/ vnd du auch nicht frömmer an dir selber bist/ so bleibstu billich bey solchen erlognen vnnnd erdichten Auctoren: denn gleich vnnnd gleich versaumpt sich nicht/ es treibts der Teüffel allemal zusammen. Wie nuhn also | 212 | ein

^a Sudhoff (201) omits this and subsequent square brackets.

^b Sudhoff (202): “auctoren.”

notice the differences between little boys and little girls, like that between the pears and the pits or seeds from the pears. In the way these two natures relate to one another, it is in that same relation | 211 | that the little boys and little girls stand to one another. That is a subject to be referred to *philosophia*.

Have you never observed in yourselves how the human being is <from> above, that is, descended from the *limbus*: but this applies to the man, not to the woman. Woman is the second creature, not the first. Nor is she with the first. This is why she is below the man. Since she is the second creature, not from the *limbus*, she is a different body. For if it were the body as of Adam, then she would have been made out of that same *limbus*. However, because she should follow a different monarchy, she has been made out of the living flesh, which was already flesh, and yet out of a flesh [that was] a different flesh, just as a flesh also originated from the *limbus*, which was not [the same] as that which arose from it. Accordingly, the woman is of the flesh of the man; but she did not remain as such; she is rather as far removed from the man as the man is from the glue from which he originated. This explains why a new *theorica* must be formulated for woman, and why she must be segregated in a special *physica*. [And why] those must be exposed as liars who make women and men the same. Although they present themselves in a clever way, the *matrix* in which the child is placed is left out [of their account], and everything that is needed by the same.

Now take note of all the needs of this, which requires the entire body [of woman]: there is not a drop of blood in the body which would not be needed for the matrix—for which reason it is not fitting that they should separate [things from one another]. But they have not grasped this, and neither do the more recent [medical authors care to do so]. How nice and suave it sounds when you say, “that is what *Galenus* says,” “that is what *Avicenna* says,” and so on. With that you think that you are in the clear and have it made. You think you are right on the mark. So do you suppose that because they say so, <it> is true? First just assume that the *auctor* is truthful. Then proceed to disgrace him. That will bring you to a fine pass. Since people believe these rotten authors and take them for the gospel, and you for your part are no more devout, it is simply fitting that you should stick to these mendacious and prevaricating authors. For birds of a feather flock together. The devil sees to it that they come together. Since,

sondere arth ist der Frawen/ vnd *Monarchia* so müssen auch zwo Monarchey da sein: das ist/ ein ander Monarchey der Frawen/ ein ander der Mannen. Darauß folget nuh/ ein ander erkantnuß deß Himmels vnd beider Spher/ der in jnen ist/ die *Microcosmica consensio*, so außgelassen ist worden/ von den blinden gemelten Artzten.

Dieweil sich nuh von einander scheidt der Leib des Menschen/ ein ander in der Frawen/ ein ander im Mann: So ist hierauff kurzlich fürzuhalten ein vnderscheid auch in den kranckheiten/ damit bemelte anzeigung desto leüterer verstanden werden/ so mercket diß Exempel. Es were ein Geelsucht die hett ein Mann: [vnd] eine/ die hett ein Fraw: vnnd beyder Geelsucht hett einerley *Signa* vnd *Prognostica*, vnd dergleichen/ also daß sie von dir würde geurtheilet ein *Genus* zu sein/ oder ein *Species*, vnd nit ein ander *Species* im Mann/ ein anders in der Frawen: sondern du befindest nach allem augensehen vnd *indiciis* ein *speciem morbi*, das ist/ es were ein ding: Darauß nun folget eine *Cura*, das ist/ eine Artzney. Nuhn aber/ es wirts nicht thun mit der Cur: Was die vrsach sey/ will ich dir fürhalten. Wiewol *Medicamina Hermaphroditica* sind^a die zu beyden seiten dienen/ ist noth sein sonder Buch dauon zu machen/ nimm ich auff dißmal auß: Aber nach innhalt rechter ordnung so verstant das also. Die Fraw hat die Geelsucht wie der Mann/ vnd mehr darzu: das ist/ das *Corpus* das die Geelsucht ist/ ist *Profluuium*. Was ist *Profluuium*?^b Es ist nicht das Excrement/ das ist/ *Menstruum*, sondern es ist der gantze Leib/ auß dem das *Menstruum* gehet/ derselbe Leib behalt den nammen *profluuium*, so zu einer kranckheit wirdt/ sonst ist es *liquor Microcosmi*. Dieser *liquor* ist der Geelsucht vnderworffen/ herzukommen in der gestalt: Das Eine^c vrsach ist/ im Mann vnd in der Frawen: aber nicht ein *Corpus*. Zu gleicher weiß als du ferbest ein Tuch geel/ vnnd ferbest ein Holtz geel/ das ist ein farben/ das ist/ eine kranckheit/ aber zwey *Corpus*: Dieweil nuh zwey *Corpus* da seind/ vnd wiewol ein Farben/ ein *Signum* so muß die Artzney auff dz

^a P. uses the term **hermaphrodit** not only for the familiar natal irregularity (S 1:267) but also for dual natures such as summer in winter (S 13:184).

^b On the female malady connected to menstruation, see *Herbarius* (S 2:52-53). In this post-Basel work, P. recommends extending the concept **profluuium** beyond its menstrual reference as a pattern for diagnosis: “und nicht allein in profluuiis menstruorum rubeis et albis, sonder auch ist es ein gleichmeßiger proceß in allen profluuiis ventris, wie die sein mögen und sich begeben” (53).

^c Sudhoff (203): “eine.”

however, it is | 212 | the case that in woman there is a particular nature and *monarchia*, there must indeed be two monarchies on hand: one monarchy of women and one of men. From this it follows that there is a different understanding of the heavens and of both spheres which are in [women]: [this is] the *microcosmica consensio* that has been omitted by the aforesaid blind physicians.

Inasmuch as there is this separation in the body of the human being, with one in women and another in man, I want to mention briefly a difference in the diseases, in order that the aforesaid disquisition may be understood all the more clearly, so take note of the example. There is one jaundice that man has <and> another that woman has; both of these have the same *signa* and *prognostica*; and this to such a degree that you might assess them as a single *genus* or a single *species* instead of one *species* in man and another in woman. Indeed, with respect for all visible evidence and *indicia* [you regard these as] one *species morbi*, precisely one and the same thing. From this it follows that there would be one *cura*, that is, one medication. Now, however, you will get nowhere with this cure. The reason for this I will explain now. Although it is to be conceded that there are *medicamina hermaphroditica*¹ which serve both, a special book would have to be written about that subject, but I am not speaking about that here. In accordance with the proper order it is to be understood this way instead. Woman has jaundice as does man, and more still: the *corpus* which constitutes the jaundice is *profluvium*. What is *profluvium*?² It is not the excrement, that is, *menstruum*, but rather the entire body out of which the *menstruum* proceeds: This same body takes the name *profluvium* when it becomes a disease. Otherwise, it is *liquor microcosmi*. This *liquor* is subject to jaundice, arising in the following form. There is one cause in the man and in the woman; but not one *corpus*. Just as you could dye cloth yellow and dye a piece of wood yellow: that is the same color, [hence] a single disease.³ But there are two [different kinds of] corpus. Since there are two [different kinds of] corpus, but only a single color, a single *signum*, the medication must be fitted to

¹ *Medicamina hermaphroditica*: combining the characteristics of both sexes—here: medication that serves both equally.

² *Profluvium*: an excess discharge of blood or other bodily fluid; or a looseness of the bowels (OLD).

³ See OED, “infect”: note that its archaic use referred both to pathology and tainting with dye.

Corpus geformiert werden/ vnnd nicht auff die Farben. Zugleicher weiß/ als ein Holtz wirdt mit eim Hobel gemeistert/ ein | 213 | Eisen mit eim hammer: Wie da ein auffmercken zu haben ist in den dingen/ [also wiß] daß das *Corpus* dem Artzt sol vnter augen liegen. Dieweil er das nicht für sich nimpt/ so wirt er die krankheit nicht herauß-treiben: Ob er schon mit der artzney kompt/ so die farben hinnimpt/ so ist doch das *Corpus* da. Dann der *liquor Microcosmi*/ so er kompt in sein *profluuium*, so würt er weiß: Was ist das/ dann ein Weisse sucht? die ander ist Gelb/ die Weisse geht auß der Gelbe nit/ allein es sey dann ein stellung da: Also gehent viel sucht auß/ Roth/ Weiß/ Gelb/ Schwartz/ das alles vnder ein Capittel gehört.

Dieweil nun der *Corpus* für sich zunemen ist/ vnd nicht die Farben/ sondern *Corpus* vnd farben/ so muß jedoch eine gespaltene Artzney da sein. Vnnd ob du dich schon behilffest mit den Hermaphroditischen *simplicibus* oder *compositis*: Wirdt an seim orth sein bescheid auch finden/ das du nicht auß Kunst hast/ sondern auß thorheit vnd vnuerstandt. Denn es ist nicht anders zuuerstohn/ als allein/ das du mischst durch einander was du findest: Vnd triffests/ so hast. Das ist die kunst/ der Frawen artzney kein Mannen artzney/ der Mannen artzney kein Frawen artzney^a zugeben: Sondern ein jedlich Monarchey in seiner Anatomey behalten/ nicht vermischen. Was aber vermischt wirdt/ thut zu beiden seiten ein werck/ dz doch nicht vollendet wirdt. Dann ein jedliche Hermaphroditische artzney sol [allein] geben werden/ vnnd nicht componiert. Des ist eins *Plantago*,^b stelt den Mannen jhr Ruhr/ den Frawen auch/ sie ist *Hermaphrodita*: Noch aber so scheid sie sich/ hat beyde Anatomey in jhr/ dient in beide Monarchey: Also andere mehr/ deren doch nicht zu viel seindt. Wirdt sie dem Mann braucht/ so stirbt das *Arcanum* der Frawen ab: Wirt sie den Frawen gebraucht/ so stirbt das ander ab. Auß den Hermaphroditischen artzneyen/ seindt die *Experimenta* kommen/ das ist darzu/ das darzu/ es sey in Mannen oder Frawen. Darumb in andern *simplicibus* kein Experiment siehet/^c sondern allein *Canonica*

^a Sudhoff (203) omits the second and forth occurrence of “arznei” as redundant.

^b See H 1:145.

^c Sudhoff (204): “stehtet.”

the *corpus*, and not to the color. In the same way, it is possible to master a piece of wood with a plane, | 213 | but iron only with a hammer. Just as such attention is required in those things, <take note> that the physician must attend to the *corpus*. If he does not do so, he will not expel the disease. Even if he should apply a medication that expels the color, the *corpus* is still present. For if the *liquor microcosmi*, in entering into [the condition of] its *profluvium*, would turn white, what would that be but a white jaundice (**Weisse sucht**)?¹ The other one is yellow. The white version does not result from the yellow, unless there is a dissemblance (**stellung**)² present. From this, many jaundices can result: red, white, yellow, black—all of which should be treated in a single chapter.

Inasmuch as the *corpus* is to be taken up as such, not just the colors, but instead *corpus* and colors, there has to be a bifurcated medicine. Even if you were to apply the makeshift of the hermaphroditic *simplicia* or *composita*, this would be exposed in the proper context by showing that you do not do it on the basis of art, but only because of your foolishness and lack of understanding. For nothing else is happening but that you throw together whatever is at hand: and if it works out, you have got it. The real art is this: the medicine of women is not given to men; the medicine of men is not given to women; each should remain in its own monarchy without any mixing. Whatever is mixed will have a certain effect on either, which will not reach completion. For any hermaphroditic medication should be given <by itself> and not composed. An example of that is *plantago*,³ which stops the diarrhea of men as well as of women: it is an example of the *hermaphrodita*. And yet it is separated [too]: it has both anatomies in it; [and] thus it serves both monarchies. And there are more of this kind, though not too many of them. If they are used for the man, the *arcantum* of the woman is extinguished. If they are used for women, the other one is extinguished. It is from these hermaphroditic medications that the *experimenta* have come; [with the result that] this is deemed good for this, and that is deemed good for that, regardless of whether it is in men or in women. For this reason, you should heed no [such] experiment in the [use of] *simplicia*, but only the *practica canonica*.

¹ P. invents **Weisse Sucht**, parallel to “Gelbsucht,” to show the superficiality of treating the symptom.

² See Grimm, **Stellen**: as a reflexive, it can mean dissemble.

³ See note on *Plantago*, H 1:145.

Practica. Das aber darumb die *Experimenta Hermaphroditica* gnug seindt/ das ist nicht: Dann warumb helffen die Experiment? Darumb helffen sie/ so ein kranckheit nicht *Canonicè* kompt/ sondern wider den *Canonem* | 214 | darumb helffen sie: Was aber *Canonicè* kompt/ dasselbe sol *Canonicè* fürgenommen werden/ da hilft kein experiment zu: Dergleichen auch was nicht *Canonicè* kompt/ da hilft allein *Experimentum*, vnnd kein *Canonica Cura*. Von der erkantnuß ist viel fürzuhalten/ aber an seinem orth. Dabey wissent/ wie die Scribenten so oft setzen am ersten *Curam Canonicam*/ darumb das sie alle kranckheiten *Canonicè* halten zu entspringen/ das ein jrjsal ist: Demnach folget *Canonica Cura*/ darauff solch jrjsal gesetzt ist: Nach dem/ so *Cura Canonica* nicht helffen wil/ so folget *Thesaurus pauperum*^a hernach: Item solche stücklein mehr: Item brauche das/ also sagt er/ es habe oft geholffen: Item das ist gutt/ sagt ein ander/ etc. Vnnd also ist die jrrung offenbarlich/ das sie nicht verstanden die vnterscheid zwischen *Cura Canonica* vnd *Experimentis*: sehet an die blinden Artzt.

Weiter von dem exempel so fürgehalten ist worden von der Gelbsucht/ oder andern dergleichen kranckheiten/ wissent/ das nicht allein ein Gelbe ist/ sondern viel Gelb/ viel seindt auch der Gelbsuchten. Vnd wiewol die Galle die farben außtrucket/ so ist doch nicht allein ein farben in jhr/ sondern alle Geele farben/ als in seim Capittel fürgehalten wirdt. Nuhn ist aber ein ander Gall/ die Galle der Frawen/ ein ander die Galle der Mannen/ also seindt auch anders die farben: Darumb so sie gespalten seindt/ so ist auch die artzney gespalten. *Assa* ist eine farbe fürderin: *Ressella* ist ein farbe nemmerin: *Centaurea* ein Experiment. Die hauptstück aber so in den dingen seindt/ vnnd nicht Hermaphroditisch/ nicht alleine farb nemmerin/ Experiment: Dieselbigen müssen mit dem grundt angriffen werden/

^a The “*thesaurus*” is among the authorities mentioned critically on “de gutta” in *De Vita Longa* (S 3:263).

But the notion that there are enough *experimenta hermaphroditica* is not true. For of what use are the experiments? They help because a disease can occur, not *canonicè*, but rather against the *canon* | 214 |: this is why they help. But whatever occurs *canonicè* should also be treated *canonicè*. No experiment is any good for that. By the same token, what occurs not *canonicè* can only be treated by *experimentum*, and not by any *cura canonica*. About the understanding of this much is to be said, but only in its proper place. You should know about this that the authors so often posit *cura canonica* right off, because they think that all diseases arise *canonicè*. But this is an error. What follows is *cura canonica*, which gives rise to so much error. If the *cura canonica* does not help, what comes next is the *thesaurus pauperum*.¹ Then more items of this kind. The next injunction is: “Use that.” And so he says that it has helped. Next, “That is good” says someone else, and on it goes. And thus the error becomes obvious: they do not understand the difference between *cura canonica* and *experimenta*. There you have the blind physicians.

I will continue with the example which I introduced of jaundice or other similar diseases. You should be aware that there is not simply one yellow, rather there are many that result from jaundice. Even though the bile forcibly gives rise to the colors, there is not merely one color in it [jaundice]. Instead there are all [different] colors of yellow, as will be demonstrated in a chapter devoted to it. But now there is one sort of bile, the bile of the woman, and another sort, the bile of the man; thus are the two colors distinct. And since they are distinct, the [corresponding] medicine is also divided. *Assa*² is a promoter of color; *ressella*³ is a demoter of color. *Centaurea*⁴ [is] an experiment. However, the main virtues that reside in these things and not in the hermaphroditic one are not solely the demotion of color. [As for the] experiment: these things have to be grasped with respect to their ground,

¹ See LMA, *Thesaurus pauperum*: medieval *Summa medicinalis* or *Summa experimentorum medicarum* of Petrus Hispanus (ca. 1210-77). A compilation of remedies influential into the 16th century, its title (copied by Hieronymus Brunschwig) alludes to God as a “pater pauperum” whose creation of healing herbs is providential.

² *Assa (fetida)*, German “Teufelsdreck,” is a foul smelling sap or resin that was harvested from an herb (*ferula assa foetida*) native to Iran or Afghanistan; it was used against pain (BROCK); common in 16th-century medicine, it is mentioned by Rabelais, perhaps because of its disagreeable properties (cf. COFR).

³ See Grimm, **Ressel**: the name of the *polygonum, hydropiper*, known in German as “Flöhkraut” or “Wasserpfeffer.”

⁴ See H 2:35, note on *Centaurea*.

daß das *Corpus* vnterhanden gang. Wann die *Corpora* werden in den Canonischen *morbis* verwandelt/ wie ein ding/ das gefebet wirdt vnnd nimmer außgehet/ sondern Corpus vnnd farbe bleibet in ein vnscheidbar. So nun also die sache wirdt/ so muß die artzney nicht wie obstehet sein/ sondern auß seiner Monarchey/ die das *Corpus* vor sich nimpt: Vnnd in widerbringen des Corpus/ bringt sich auch herwider die gesundtheit/ also weicht auß die krankheit. Dann zwo art ist in allen krankheiten: |215| Mit dem Corpus/ vnd ohn das Corpus. Wiewol die vnterscheid noch nicht gehalten ist worden/ das ist doch der jrرسال/ das sie in jhrer Cur geirret haben: Dieweil ein ander Gall in den Frawen/ vnnd doch die Gall ist/ mit allen eigenschafften wie eine Gall sein sol/ so ist dieselbe Gall nicht zudemmen in jhren *Canonicis morbis*/ als durch jhr eigen Monarchey: Das ist/ das dieselbe artzney/ so von den Mannen artzneien in ein ander Anatomy vnnd Physica geordnet sindt. Darumb was *Centaurea mascula* den Mannen thut/ im selben grad thuts auch *Centaurea foemina*.^a Dann so groß ist das von Gott angesehen worden/ das er den Frawen jhr besonder Monarchey gegeben hat: Vnnd wie er sie vom Mann gesöndert hat in ein [ändern] leib vnd wesen: So hatt er jhnen auch besonder jhr Welt geben/ jhr genieß vnd jhr noturfft: Darauff den Artzt gesetzt/ das er die erkenne/ vnd aber nicht *Auicenna* noch *Galenus*. Dann die Göttliche fürsichtigkeit hat solchen ertichten *Ingeniis* solches fürkommen/ vnd gesagt/ Er habe den Artzt selbst beschaffen: Das ist so vil/ der Artzt kans/ den ich beschaffen hab/ der ander der sich selbst auffwirfft/ der ist falsch. Nuhn secht die prob im Liecht der Natur/ wer der falsche oder der gerecht ist.

Dieweil nun gespaltenseindt alle gewechs/ von wegen der zwo Monarchey/ als gemelt ist: darbey auch gespalten das Firmament/ die Erden/ das Wasser/ vnnd der Lufft/ in die zwo Monarchey/ jedtweders sein eigenschafft zu erhalten: So wissent aber hierinn/ wie dz die speiß so der Mench isset/ vnnd die speiß der Artzney/ nicht ein ding ist: Das ist/ sie sindt nit eins wesens vnd einer arth. Dann vrsachen/ alle speiß so da gessen wirdt/ ist einfach: Vnnd ob sie schon gespalten ist in die zwo Monarchey/ so betrifft die spaltung allein die Artzneyischen krefft an/ vnnd nicht die speiß oder narung. Wiewol den Frawen die

^a To be read as “*centaurea femina*.”

to which the *corpus* would be subjected. For the *corpora* are transformed in the canonical *morbi* into a single thing that receives a color that never departs; instead corpus and color remain in a single entity indistinguishable. If the matter turns out this way, the medicine must not be of the abovementioned kind, but rather from a monarchy which the *corpus* directs us toward. In restoring the corpus, health will also be restored when the disease departs. For there are two natures in all diseases | 215 |: with the corpus and without the corpus. This difference has not yet been observed: that is the error and [it explains] why they have erred in their cure. Notwithstanding the fact that there is another bile in women which is bile with all the properties that a bile should have, this bile will not be stopped in its *morbi canonici* except through its own monarchy. This is as much as to say that the medication of men is directed toward another sort of anatomy and physica. This is why that which is accomplished by *centaurea mascula* for men is accomplished in the same degree by *centaurea foemina*. For God has been so circumspect that he has given women their particular monarchy. In the same way he has set them apart from the man into a <different> body and essence so he has also given them their own particular world[s], their own particular sustenance and their needs. The physician is responsible for understanding this, not, however, [as does] *Avicenna* or *Galenus*. For the divine providence has precluded such invented *ingenii*, and declared that he himself has created the physician. This is as much as to say: the physician can bring it [all] about, the one I have created.¹ The other kind that intrudes and pretends to be something is the false kind. Just look at the proof in the light of nature: who is the false and who is the correct [physician?]

Everything that grows is subdivided on account of the two monarchies in the way that I have explained. In the same way, the firmament, the earth, the water, and the air are divided into two monarchies so that they receive each its own property. Thus you should be aware in this regard that the food eaten by the human being and the food that is medication are not the same thing. By this I mean that they do not have the same essence and nature. The reason for this is that every food that is eaten is [a] simple [substance]; and even though it is already bifurcated into the two monarchies, the division only affects the medicinal powers, not the food or nourishment. Though for women the nourishment of many kinds is more useful if it comes from their

¹ Sir 38:1-2, cf. H 1:69.

speiß in viel dingen auß jhrer Monarchey nützer ist/ dann auß der Mannen Monarchey: So ist jedoch dasselbe auß vrsachen gebrestens/ so der leib die selbige mitt füret/ vnd nit narung halben. Ein schmid vnd bereiter ist im Magen/ der macht Menschenfleisch darauß. Nun hat er aber zwo arth an jhm/ vnnd ist ein kochen: Ein arth ist/ so er im Mann ist/ so | 216 | macht er männlich fleisch darauß: So er in der Frawen ist/ so macht er frawisch fleisch darauß. Die speiß ist einig vnnd ist Menschen speiß: Der *Archeus* aber der bereits dem Menschen in sein Monarchey. Darumb einzugeben die narung/ kein sorg hat/ dem Artzt auffzuladen, sondern die Artzney/ das dieselbige in jhr Monarchey gefürt werde. Dann was die narung ist/ das meistert der *Archeus* im Magen/ vnnd macht darauß was jhm zustehet: Als ein Schmidt/ der auß seinem Eisen machen mag/ was er wil/ also dieser auch. Die Artzney aber ist nicht also/ dieselbige sol auß seiner Monarchey gegeben werden/ auff das sie behalten werde in jhrem wesen: Dann im selben orth/ kan sie der *Archeus* nicht anders machen/ dann das auß jhr/ das sie ist. Alles das wir essen/ das ist der Mensch selbst: So wirs nun gessen haben/ so macht er das darauß/ das es ist: Das ist/ fleisch vnnd blut/ dann wir seindt dasselbige. Die artzney aber seindt wir nicht/ die ist dafür gut/ die dafür/ nach dem vnd vns gebrist: Von demselben *Specie* vnd *Genere*/ sol vns geben werden. Dann der Magen macht das nicht darauß/ das vns noth ist/ allein er habe denn das von vns entpfangen/ das er bedarff: Wo nicht/ so bleibt er in seiner krafft/ vnnd treibts wider von jhm. Darumb der leib vnd seine kranckheiten zwey seindt/ nicht eins.

Darumb auff solches/ sol auch das *Regimen* gehn/ das es gespalten gang/ auff sein Monarchey. Dann ein *Regimen* sol nicht darumb geben werden/ das blut vnnd fleisch mache: Sondern darumb/ das es^a außtreibt/ das blut vnd fleisch verterbt hatt vnd vergifft. Darumb so ist ein artzney da/ vnnd ein speiß: Das ist/ das *Regimen* macht blut vnd fleisch/ aber nicht genommen auß der narung/ sondern auß der artzney: Das ist/ daß^b das *Regimen* sey ein narung/ vnd sey ein artzney. Dann der leib der kranck ist der legt nicht zu/ sondern er nimpt ab: Darumb/ wil man das er zuleg/ so muß das *Regimen* sein ein artzney/ die das zu wegen bring/ das der leib die speiß mit seiner narung anneme. Darumb so muß die Monarchey gehalten werden im krancken mit der speiß vnd artzney/ so weit die kranckheit betrifft:

^a Sudhoff (207): “er.”

^b Sudhoff (207) omits “daß.”

monarchy than from the men's, this happens on account of the frailty in the body's way of dealing with it, not on account of the nourishment itself. In the stomach there is a smith and processor who turns it into human flesh. But he has two natures at his disposal in his one decoction: One nature is if it is a man, so that he | 216 | then makes male flesh of it. If he is in the woman, he makes female flesh of it. The food is the same, since it is human food. However, the *archeus* processes it for the human being into his [respective] monarchy. Therefore in giving the food, the physician need have no concern about administering it; but with medicine he must see to it that it is conducted into its [proper] monarchy. Food is mastered by the *archeus*¹ in the stomach, [who] makes of it what is appropriate, just as a smith makes out of iron what he wants of it. The same is done by the [internal smith], too. However, the medication is different. This should instead be administered from its [own] monarchy, so that it will be maintained in its essence. For in that place the *archeus* can do no more than what it does of itself based on what it is. Everything that we eat is nothing other than the human being himself. As soon as we have eaten it, he [the *archeus*] makes of it what it is, which is to say, flesh and blood. For that is what we are. But we are not the medication which is good for this or that, for what ails us. For this reason we should get [it] from the appropriate *species* and *genus*. For the stomach cannot make of it what we need unless it has received from us what it needs. Otherwise it remains in its powers and drives it out again. This is why the body and its diseases are two and not one.

It follows from this that the *regimen* should also proceed in such a way that it is divided with respect to its monarchy. For not simply one *regimen* should be given so that it makes flesh and blood, but rather so that it drives out what corrupts and poisons the blood and flesh. For the same reason there is a medication and a food. By this I mean that the *regimen* makes blood and flesh, but not by taking them out of the nourishment, but rather out of the medication. This implies that the *regimen* is both a nourishment and a medication. For the body that is sick does not gain weight but instead loses it. Since it is desirable that it should gain, the *regimen* must be a medication that brings about a condition in which the body accepts the food with its nourishment. This is why the monarchy must be maintained in the patient with food and medication as far as the disease requires. But as soon as the body

¹ On P.'s concept of the *archeus*, see H 2:18-19.

Wo aber gesunder leib ist/ ists nicht not. Das ist aber also/ vnnd ist war/ das wir die ding/ so artzney | 217 | mit sampt einer narung seindt/ als *Lactuca*, *Bleta*,^a *Rapae*, etc. nicht gemein in die Monarchey schetzen: Sondern das wirs besondern/ anzusehen/ das sie eine artzney mitführen/ welche krafft gescheiden sol werden in der Monarchey: Den Frawen jhr *Bletam*, den Mannen die jhre. Dann auß solchem vbersehen folget hernach/ daß das Firmament vnnd die Astralischen leuff einfallen/ vnnd machen ein zerbrechen im widerwertigen leib/ ausserhalb der Monarchey: Also daß den Frawen jhr zeit rechtfertigt/ dem Mann zu anderm fleisch fördert: Das den Mann fördert in eim zum guten/ die Fraw im andern zum argen fördert/ vnd dergleichen anders mehr. Dann ein *Regimen* zusetzen dem gesunden Menschen/ ist mehr/ dann zu setzen dem krancken/ im gesunden zuerhalten. Das gesund ist ein weitleuffig erkantnuß/ die da fürkommet allen gliedern: So in den krancken das *Regimen* das wenigst ist/ sondern die *Arcana* das meriste. Der nuhn in solcher gesundt/ das Diæt ordnet/ der spalte die Monarchey/ vnnd bedenck den Lauff des Himmels/ vnnd die Subiecten der Personen/ als dann so kompt er für mit dem/ so der lauff in der speise ist: Dann sie hatt jhr *Astrum* wie der Himmel/ darumb so widerstehet sie demselbigen. Der die erkantnuß nicht hat/ der jrret: Dann er muß nicht fürkommen das jetzt ist/ sondern das zukünfftig ist. Nuhn ligt die kunst in dem allein/ was da zukünfftig sein wirdt/ auff das er im selbigen fürkomme. Das soll der Artzt vberflüssig im wissen tragen: Wo nicht/ so ist sein kunst eine tödtung vnd mördung.

Also auff das/ dieweil die *Prima materia* des fleisches vnnd bluts der Menschen ein ding ist/ das ist/ die speise vnnd tranck: Aber *Vltima materia* seind zwey/ so darnach kommen/ auß der einen *Prima materia*: Als Mannenfleisch/ Frawenfleisch/ das so weit von einander ist/ als fleisch vnd fisch zuerkennen ist. So ist doch *Prima materia* nicht zubetrachten noch *Vltima*: Denn Gott/ der da beschaffen hat zusammen Mann vnnd Frawen/ der hat ein fleisch da gemacht/ das ist/ in ein fleisch: das ist/ auch eine speiß essen vnnd trincken sollen/ vnnd nicht zwo. Darumb haben sie eine *Primam materiam*: Aber der

^a The vegetable identity of *bleta* is suggested by its associations in a list of ingredients: "...semen portulacae cum lactuca, raphanus maior et minor, caulis romana, **bleta** rubea" (S 5:233).

is healthy, this is no longer necessary. It can be said and with truth, that we do not generally | 217 | hold in high esteem the things that combine medication with nourishment such as *lactuca*, *bleta*, *rapae*,¹ etc. We [should] put it in a special category because it bears medication along with it, the powers of which should be separated in the monarchy: for women their *bleta*, for men theirs. From such an oversight it can follow that the firmament and the astral courses are incurred and cause a disruption in the body that opposes them outside of the[ir respective] monarchy. Thus, what is justified for women in their time promotes other flesh in the man. That which is of benefit to the man may have a bad effect on the woman, and there are many other things of this kind. It is a different matter to impose a *regimen* on a healthy person. This is more than to impose it on a sick one to keep him healthy. The [sphere of the] healthy involves a broad understanding which anticipates all parts of the body. In sick patients the *regimen* is the least of it. The *arcana* are what matter most. Whoever imposes a *diaet* on a healthy person should see to the division of the monarchies and consider the course of the heavens, as well as the subjects of the persons, so he will be able to match where the course is in the food. For it has its *astrum*, as do the heavens. For this reason it resists them. Whoever has no understanding of this will err. For it is not a matter of anticipating what is now but rather what will be in the future. The art is solely in that which will be in the future, it is for anticipating it. The physician should have a more than sufficient knowledge of this. If he does not, then his art is murder and manslaughter.

Following this, [let it be said] that the *prima materia* of the flesh and blood of the human being is a single thing, which is to say that it is food and drink; however, the *ultima materia* that follows from the one *prima materia* is twofold: that is, it consists of male flesh and female flesh, which are as far removed from one another as flesh and fish are. In this sense, what we must observe is neither *prima materia* nor *ultima*. For God, who has created man and woman together has made one flesh, that is [he has made the two] into one flesh. By this I mean that they should partake of a single food and drink, and not of two. In this sense, they have a single *prima materia*; however, the *ar-*

¹ *Lactuca* and *rapae* are lettuce and turnips respectively (OLD); see MLW, *bleta* could be *bledo* or *blitum*, *blandonia* or German “Königskerze,” Eng. mullein, Lat. *verbascum*; cf. DML, *blita*, a beet or comparable herb; cf. MLLM, *bleta* = *blitum* (defined by OLD as blite, a kind of spinach known to Pliny 20:252).

Archeus der ißt anders/ der gehet in sein | 218 | Monarchey/ des er ißt/ aber auß einem hafem seindt die zuspeisen/ die zusammen gehörend. So nuhn hierinn ein *Theorica* noth ist/ so verstandent sie also: Das hierinn die noth ist/ was da transmutiert werde/ vnnd wie das ist: Was auch der *Archeus* an jhm habe/ das er auß dem/ das Eins ist/ do machet Männisch fleisch/ do macht Menstruisch fleisch/ das eine grosse weite von einander hat: Darinnen ein solches fürzunehmen ist. Dieweil auß der speise krankheiten kommen vnd geboren werden/ so ist von den nöthen das vrsprünglich zu erkennen: Aber in der *Vltima materia*/ nicht in der *Prima*: Es were dann/ das *Prima materia* were Hermaphroditisch in seinen krefften/ oder wer ein artzney mit gespaltener Monarchey/ betreffend den Mann oder die Frawen/ so sol solche hinweg gesetzt werden vnd genommen/ so wirdt die krankheit also genommen. So aber in der *vltima materia* der geprest were/ vnd nicht in der Ersten/ so wirt das in der Ersten nicht gefunden/ sondern in der Letzten. Darumb so suchend die krankheiten in derselbigem/ das die letzte *Materia*, an dem orth in jhm selbst gebrochen ist/ vnnd sich selbst vrsacht zu seinen krankheiten. Darumb nuhn billich ist sein *Theoricam* zufüren/ wie solcher *Physica* zugehört/ als dann wo wirt jhm dieselbige *Physica* kommen. So befinden wir/ das vnser *Subiectum* in der Letzten *materia* ligt/ vnnd nicht in der Ersten: Darauß dann folget/ das wir an dem orth erkennen sollen/ wie weith von einander seindt/ die Letzten *materiae* der Frawen vnnd der Mannen/ das wir so weith in der Monarchey auch sie von einandertheilen vnnd setzen: Denn wo das nicht beschicht/ so wissent das an dem orth ein *Chronicus morbus* oder *Mortalis* bereit vnd zugefürt wirdt.

Weiter aber die Matrix zubeschreiben/ wie sie nach Microcosmischer arth sol erkannt werden/ das ist/ wie ein kleine/ vnnd wie die dritte Creatur/ vnnd die letzte/ vnnd doch in der Microcosmischen arth bleibt. So wissendt das in gemeiner erkantnuß ist/ daß das Faß/ das da empfahet/ vnnd das kind behalt vnnd behauset/ nach gemeinen namen *Matrix* geheissen wirdt: Wiewol die gantze Fraw dieselbige ist. Billich aber/ das der Sahmen/ von des wegen die Fraw geschaffen ist/ diesen | 219 | namen am fürgehendischen^a behalt: Denn von des Faß wegen steht die Fraw da/ vnnd sonst weder von anderer glieder noturfft wegen/ noch keines andern stücks/ als allein von des wegen. Nuhn

^a Sudhoff (209): “fürgehendisten.”

*cheus*¹ eats differently; [the *archeus*] goes into his [respective] | 218 | monarchy, for which he eats. However, the ingredients that belong together are from a single bowl. Insofar as a *theorica* will be required for this, let it be understood in this way. What is required here [has to do with] that which is transmuted and how this comes about. [It is a matter of] the [agency] in the *archeus* that enables it to make out of what is one, a male flesh here [and] a menstrual flesh there which are far removed from one another. Here a demonstration is needed. Since diseases proceed and are born from the food, it is necessary to recognize what pertains to their origin. But it is in the *ultima materia*, not in the *prima*. This will be the case unless the *prima materia* happens to be hermaphroditic in its powers, or unless it happens to be a medication with a bifurcated monarchy with respect to male and female: in this case, if it should be taken away and removed, the disease will depart with it. However, if the ailment should be in the *ultima materia* and not in the first, then that will not be found in the first but rather in the last [*materia*]. This is why you should seek the diseases in their place, [where] the last *materia* is broken in itself and leads of itself to its diseases. This is why it is appropriate to propose a [respective] *theorica*, as it pertains to this sort of *physica*. In that case the *physica* will arrive of its own. Accordingly, we [must] conclude that our *subjectum* lies in the last *materia*, and not in the first. From this it follows that we should understand in this context how far apart these two are: the last *materiae* of women and of men, so that in the monarchy we can also divide and establish them equally far apart. For if this is not done, you should know that what comes about and is caused in that case is a *chronicus morbus* or a *mortalis*.

But to continue on with the description of the matrix as it must be understood in its microcosmic nature: I mean [that it is to be seen] as a small [world], and as the third creature, and as the last one, and yet that it should remain within the microcosmic nature. You should know that in the common understanding the vessel that receives and which holds and lodges the child is called *matrix* in accordance with its common designation—even though in fact this is the entire woman. However, it is appropriate that the seed on behalf of which the woman was created | 219 | should retain this name in the broadest sense. For it is for the sake of the vessel that the woman exists; and neither on account of any other parts, nor of any other matter, only for this one. But

¹ On *archeus*, see note on H 2:18.

aber wie diese *Matrix* da zuuerstehen sey/ so wissendt/ das die gantze Fraw die Erden ist/ vnnd alle Element: Diese *Matrix* ist der Baum der da wächst auß der Erden: Das Kind ist die frucht so auß dem Baum wachst. Vnnd wie ein Baum in der Erden stehet/ vnnd also auch im Lufft mit sampt der Erden/ vnnd also auch im Wasser/ vnnd also auch im Fewr/ das alles der Acker ist: Also in der Frawen die vier Früchte/ die vier Element/ die vnder vnd ober Sphær da seindt/ vnnd in mitten deren allen ist der Baum/ von des wegen die Fraw da stehet. Wie die Erden vnnd sein Frucht vnnd Element da stohnd von wegen des Baums/ vnnd den müssen erhalten: Also seindt auch da von wegen der *Matrix* die glieder der Frawen vnnd all jhr eigenschafft vnnd natur. Darauff nuhn so wissendt/ das die erkantnuß solcher Creatur dermassen beschehen sol/ auff das wir wissen vnser *Subiectum* zu erkennen/ so dann in die artzney gehört. Nuhn folget also weiter: Dieweil der Baum auß den vier Früchten/ auß den vier Elementen der vndern vnnd obern Sphær/ an sich zeucht die narung seines wachsens vnnd seines leibes/ vnnd ohne die nicht sein mag/ vnnd dieselben vielfaltig biß er zu eim Baum wirdt/ vnnd vielfaltig/ das er ein Baum erhalten werde: Also auch die *Matrix* in der Frawen/ zeucht an sich zu gleicher weise wie der Baum/ von allen gliedern vnnd dem gantzen leib/ dasjenige so jhr zustehet vnnd gehört: Vnnd also wirdt die *Matrix* erhalten in aller form vnnd gestalt/ von der Frawen leib/ wie der Baum von allen Elementen vnnd fruchten. Auß dem folget nuhn dieweil die *Matrix* jhr speiß nimpt/ das sie sich reinigt zu jhrer zeit im monat von diesen excrementen/ wie dann oben beschrieben ist. Darumb/ so du das zusammen concordierest/ also das^a *Matrix* ist wie das Meer/ vnnd sey wie ein baum/ so kanstu erkennen/ was jhr anligen ist.

Also ist nun die *Microcosma*, *Minor mundus*, vnd hat in jrem | 220 | leib alle *Mineralia mundi*. Darauff wissent/ das auß dem folgt/ das der leib sein artzney auß der Welt nimpt: Dann er ist dieselbige. Darumb so folget auß dem/ das alle *Mineralia* dem menschen gut sein/ ein jedlichs zu seinem Mineral so im leibe *Microcosmi* ligt. Der das erkantniß nicht hat/ der ist kein *Philosophus*/ noch vil weniger ein Artzt. Dann am ersten so der Artzt spricht/ der Marcasith ist darzu gut: Nun muß er vorhin wissen/ was der Marcasith der Welt sey/ vnd was der Marcasith *Microcosmi* sey: Nun ist das Philosophisch. Weiter aber

^a Sudhoff (210) inserts “die.”

now insofar as the *matrix* is to be understood thus, you should be aware that the entire woman is the earth and all the elements: this *matrix* is the tree that grows out of the earth. The child is the fruit that grows out of the tree. And just as a tree stands in the earth and at the same time in the air together with the earth, and thus also in the water, as well as in the fire: all of that is the field. Therefore, present in the woman are the four fruits, the four elements, the lower and upper spheres; and in the midst of all these is the tree on account of which the woman exists. Just as the earth and its fruit and elements are present on account of the tree and have to sustain it; in the same way are present on account of the matrix the parts of the woman and all her properties and nature. In this sense, you should recognize that the understanding of such a creature should take a form that allows us to understand our *subjectum* as is befitting for medicine. It follows from this, moreover, that just as the tree draws the nourishment for its growth and body from the four fruits, that is, from the four elements of the lower and upper spheres, and cannot exist without them, and makes much use of them in many ways until it has become a tree, and again in many others in order to sustain itself as a tree; so it happens, too, that the *matrix* in the woman draws, as does the tree, from all its parts and from the entire body whatever accrues and belongs to it. And this is how the *matrix* is sustained in its entire form and figure by the woman's body: just as the tree is nourished by all the elements and [their] fruits. From this it follows that the *matrix* takes its food which it purifies in its time in the month of its excrements, as has been explained above. Therefore, if you make a concordance of these things, the *matrix* is like the sea and is like a tree, then you can understand what its ailments are.

Accordingly, it is the *microcosma*, [the] *minor mundus*, and [it] has in its | 220 | body all the *mineralia mundi*. From this you should be aware that the body takes its medication from the world. For it is the world. From this it follows that all *mineralia* are good for the human being: each, that is, for its [respective] mineral which lies in the body of the *microcosmus*. Whoever has no understanding of that is neither a *philosophus*, nor much less a physician. For as soon as the physician pronounces: "Marcasite¹ is good for that," he must first of all have prior knowledge about what is the marcasite of the [great] world and what is the marcasite of the *microcosmus*. That is of course a philoso-

¹ See **Marcasite**, H 2:29, note.

so er will als ein Artzt reden/ so muß er sagen/ dieser Marcasith ist des Menschen krankheit/ darumb so hilfft er jhm. Ein Loch das auß dem Menschen frist in den leib durch die haut/ was ist es anders dann ein Mineral? Wie ein Saltz/ vnnd neben dem *Sal* ein grad/ ein *Genus*. Darauff nun folget/ der *Colcotar* heilet das loch/ warumb? Darumb/ das der *Colcotar*^a das Saltz ist/ daß das loch macht. Also heilet *Mercurius* seine löcher auch/ vnd andere mehr *Arsenicalia*/ vnd dergleichen. Kanstu das außwendig sehen/ das war ist/ vnnd sein vnterscheid/ so dir die erfahrung gibt/ das diß *genus salis* das heilt/ vnd das ein ander *genus* vnd arth *Salis*: Vnnd sichst darbey/ das die ding keine Wunden heilen/ sondern die *Consolida*, *Mumia*, *Balsama*, heilen die Wunden/ die nicht *Salia* sind. Dann warumb? die Wunden kommen nicht auß dem Saltz/ darumb helffen die *Salia*, *Vitriola*, *Mercurij*, *Arsenica* nicht. Darumb das die löcher vom Saltz kommen/ vnnd die *Balsama*, *Mumia*, *Consolida*, nit Saltz sind/ darumb helffen sie nicht in den löchern. Ist nuhn das also aussen in löchern/ so wiß auch/ das der leib innen die *Mineralia* hatt/ vnd nach denselben wil erkennen werden/ vnnd nicht nach den *Humoribus*. Also stehet der Leib in den dreien Substantzen/ also auch alle *Materialia*: darumb so muß die *Prima materia* also erkannt werden/ vnnd jhr *Vltima*/ vnnd darnach der *Vltimae materiae* Concordieren. Dann in der Concordantz stohnd alle ding: Der die nit weißt/ ist vnbillich in der artzney ein Lehrer oder fürer/ denn er macht der Krancken keinen gesundt/ sie werden dann von jhn selbst gesund/ das sein glück ist/ vnd dem Artzt ein ehre/ sonst vberkompt er keine nit. | 221 |

Also empfacht *Matrix* die krankheit auß der Erden: Wie ein Baum den die Erden verderbet/ nimpt jhm seine grüne/ sein arth/ sein krafft/ sein macht vnnd dergleichen/ nimpt jhm auch sein frucht/ sein obst/

^a P.'s discussion of vitriol in *Von den natürlichen Dingen* writes at length "vom **colcotar**." Not for oral use, it is instead good for healing "holes" or ulcerations: "Aber von dem colcotar sollent ir wissen, das er einzunemen nichts sol. allein in den chirurgicalischen krankheiten, nemlich alle faule löcher, die sich mit feule anlassen und kein heilung wollent annehmen, den selbigen macht er ein grunt zur heilung" (S 2:150). Citations are extensive.

phical question. But if beyond that he wants to speak as a physician, he has to [be able to] say that this marcasite is the disease of the human being; and for this reason it will help him. A hole that is eaten through the skin of the human being: what else is that but a mineral? Like a salt—and in addition to the salt—a degree, a *genus*. From this it follows that the *colcotar*¹ will heal the hole. Why will it? Because the *colcotar* is the salt that makes the hole. So, too, *mercurius* heals its holes, as do various other *arsenicalia*, and other things besides. You can observe externally that this is true and [you can see] the difference that experience makes, so that this *genus salis* heals this, and that is healed by another *genus* and character of *sal*. Hence, you can recognize as well that certain things do not heal wounds; rather, *consolida*, *mumia*, [or] *balsama*² heal the wounds which are not [of the nature of] *salia*. And why then is that? These wounds do not come from salt. That is why the *salia*, *vitriola*, *mercurii*, [and] *arsenica* do not help. Because the holes come from the salt, and the *balsama*, *mumia*, [and] *consolida* are not salt, they do not help in these holes. If it is a matter of external holes, then you should also be aware that the body has *mineralia* within it and that those should be recognized with respect to these, and not with reference to the *humores*. Thus the body stands in the three substances, thus also the *materialia*. This is why the *prima materia* must be recognized in this manner, as well as its *ultima*, and after that the concordance of the *ultimae materiae*. For all things subsist in the concordance. Whoever does not know that is unfit to be a teacher or leader of medicine. For he will not heal a one of the patients, unless they happen to get well of their own accord, which would be a good fortune for him and an honor to the physician. Otherwise he will not master a one of them. | 221 |

In this way, *matrix* receives the disease from the earth, like a tree that has been ruined by the earth which takes away its greenery, its nature, its forces, its power, and everything of the sort: this also takes

¹ See Ruland, *Colcotar*: “*proprie apud Paracelsus vitrolum fixum.*” Cf. ER, “Colcotar had various meanings. In the *Hortus Sanitatis* it is described as a mineral that changes to green vitriol (hydrated ferrous sulphate) However, it more commonly meant the solid residue left in a distillation flask or retort, especially the reddish iron oxide residue from the dry distillation of iron sulphate for the manufacture of sulphuric acid”; cf. Goltz, OED.

² In one usage, “*mumia*” (cf. H 2:68) is a **balsam**; Dorn: “*Mumia elementorum, est balsamus elementorum extenororum.*” *Consolida* is *symphytum officinale*, German Beinwell, Eng. woundwort (Marzell, Nikolov).

etc. Dermassen ists auch mit der Frawen/ so jhr leib nicht gut ist/ nicht gesundt/ nicht in rechter concordantz/ so ist alle *Matrix* verderbet/ vnfruchtbar/ vngesundt/ endtschickt/ vnd mit allen andern zufallenden kranckheiten beladen. Darauff wissent/ wie die Erden vnnd jhr frucht zu erkennen sind/ also mustu auch die *Microcosmam* erkennen: Vnd was die Erden in Baum verderbet/ verderbet auch *Matricem*: vnnd was den Beumen zufelt/ das felt auch der *Matrix* zu. Darauß entspringt nuh/ so ein einfal kompt in ein wurtz des Baumes/ von zufallenden dingen/ den Baum verendert: das beschicht auch natürlich der Mutter. Dergleichen auch/ so ein ander farben dem Baum geben wirt/ dann seine farben ist/ so werden auch seine fruchte entfärbet: darauß nun vil entspringt den kindern/ daß sie mißgerahten in jhrem gewächs/ in jhren farben/ gesprenckelt/ gemaset vnd dergleichen/ das alles ein vrsach ist mit den Frawen. Dann das der Mann den Baum pflantzet vnd färbet mit seinen henden/ das thut die Fraw mit jhrer Imagination^a wie dann an selbigen enden vnnd ortten weiter gesagt wirt. Damit ist zu wissen/ daß sich die *Matrix* gesund vnd vngesund macht vnd helt/ wie sie dann von dem/ darinn sie ligt/ erhalten wirt/ nach demselbigen richt sie sich. So wir nuh jhre Kranckheit wöllen vrtheilen/ so müssen wir alle *Mineralia* des leibs vrtheilen/ der 4. Elementen fruchte/ Firmament/ etc. beyde Sphær: vnnd so wir dieselbigen vrtheilen/ so wissen wir was jhr gebrist. Dann sie meldet am aller ersten den schmerzen des Leibs: wann in jhr wirdt es eröffnet. Der nun solche *Species* der *Mineralium* nit erkennt/ der mag auch nicht erkennen was der *Matrix* brist. Dann kan *Cachimia* den Kropff den Beumen machen/ Talck die Moder^b etc. so können sie es in der Mutter auch machen/ darauß Kröpff vnd anders wachsen/ drüsen vnnd vberbein. Bey diesem Exempel verstantent auch andere kranckheiten. So jhr nicht sprechen könnent/ der Kropff kommet auß der *Melancholia*, *Phlegmate*, etc. mit nichte: So müst jhrs dem Mineral heimsetzen/ auß

^a On the psychosomatic force of the imagination, see also H 1:193, 250 (“Glaube”), 263, and 269.

^b Although P. is speaking here of macrocosmic phenomena, the “*Antimedicus*” discusses the microcosmic **kropff** and **moder** conjointly, suggesting perhaps a cancer that grows into strange protrusions and is fatal if not halted surgically: “so er [der kropff] nit...zu heilen oder genomen zu werden, so ist es nachfolgend des kranken tot, und wachsen schwem heraus oder moder und seltsame kröpf...” (S 5:468-69).

away its fruit, etc. It is the same with women: if their body is not good, not healthy, not in the proper concordance, then the entire *matrix* will be ruined, unfruitful, unhealthy, inept, and burdened with all sorts of diseases that accrue to this. From this you should know that just as we are to understand the earth and its fruit, we must understand the *microcosma* in the same way. And as the earth causes corruption in the tree, so also is the *matrix* corrupted. And whatever applies to the trees applies also to the matrix. From this it likewise follows that when there is an incursion of accidental things in the root of the tree, it alters the tree: the same happens to the mother in a natural way. Similarly, if a different color is given to the tree than it normally has, then its fruits will also be discolored. From this there are many results for children who are ill-formed in their growth, their color, spotted, pocked, and so on: for all these things there is a cause involving the woman. For what the man does in planting and eliciting color in the tree by means of his hands: the same is done by the woman by means of her imagination, as will be explained in the appropriate contexts.¹ With this it has to be understood that the *matrix* makes and keeps itself healthy and unhealthy, just as it is maintained by what it resides in, after which it follows in its development. If we want to assess her diseases, we must assess all the *mineralia* of the body, the fruits of the four elements, the firmament, etc. [and] both spheres. When we assess these, we know what the ailment is. For first of all she reports the pain of the body when it becomes manifest in her. Whoever does not understand the *species* of the *mineralia* cannot recognize what it is that ails the matrix. For if *cachimia* can cause goiter in trees, and talc can cause mildew, and so on, then they can also do this in the mother, upon whom such things as goiter, hypophysis, bony excrescences, and the like will grow. From this example you can also understand other diseases. Therefore, you cannot say that the goiter results from *melancholia*, *phlegma*, and so on. This is nonsense. You must determine the mineral out of | 222 | which it grows, whether it be of the veins or the

¹ **Imagination** as a cause of birth defects, a theme central in the *Invisible Diseases* (see citations vis-à-vis), was a widespread belief on the margin between nature and magic, as Montaigne's opinion in *On the Power of the Imagination* indicates: "For me magicians provide poor authority. All the same we know from experience that mothers can transmit to the bodies of children in their womb marks connected with their thoughts...." *Essays*, trans., ed., intro., and notes M.A. Screech (London: Penguin, 1991), 118. Ruland recognizes imagination as part of macrocosmic-microcosmic theory: "*Imaginatio, est astrum in homine, coeleste siue supracoeleste corpus, Das Gestirn im Menschen, der himmlische oder vberhimmlische Leib.*" (See H 1:269ff.)

| 222 | dem selben wachst er/ er sey geäderig oder fleischig/ etc. Also in solcher *Causa*, müssen alle kranckheiten erfunden werden.

Allein vom fürbrechen der *Species* in den *mineralibus* ist zu halten vnd zu ermessen: Welches *species* sein *Dominium* vberkompt/ das regiert auch den Baum derselbigen Erden/ das ist/ der in jhr stehet. Auff das weiter wissent/ so ein arth felt in ein geschlecht/ so kompt es nit darauß/ so lange biß das *Species* sich verzehret/ oder durch vermischung anderer vberherschet wirt. Das macht nuh Thoren/ Narren/ kröpfftleüt/ vnnd dergleichen viel sondere arth/ wesen/ eigenschafft/ Person/ Gliedmaß/ Proportion: Wie also in den dingen/ also auch in andern ist/ so die kranckheit berüren vnnd antreffen. Solt nuhn solche arth in der Mutter sein/ solt es nicht ein ander *Theorica* sein? Vnnd wiewol das ist/ das ein Vatter durch solche Mineralische *species*, auch Kinder jhm gleich geben mag/ in deme/ so sein *species* dem Saamen eingeleibt ist. Darauff wissent nuh/ das die Mutter ein zweifachen zufall hatt. Auß jhr einen/ der betrifft den Baum an: Ein guter Baum macht gute frucht/ das ist/ ist sie gesund im Leib vnd Erden/ etc. vnnd fruchtbar/ so ist auch der Baum gut/ darauß wirt nuh ein gute frucht. Weiter aber in geberung der Kinder/ ist noch eins/ das ist/ ein guter Sahn macht eine gute frucht. So ist nun der Sahn vnd der Baum zwey/ hie an dem orth/ vnd gescheiden in zwen theil. Der Baum der Erden gibt seine frucht ohne den Samen für vnd für: der Baum aber der Frawen nit/ allein der Sahn werd in Baum gelegt/ das ist/ durch den Mann. Darauff folget nun/ das am Samen viel ligt/ vnd nemlich das/ so er nichts soll/ so kan jhn der Baum nit gut machen. Darumb was den Baum antrifft oder anlangend ist/ begegnet auch dem Samen: sie müssen beyde gut sein: Vnd so sie beyde gut sind/ so ist nuhr ein guts da/ das ist/ die frucht. Darumb so sind da andere zufelle/ so der *Matrix* zufallen auß der pflanzung vnnd seen des Samens/ welche kranckheiten nach des Mannes arth sollen außgelegt werden/ vnd nit nach der Frawen arth. Jetzt ist aber der Frawen *Matrix* gespalten: in jhr eignen kranckheit/ vnd in die kranckheiten/ so sie auß den Mannen haben vnd empfahen. | 223 |

flesh, etc. In a *causa* of this kind all diseases must therefore be discovered.

With respect to the eruption of the species in the *mineralia*, the following should be attended to and assessed: whichever species dominates its *dominium*, the same rules the tree that is in that earth. From this it should also be evident that when a [particular] nature invades another kind, the latter does not escape from this until the first has been consumed or overpowered through admixture with others. This gives rise to fools, idiots, goiterous people, and many more such particular natures, essences, properties, persons, parts, and proportions of that kind. As it is with these things, so it is with the others, with the diseases. If this kind of nature is in the mother, should it not be a different *theorica*? And notwithstanding the fact that, by means of this sort of mineral *species*, the father can also give birth to children that are like him insofar as its *species* is incorporated into his seed. In consequence, you should be aware that the mother has a twofold contingency. The one touches upon the [example of the] tree: a good tree makes good fruit.¹ By this I mean that if she is healthy in body and earth and all, and is fruitful, then the tree is good, from which then good fruit results. But also with respect to the bearing of children one other thing applies, which is that a good seed makes good fruit. Accordingly, the seed and the tree are two different things in this particular context, and they are distinguished as two components [of the process]. The tree in the earth yields its fruit without the seed again and again; but the tree that is woman does not do this unless the seed is implanted in the tree, which is to say, by the man. From this it follows that much depends upon the seed, and in particular it is the case that if the [seed] is not capable, then the tree cannot make it so. Therefore, what affects the tree and is involved with it affects the seed too: both must be good; and if both are good, then one good thing results, which is the fruit. Accordingly, there are other accidental factors that affect the matrix in consequence of the planting and sowing of the seed. These involve diseases which should be interpreted in accordance with the nature of the man, and not in accordance with that of the woman. Now [we have seen that] the *matrix* of the woman is bifurcated: into her own diseases and into those that she has and received from the men. | 223 |

¹ Mt 12:33, “(Jesus speaks): ‘Either make the tree good, and its fruit good; or make the tree bad, and its fruit bad; for **the tree is known by its fruit.**’”

Das ist ein rechtgeschaffene *Theorica*, so auß dem liecht der Natur gehet/ vnd nicht auß den erdichten köpffen. Die kranckheit der Frawen/ so auß dem Mann kommen/ wollen haben Männliche Artzney: Auß dem ist gefolget dz Mannen Artzney für dz Grien^a auch den Frawen jr Grien vertreiben solt vnd hatt: Was war die vrsach? nit das Ein vrsach der kranckheit were/ wie sie es meinen/ sondern das sie das ererbet hat vom Mann/ darumb so halff es. Was sie aber von jhr hat/ da hilffts nicht in solcher gestalt/ sondern sie muß auß jhrer Monarchey geartzneyt werden/ vnd sonst auß keiner nicht. Darumb so halff es sie etwan/ etwan nicht/ auß bemelter vrsach/ wie fürgehalten ist. Vnd nit allein also mit einer kranckheit/ sondern mit allen. Dann das müssen jhr wissen/ so der Sahn in der Geelsucht gewidmet wirt/ derselbige Sam in der Matrix macht der Frawen die Geelsucht: Dann vrsach/ es wirt an sich gezogen/ vnd kompt an seine Anathomey. Darumb so hat die Fraw jetzt dieselbe Geelsucht/ die muß mit der Männlichen Artzney geheilt werden. Dann so begirlich ist der Leib/ außzulassen sein *Sperma*, das er alle sein glider bewegt vnd da gebraucht vnd erhebt. Darauff nuh folget so bemelte glider abziehen/ das ein jegliche *Anatomia* am selbigen ort seinen theil daruon bringt/ betreffend die vngesundheit: vnd als dann im selben sich selbst vergifften/ vnd gehet in die Generation derselben kranckheit. Das ist ein grosser behelff der vnerfahrenen Artzten/ so sie sagen/ die Artzney hat da vnd da geholffen/ Frawen vnd Mannen: da redt jhr vnverstand/ das offenbar ist. Vnd so sie sagen/ ja auch in den Mädlein/ die nie Manne versucht haben: Ist recht/ auß jhrem vnverstand geredt. Dann sie wissen nit/ daß die Töchter von dem Samen vätterlichs erben/ in kranckheiten vnd dergleichen: darumb daß sie es vom Vatter haben/ darumb genesen sie auß solcher Artzney. Das alles ist jhr vnuerstand vnd jhr vnerfahrenheit/ daß sie nicht können noch wissen/ was der kranckheit anfang ist/ oder was die kranckheit macht. Ihnen ist gleich mit jhren *humoribus* als *Ioanni de Garlandia*,^b der thet sein bestes/

^a **Grien** is clearly counted by P. among the *tartarus* ailments. In *Von den natürlichen Bädern*, the upper spa waters at Bad Pfeffers are recommended for a number of ailments including “grien,” here equated with “tartarus”: “tut auf die opilationes, so aus dem tartaro, das ist vom grien, entspringen” (S 2:251). In the possibly spurious *De Occulta Philosophia*, “tugent” “in krebsen” “haben auch macht den harn zu bringen und das grien, grieb, sant und den reißenden stein gewaltiglich von dem menschen zu treiben” (S 14:509).

^b Among the favorites of his academic opponents such as Montagnana or Viaticus, one authority is said to be “über sie all **Johannes de Garlandria**” (S 6:47).

That is indeed a righteous *theorica* which proceeds from the light of nature and not from fanciful heads. The diseases of the woman which come from the man require male medicine. From this it follows that men's medicine for the kidney or bladder stone (**Grien**)¹ should expel the same thing in women. What is the reason for this? It is not that there is a single cause of the disease, as they suppose, but rather because she has inherited it from the man. This is why it helps. But as regards that which she has from herself, there nothing of the [male] kind will help; instead she must be medicated from her own monarchy and from no other. This is also why it might have helped now and again, for the very reason that I have explained. This is not the case with one disease only, but with all of them. You should be aware that if the seed is endowed for jaundice, this very seed will result in jaundice in the matrix of the woman. The reason for this is that it is attracted to it and enters into its anatomy. For this reason, the woman has this same jaundice which must be healed by the means of male medication. For the body is so eager that its *sperma* should proceed out, that all its parts are moved and used for this purpose and agitated. From this it follows that after the withdrawal of the aforesaid parts, each *anatomia* brings off its contribution in the corresponding place with a consequence for the loss of health; and if there is a poisoning of itself in this [place], then it proceeds to the generation of that particular disease. It is a great makeshift of the inexperienced physicians who say that a medicine has assisted men and women in this or that instance. Here incomprehension is speaking. This is obvious. And if they go on to say this about the girls who have never been with a man, then, yes indeed, they are speaking from their incomprehension. For they do not know that daughters inherit from the seed paternally when it comes to diseases, nor similarly that because they receive it from the father, they will recover with the same kind of medication. All of this is just their incomprehension and inexperience, all because they neither master nor know about the origin or causes of the disease. With their *humores* it is the same as with *Johannes de Garlandia*,² who did

¹ See Grimm, **Grien** (2): *morbis calculi, ischias*, a term used often by P.

² See LMA, **J. de Garlandia** (John Garland, c. 1195-c. 1272) was a Latin grammarian and poet, English, but he taught primarily in France; known for his *Compendium Grammaticae, Liber de Constructionibus*, and *Dictionarius* which incorporated words from the common life of students and nobles. He also interpreted Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and wrote in defense of the Church. In the 16th century, Garland was reputed to be an alchemist. In 1560 there came out in Basel a *Compendium Alchymiae*

vnnnd macht ein Gloß vber den Alexander: wiewol es nichts soll/ so hat er aber doch sein bestes gethan. | 224 |

Nun ist da zuwissen/ wie sich die zwey zusammen fügen/ dz vom Mann/ vnd der Leib von Frawen. Darinnen merckent/ zwene leib leiden kein vermischung in einander/ ohn zerbrechung einandern: Nuh sind da zwen leib/ der leib der kranckheit vnd der leib der Frawen/ der das leiden soll in seiner *Anatomia*. Nuh ist der leib der Frawen gantz/ vnd zerbricht nit: dann wo der leib der Anatomey zerbricht/ so wirt die Artzney nichts außrichten/ dann im zerbrochen leib ist kein hilff: Wie ein Holtz das verbronnen ist/ das zerbrochen/ kolen ist/ das zustücklet ist/ kein gäntze mehr annimpt. Der leib der kranckheit/ das ist/ das vom Mann da ist/ ist ein leib der kranckheit/ aber nicht ein *Corpus*, der *Primae materiae*, allein der *Vltimae materiae*. Nuh sind die zwen leib gescheiden: der vom Mann ist ein leib/ als ein Geist: der von der Frawen ist/ der ist leiblich. Der Geist vnd der leibliche/ die mögen wol bey einander standen/ wie ein Lufft in einem Corpus/ Wasser/ Holtz oder Stein/ etc. So nuhn der Lufft nichts soll/ so ist das Holtz an jhm selber vngesundt. Nicht daß das Holtz vngesundt sey oder der Stein: sondern das ist vngesundt das in jhm ist/ vnnnd nit Holtz ist/ das ist der Lufft. Nuhn folget auff das/ daß der Lufft kranck ist/ vnnnd nicht derselbige leib/ vnd das Holtz ist nit für kranck zuachten/ sondern der Lufft. Also da auch der Mann^a in seinem Samen/ der kranck ist/ des Samens kranckheit ist der Lufft. Also ligt die kranckheit in dem Leibe der Frawen/ nach jhrer Anatomey wie der Lufft in eim andern Corpus: Mit der vnderscheid/ dz an dem ort die farben mitlaufft/ so im Lufft nicht mitlaufen. Aber wie ein farben ist/ also verstanden das auch: sie werden genommen/ so sie frembde sind in jhrem Leib/ darinnen sie gefunden werden. Dann da ist ein groß auffmercken zuhaben/ dieweil vier *Corpora* in einer Substantz sind/ in welchem Corpus die kranckheit ligt/ nit als ein *humor*, sondern als ein *Corpus*, vnd nicht das in selbigen Corpus ein *humor* sey/ sondern ein *liquor*. Nuh sich du

^a Sudhoff (215): "...zuachten sonder der luft, also da auch. der man..."

his best making a gloss on Alexander. Though it came to nothing, he did his best. | 224 |

Next you should be aware of how the two are joined: what is of the man and the body of the woman. With respect to this, take note that two bodies suffer no admixture with one another without causing disintegration to one another. There are two bodies: the body of the disease and the body of the woman which must suffer this in the *anatomia*. The body of the woman is whole and not broken: for whenever the body of the anatomy fragments, medicine will be able to accomplish nothing. For a broken body admits of no help, just as a piece of wood which is charred, broken, turned to coals, fragmented, is incapable of being restored to wholeness. The body of the disease—I mean that which is from the man—is a body of disease, yet it is not a *corpus* of the *prima materia*, but solely of the *ultima materia*. Now, however, the two bodies are separated: that from the man is a body which is a spirit; that from the woman is corporeal. The spirit and the corporeal: these two can indeed stand next to one another like air in a corpus, water, wood, or stone, etc. If then the air should come to nothing, then the wood is unhealthy in itself. It is not so much that the wood or the stone is unhealthy; rather, what is in it is unhealthy and this is not the wood but the air. From this it follows that the air is ill and not that particular body, and the wood is not to be taken as ill but rather that particular air. This is applied to the man in his seed, which is ill, and the illness of the seed is the air. Accordingly, the disease lies in the body of the woman following her anatomy, like the air in that other corpus. [But] with the difference that here the color comes with it, which in air is not carried along. But with respect to colors, the following should also be considered: those are taken [along], which are foreign within the [woman's] body, in which they are [then] found. For here much notice should be taken: that four *corpora* are within one substance; in this corpus the disease is present, not as a *humor*, but rather as a *corpus*; and it is not the case that in this same corpus a *humor* is present, but rather a *liquor*. So just consider, you humoralist,

IOANNIS GARLANDII, *Angli Philosophi Doctissimi*, together with a “tractatus de Salium Aliminium ascribed to Arnald of Vilanova. Though said to be “*Omnia primum in lucem edita*,” knowledge of such materials may have preceded print publication. “Alexander” could conceivably refer to a famous ancient Aristotelian “Expositor,” Alexander of Aphrodisias, whose commentary on Aristotle’s *On the Soul* was influential during the Middle Ages, and whose defense of the pure Aristotle was cited against the Church during Renaissance controversies.

Humoralist was deine kunst sey: dieweil du noch kein *Corpus* selb vierdt zusein/ nie erkennt hast/ darumb so weistu auch nicht wo *Pestis* ligt/ ob es im Blut oder im Fleisch ligt. Dann du weist nit/ daß das Blut ein vierfach *Corpus*, du weist auch nit, daß der Stein ein vierfach *Corpus* | 225 | ist. Da lerne ehe du das Rote hütlein auffsetzest.

Wol ist der gerüst/ der da weißt wer die *Apostemata* macht/ was *Corpus*: dann derselbige weißt wol/ daß das blut nicht thut/ das deß bluts arth nicht ist/ diese seltzamen *Corpora* [zu machen.] Der ist auch gut vnd gerecht/ der da weiß wie die Fraw vom Mann empfacht ein andern leib: Dann warumb? Ihr sollent das also verstohn/ der Himmel macht ein andern Mann/ ein andern Menschen/ ein ander Fraw/ das vermag das Firmament/ das *Astrum*, der *Cursus*. Also wissent auch/ der Mann ist also zu gleicher weiß wie obstehet/ der Frawen *Astrum*, Firmament vnd Himmel. Vnd wie der Himmel ein andern Menschen macht: also auch der Mann ein andere Frawen/ das ist/ ein andere natur/ arth/ wesen/ eigenschafft in den dingen/ das die Microcosmische natur antrifft. Auß der Influentz/ Impression/ wirt die Fraw Constelliert vom Mann/ vnd jhre *Sydera* weichen von jhr/ vnd lassent des Mannes an jre statt. Der ein solches weiß/ der ist recht in der Artzney auff der ban: Aber der die *Astra* nicht erkennt/ dem sind die ding vngleublich. Denn wer ist der Natur feind/ denn der/ der sich witziger schätzt dann die Natur/ so sie doch vnser aller oberste schul ist? Das ist die arbeit/ so die alten Scribenten gemacht haben/ von den Frawen kranckheiten/ die vergebens ist. Dann sie haben nie gedacht mit einem worte oder Buchstaben/ der verenderung der Frawen in jhrem inwendigen leibe/ durch die *Sydera* des Mannes/ wie dann die zwei Microcosmische arth gegen einander haben: vnd die vnder empfacht von der obern die Impression/ darumb so ist das vndere inclinirt zu dem obern. Auß der krafft ist die *Theorica* vnd *Physica* zu beschreiben in jhrem wege vnd gestalt auff zwen wege. Dann soll der leib in sein^a *Sydus* kranck sein des Mannes/ so inficiert er durch sein Impression/ das/ so auff jhn inclinirt ist. Zugleicher weiß wie die Stern im Himmel inclinieren vnd nöhten/ was kranckheiten antreffen: Also so dieser Curß sich dermassen geboren hat/ so nöhtet er auch ein andern leib die Frawen zu haben/ anzutreffen die kranckheiten/ die

^a Sudhoff (217): "seim."

what your art amounts to. Because you can never recognize a corpus that is fourfold and never have, neither do you know where *pestis* resides, whether it is in the blood or in the flesh. For you do not comprehend that the blood is a fourfold *corpus*; nor do you know that a stone is a fourfold *corpus*. | 225 | You should learn about that before putting your little red hat on.

But you are well equipped if you understand in this case what it is that causes the *apostemata*: which *corpus* [does that]: For someone of that caliber knows that the blood does not cause this, that it is not the nature of the blood <to make> these strange *corpora*. Someone like that is also good and right in discerning how the woman receives from the man another body. For why is this? You should understand the following: the heavens make another man, another human being, another woman—the firmament is capable of this, the *astrum*, the *cur-sus*. So you should be aware as well that in the abovementioned way, the man is the woman's *astrum*, firmament and heavens. And just as the heavens make another human being, so also does the man make another woman. By this I mean, another nature, character, essence, [and] property in the things which touch upon the microcosmic nature. As a result of influence [and] impression, the woman is given a constellation by the man; and her own *sidera* [stars] depart from her, and make room for those of the man in their place. Whoever realizes this is on the right track in medicine. But whoever does not comprehend the *astra* cannot place credence in such things. For who else is the enemy of nature than he who imagines that he is more clever than nature itself, though nature is the school of us all? That was the kind of work which the ancient writers did on women's diseases: it was good for nothing. For they never gave a single thought, not even in one word or letter, to the change effected in the interior body of the woman by the *sidera* of the man, as these exercise their two microcosmic natures with respect to one another, and as the lower receives from the upper the impression, so that the lower is inclined toward the upper. From this power the *theorica* and *physica* is to be described in its trajectory and form in two different ways. If the body is sick in its *sidus* of the man, then it infects that which is inclined toward it through its impression. It is the same as when the stars in the heavens cause inclination and compel what touches upon diseases. So, too, when this course has been generated in this manner, it causes women to have another body with an impact upon disease, which requires a

eine sondere Physic haben muß: darinnen sind jhr Artzt blind/ dann jhr suchent das geldt/ nicht die Kunst. | 226 |

Der Himmel der also ist vom Mann/ den betrachtent nun wol: dann vrsachen/ auß jhm werden viel krankheiten/ die fälschlich sind in andere vrsprung/ vrsachen/ etc. verkehrt vnnd beschrieben worden. Als ein Exempel: *Suffocatio Matricis*,^a was ist anders dieselbige/ als allein auß dem Himmel des Mannes/ der den Frawen Leib constelliret hat? Das ist die erste vrsach dieser krankheit. Nun so es werden sol/ so ist der Mann krank in^b *Caduco*, das ist/ sein *Syodus* ist Caducisch. Vnd ob er schon das nit [ist/] so ist es *inclinatio*: wie im Himmel die Sternen/ haben selbst die krankheiten nit/ so sie dem Menschen zufügen. So diese *Constellatio* ein Conjunction wirt vnnd Impression/ so wirt *Suffocatio* darauß/ die gleich ist dem *Caduco*. Nuhn ist das ein vnuerstand gesein bey allen Schulen/ die da viel geschrieben haben von *Caduco* vnnd *Suffocatione*: haben aber gröblich außgelassen/ was *Corpus* auß den vieren der *Caducus* hab/ oder in welchen er lige: Dieweil sie da geschwiegen haben/ so wissen sie noch viel weniger was die krankheit ist: Darumb ist jhr beschreiben nichts/ als ein dünckel vnd wenen/ als ein Bawr düncket. Das erste das ein Artzt wissen soll/ soll er dz *Corpus* beschreiben/ die Substantz: das ist der grund/ auß dem kan man mercken vnnd spüren die kunst der Artzney. Also da auch: der Mann/ so er dermassen Constelliert ist in seinem Himmel/ das er dise Coniunction an jhm hat/ so muß sie außbrechen. Nun hatt er zwey Corpus/ das ist/ zwey Subiect: sein eigen Leib/ vnnd der Frawen Leib. Gehet die Inclination auff jhn selbst/ so ist sein *Syodus*, sein willen auß: gehet es aber nicht auff jhn selbst/ sondern

^a *Das siebente Buch in der Arznei, von den Krankheiten die der Verunft Berauben* summarizes *suffocatio intellectus* as a deprivation of reason resulting from natural diseases (“beraubung der vernunft, die da aus den natürlichen krankheiten entspringen”). In either sex it is caused by intestinal worms or a sleep-related disturbance; a third cause occurs only in women (S 2:413). This third form which involves loss of reason and of all consciousness (“alle empfindtlichkeit”) results from internal degeneration of the “materia matricis” that “nourishes” the womb or mother: “das geschicht aus der ursachen das die materia matricis, darvon die muter inwendig emeret und gelebt wird, sich selber zerstört wie ein wein der zu einem essig wird, und also die muter der rechten materien die ir zugehört nit empfint noch haben mag” (415-16). Associated with a coldness which tenses or contracts the skin of the “matrix” like a cramp (“dis kelte spant die haut matricis und ir fell zusammen wie ein krampf”—416), its cures include salves and fumigation (443ff.).

^b Sudhoff (217): “im.”

physic of its own. In these matters you physicians are so blind that you only seek money and not art. | 226 |

Now give careful consideration to the heavens which are thus of the [nature of the] man; for from him arise the causes of many diseases that are falsely and perversely described and attributed to other sources, causes, etc. An example is *suffocatio matricis*:¹ what is this if not the same thing as that which [comes] from the heavens of the man who has lent constellation to the body of the woman. That is the first cause of this disease. Now when this comes about, the man is sick with *caducus*, which is to say, his *sidus* is “caducic.” And though this <is> not actually the case, it is the *inclinatio*: similarly, the stars in the heavens do not actually have the diseases that they inflict on the human being. If, then, this *constellatio* turns into a conjunction and impression, then it will give rise to a *suffocatio* that is just like *caducus*. But the incomprehension of all the schools has been so great when they have written of *caducus* and *suffocatio*. They have crudely omitted [to say] what sort of *corpus* the *caducus* has from the four, or in which things it resides. Having been silent about that, they know even less what the disease consists of. For this very reason, all their description is nothing better than guessing and imagining, the way a peasant guesses. The first thing that a physician should know, if he is to describe the *corpus* [is] the substance. Those are the grounds on which one can observe and discover the art of medicine. So it is here too: if the man has thus received a constellation in his heavens so that he has this conjunction, then it must break out. As it happens, he has two corpora, which is to say, two subjects: his own body and the body of the woman. If the inclination passes to him, then his *sidus*, his will, is

¹ Regarding *suffocatio hysterica*, *hysterica passio*, or *suffocatio uteri*, a notorious diagnosis inherited from the Middle Ages (cf. WS 131-34), Zedler states that physicians of his time (the first half of the 18th century) no longer believed the uterus was a living creature or animal, or that such a diagnosis conformed to reality (“Diese Kranckheit wird von denen neueren Aertzten für eine erdichtete Sache gehalten”), but rather that the womb was subject to cramps and fevers. In the extensive modern scholarship devoted to hysteria, P., along with Arnald of Vilanova, has been credited as one of the early “non-conformists” who sought natural causes. See Ilza Veith, *Hysteria: The History of a Disease* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1965), 103-06. Veith credits Rabelais with originality, though his word that women can control the “animal” of hysteria was presumably in jest (107-08). An overview of the concept of suffocation, of the womb as animal, and the roots of these notions in Plato’s *Timaeus* is presented in Mark S. Micale (Ed.), *Approaching Hysteria: Disease and Its Interpretation* (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1995), 19-29.

incliniert in die Frawen/ so ist es in jhr: Aber nicht der rechte *Caducus* wie der Mann hatt/ sondern der Mutter: Denn da ist ein ander leib/ nit der leib so dem Mann vergleicht mag werden: Denn da sind zwo Inclination: vom eussern Himmel/ die ist gleich wie im Mann: vom Mann Himmel/ die ist *Suffocatio* der Mutter. Darumb so scheiden sich da drey *Caduci* von einander: Des Mannes ist Männisch/ der Frawen ist Frewisch: aber beyde auß einem Himmel/ dann da ist eine Männische art: Vnd die dritte ist des inwendigen leibes/ vnd nimpt sein Himmel vom Mann.

Damit so wissent auch/ das diese ding erblich gohnt: Wo | 227 | nicht im Vatter/ nit in der Frawen/ jedoch aber in der Frucht. Nuhn ist das eins/ das der Mann sich selbst nicht inficiert/ in den rechten *Caducis* des eussern Himmels/ aber in *Syncopen*,^a die Frawen in *Matricis suffocationem*. Das Mägdlein so also geboren wirt/ dz imprimiert in jm *Suffocationem* zweyfach: auff Jungfrewisch/ [vnd] auff Frewisch: Jungfrewisch ist gleich *Syncopi*, mit etlichen anhangenden zeichen *Caduci*: *Suffocatio* ist mehr denn *Syncopis*. Von diesen krankheiten wirt beschrieben in seinen Capitteln/ sonderlich den *Mechanicum* zuuerstehen/ hie nit noht zu erzehlen/ etc. Nuh wie das ein Exempel ist auff die Suffocation/ also verstehent/ dz *Praecipitatio* ist auch vom Mann/ das ist/ auß seim Himmel. Dann alle die krankheiten/ so die Mutter mehr hatt/ dann mit Männischen nammen begriffen werden/ sind auß dem Himmel des Mannes. Vnd wiewol sie im Leib der Frawen entspringen/ auß der Erden/ Firmament/ Lufft/ Wasser/ wie vormals an viel orten gemelt ist: So ist doch der Himmel die erste vrsache/ des Manns. Wie *Pestis* ein krankheit ist vber die natur des Mannes vom Himmel/ vnd ist doch im Mann anzufahen/ vnnd die *ultima materia* in jhm: Also da auch. Nuhn ist *Praecipitatio* auß dem

^a One of P.'s draft writings on epilepsy lists varieties of mental lapse: "omnis lapsus a cerebro, videlicet: **sincope**, vertigo, scotomia, caducus, onmacht, zu nacht im Bett" (S 8:312).

over; yet if it does not pass to him, but rather inclines toward the woman, then it is in her; but this is not the proper *caducus* of the kind that the man has, but rather that of the mother. For [hers] is a different body, not the body that can be compared to the man. For there are two inclinations: that of the external heavens, which is the same as in the man; [and that] of the male heavens, which is the *suffocatio* of the mother. This is why three *caduci* should be distinguished from one another: that of the man is male; that of the woman is female; though both are from one heavens, so that what is involved is a male nature. The third is that of the internal body, and this takes its heavens from the man.

You should also be aware that these things are passed on by heredity: if | 227 | not in the father [and] not in the woman, nonetheless in the fruit. It is one thing [to be noted] that the man does not infect himself in the true cases of *caducus* of the external heavens, but rather in *syncope[s]*;¹ [he infects] the woman with regard to *suffocatio matricis*. The girl child that is thus born has *suffocatio* imprinted in her in a twofold way: in a virginal way <and> in a womanly way. Virginal is the same as *syncopis*, with several dependent signs of *caducus*: *Suffocatio* is more than *syncopis*. About these diseases more will be said in the appropriate chapters, especially with regard to the *mechanicus*, which does not need to be explained here. Just as we have given an example for suffocation, you should be aware that *praecipitatio* is also from the man, which is to say, from his heavens. For all of these diseases—of which the mother has more than can be named using the names of the male diseases—are from the heavens of the man. Although they originate in the body of the woman, from the earth, firmament, air, [and] water, as has been explained already in many contexts: in any event, the heavens are the first cause of the man. For example, *pestis* is a disease of the heavens which goes beyond the nature of the man, and yet it has to begin in the man, moreover its *ultima materia* is in him. And so it is here as well. Now it has to be said that

¹ Zedler situates *syncope* closer to the modern use as the highest degree of unconsciousness [i.e., fainting]. A medieval use of *syncope* is of a female “suffocation” of the womb conditioned by corrupted menses and sexual inactivity (WS 132). *Syncope* could also be a death-like state. Platter² (131-32) recounts the case of a mid 16th-century woman cast into the Rhine at Basel for killing her infant. Fright and a head injury put her into a deep “syncope.” She survived because her vital functions were suspended for the quarter hour of her submersion in cold water. After the failed execution, she was freed and later married and had children.

Gestirn/ darauß *Apoplexia* kompt: *Profluum Matricis*, auß dem Gestirn/ darauß *Dysenteria*, *Lienteria*, *Diarrhoea*^a entspringen/ die sich in *Matricem* nach demselbigen leib *Microcosmi* richten vnd enden. Also wissent/ das alle ding in dem ersten anfang müssen vom Artzt betracht werden/ wie alle ding von eim in das ander gehnt: Auß der vrsachen folget nun hernach die Monarchey in jhrer außlegung. Allein es sey dann/ das du die kranckheiten dermassen in den vier *Corporibus* specificirest/ vnd zeigest an den ersten anfang der dingen/ vnd bleibst in der Anatomey/ vnd haltest die gespaltten Creatur zweyfach/ dem Mann vnnd der Frawen/ auch alle Artzney: Sonst ist die Kunst nichts/ als ein dürre/ verrochene Zimmetrinden/ die eim im Maul zergehet/ wie ein Filtzhut. So gelieben die Künst vnd *Scientiae* denen/ den sie sollen lieben: das ist/ denen/ den sie Gott geben hat. Denn wiewol sie du kanst/ so kanstu sie dir nit allein: aber darumb so lehrne dir nicht wolgefallen/ sondern alles/ von deren wegen die Artzney beschaffen ist. | 228 |

Dieweil nuhn der Artzt allein der ist/ der Gott am höchsten preisen vnd loben kan/ so soll er auch am meisten wissen. Dann vrsach: wer ist der/ der den Menschen kan erkennen/ was er ist/ wie groß ihn Gott gemacht hat/ als allein der Artzt? der kan die werck Gottes zu erkennen geben/ wie edel die Welt sey/ vnd noch wie viel edler der Mensch/ vnd wie eins auß dem andern geborn ist vnd gangen. Der das nicht weiß/ der berühme sich der Artzney nicht. Dann so wunderbarlich ist der Mensch beschaffen vnd geordnet/ so man in sein recht wesen kompt/ was er ist/ vnnd auß speculiert in allen dingen. Vnnd das ist ein groß das sie bedencken sollen: nichts ist im Himmel noch auff Erden/ das nicht sey im Menschen. Dann das sind die Himmlischen krefften/ die sich bewegen werden: dann [Gott] der im Himmel ist/ der ist im Menschen. Denn wo ist der Himmel/ als der Mensch? so wir jhn brauchen sollen/ so muß er in vns sein: Darumb weißt er von dem Mund/ auß dem Mund/ auff Gott was wir wollen:

^a In the materials of the *Libri Paragaphorum*, these three are taken together and distinguished concisely in accordance with the dual criteria of digestion and separation, whether one or the other or both fail: “nun ist digestio gut und separatio nit, so ist **dysenteria** do; ist aber separatio do und digestio nit, so ist es **lienteria**; ist aber beide nit, so ist **diarrhoea** do; ist aber ein putrefactio da der materiae stomachi, so ist fluxus ventris do variis cum coloribus” (S 5:270).

praecipitatio arises from the star from which *apoplexia* comes; *profluvium matricis* from the same star from which *dysenteria*, *lienteria*,¹ [and] *diarrhoea* arise, which orient themselves and end up in the *matrix* in accordance with the same body of the *microcosmus*. Accordingly, you should be aware that all things have to be contemplated by the physician in their first beginnings, since all things pass from one thing into another. From this cause there follows the monarchy in its explication. Only if the diseases are made very specific in the four *corpora* and thus reveal the first beginning of things and remain in their anatomy and keep the bifurcated creature twofold, as of the man and the woman, and only if the whole of medicine follows accordingly, otherwise the whole art [of medicine] is as worthless as dry, tasteless cinnamon bark that dissolves in the mouth like a felt hat. Accordingly, the art and *scientia* will be lovable to those who should love it; that is, those to whom God has given it. For even if you can master it, you cannot do so alone. This is why you should strive to learn, not in order to be pleasing, but because of everything for which medicine was created. | 228 |

Since it is only the physician who can praise and laud God in the highest, he should also know the most. There is a reason for this. Who else is it who can know the human being? Who can know what he is, [and] how great he has been created by God—who else but the physician [can know these things]? He is the one who can reveal the works of God and how noble the world is and how much nobler yet is the human being, and how the one was born and proceeded from the other. Whoever does not know this should not boast of medicine for himself. For how wondrously has man been created and ordered, [so that this is clear] when one penetrates his true being, [and recognizes] what he is, and speculates about the consequences of all things. And this is a great matter that they should consider: that [there is] neither in the heavens, nor on earth, anything that is not in the human being. For those are the celestial powers that will move themselves: for <God> who is in heaven is also in the human being. For where are the heavens but in the human being? If we are to exercise [the heavens], then they must be within us. For this reason, they [the heavens] give direction from [his own] mouth, out of [his very] mouth,² toward God as to

¹ *Lienteria*: dysentery (MLLM).

² **Mouth** can only refer to the mouth of God, which speaks as if through the heavens, indicating what it is that humans need—which is God himself as provider of na-

dann er ist näher bey vnserm Herten/ dann die zung oder vnser gedancken: der hat jhm^a sein Himmel groß vnd schön gemacht/ edel vnd wol. Denn einmal ist Gott in dem Himmel/ das ist/ im Menschen. Dann er spricht selbst/ er sey in vns/ vnd das wir sein Tempel sind: so er nun in vns ist/ so bitten wir jhn/ da er ist/ nemlich in den Himmeln/ dz ist/ im Menschen. Darumb so ist dem Artzt wol zubetrachten/ mit was hand er handelt: dann er hatt vnder jhm das edlste *Subiectum*, vnd das grössste: das edlste/ vnd das/ da am meristen anligt. So er nuh die Welt nicht kennt/ noch die Element/ die Firmament/ etc. Was wolt er dann im Menschen erkennen/ der diß alles ist/ wz im Himmel vnd auff Erden ist/ vnd Himmel vnd Erden selbst ist/ vnd Lufft vnd Wasser. Der diß beschaffen hat/ der hat beyde Monarchey beschaffen/ vnd jhre Artzneyen in jren Monarcheyen: dergleichen auch den Artzt. Also hat er jhn beschaffen/ auß dem beschaffnen zu lernen/ nit auff sein gedancken zu speculieren/ imaginieren/ etc. zuhandeln/ sondern in den Creaturen zu lehrnen/ die sind seine Schulmeister: Dann auß dem Menschen gehet kein grund diser dingen/ noch kein *Scientia*. Das ist aber war/ wann Gott will/ so macht er ein Artzt/ dann er stah jhm heim: dieweil er jhn beschaffen hatt/ so lest er jhn | 229 | geboren werden wenn es jm geliebt/ vnd nit wenn der Mensch wil/ er hat jhn jhm vorbehalten.

Dieweil wir nuhn also sehen/ das die Erden jhre Beum auß dem Himmel böß vnd gut machet: Dann wenig seindt der jar/ darinnen die Erden allein Meister ist/ vnd macht die frucht nach jhrer arth/ ob sie schon fast gut ist: So starck vnd hefftig ist die Influentz da in geberenden dingen: Also ist auch im leibe zuuerstehn der Frawen/ dz sie ohn Inclination nit seindt. Nuhn aber ist ein groß erkantnuß da/ das

^a Sudhoff (220): “in im.”

what we want: for he [God] is nearer our heart than is our tongue or our thoughts:¹ he [God] has made his heavens for himself so great and beautiful, so noble and good. For God is also in this heaven, which is to say: in the human being. For he himself says that he is within us and that we are his temple.² And since he is within us, we pray to him where he is, namely in the heavens which are in the human being. For this reason, the physician should keep in mind with whose hand he treats: for beneath him he has the noblest *subjectum* and the greatest: the noblest and the one upon whom most depends. If he does not know the world, nor the elements, [nor] the firmament, and so on, what could he hope to know about the human being, who is all of these things that are in the heavens and on the earth, and who is heavens and earth in one, as well as air and water. He who created all of this created both monarchies, as well as the medications within those monarchies, as well as the physician. Thus did he create him, to learn from that which has been created—and not to spin out his own thoughts by imagining and manipulating, but instead to study the creatures which are his [true] teacher. For from the human being no foundation of these things proceeds, nor any *scientia*. However, it is true that if God wills [it], he creates a physician. For this is his true task: having created him, he lets him | 229 | be born when it pleases him to do so, and not when it pleases the human being. He has reserved this for himself.

We can see that it is from the heavens that the earth makes its trees both evil and good. For few are the years in which the earth is master by itself and makes the fruits after its own nature, good as this might be. So powerful and forceful is the influence that is present in the things that generate. The same thing must be recognized in the body of the women: they are not without inclination. Nonetheless, it is a

ture's plenty (cf. Dt 8:3, "one does not live by bread alone, but by every word that comes from the mouth of the Lord"; the chapter goes on to enumerate the promised natural bounties of food, spring waters, and abundant metals in the earth).

¹ See Rom 10:8, (Paul citing Dt 30:14): "The word is **near you**, on your lips and in your heart."

² See 1 Cor 6:19, "Or do you not know that your body is a **temple** of the Holy Spirit within you, which you have from God, and that you are not your own." This passage suggests why mystical Spiritualists such as Weigel or Boehme were attracted to Paracelsus. See *Valentin Weigel: Selected Spiritual Writings*, Trans. and Intro., A. Weeks (New York: Paulist Press, 2003); Valentin Weigel, *Der güldene Griff*, in *Sämtliche Schriften* (Neue Edition), vol. 8, ed. Horst Pfefferl (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1997).

eine gute Erden gute frucht bringt/ so ferne das nichts einfalle von den vmbstenden/ das ist/ von dem eussern Himmel. Auff solches mercke: der Erden mögen wir nicht fürkommen für sich selbst/ sondern wir müssen dieselbigen lassen geraten/ nach arth des Himmels: Es were dann/ das da einer were/ der do *Philosophiam Medicam rerum naturalium* wüste. Der Frawen halben ist es auch also/ vnd mehr: dann sie mag behüt werden/ das sie nit Inficiert wirdt von dem vndern Himmel/ das ist/ vom Mann: So nun die Infection nicht beschicht/ so mag sie gute frucht tragen/ auß dem/ so sie eine gute Erden ist. Nuhn ist viel an dem gelegen/ das wir das wol verstanden/ ein guter Baum tregt gute fruchte: Das ist auff ein^a gute arth geredt/ als sprech einer: Ein Baum der einer guten arth ist der tregt gute frucht/ derselbe Baum der guter arth ist/ der ist aller böser arth zu starck/ vnd zu fast in die gute gesetzt/ das jhme keine böse arth nichts thun mag. Dorumb verstandt das exempel/ das sich in alle wege hierinne vergleicht/ do Christus sagt diese Allegory/ das ein guter Baum gute frucht trage: Das ist auff ein gute arth geredt/ so von der Natur außgehet. Auß solcher guter arth/ so auß der natur gehet/ hat Christus erwelt seine jünger: Auß der arth da das böß außgehet/ darauß hat er den zwölfften jünger erwelt Judam. Dann ein Apostel einer guten arth hat jhn nicht verrathen/ aber der auß der bösen arth der hat jhn verrathen. Dieweil nuhn Christus die gute arth/ vnnd die böse arth/ so groß fürhelt/ vnd so starck vns einbildet/ so ist es vns in der natur zu erkennen. So eine gute arth da ist/ so haben wir gutt artzneyen: so eine böse [arth] da ist/ so gehets^b vns wie Christo mit dem Juda. Vnnd diese arth vnd diese Allegatz/ sollen nicht veracht | 230 | werden: Dann auß jhr kommen die *Morbi curabiles* vnd *incurabiles*,^c vnd sonst auß keinem andern grunde nicht.

Dieweil Christus das fürgesehen hat/ das so viel in der Natur ligt/ das sie außzulesen ist/ was guter arth/ was böser arth sey/ zu der sälligkeit auch zu verstohn zusein: So ist es auch einem Artzt noch mehr zu verstohn/ was gute oder böse arth sey. Darumb ichs hie fürhalte/ ist also: Eine Fraw einer guten art der gesundheit/ die ist zubehüten vor dem vndern Himmel/ das ist/ vom Mann: Also ist sie auch zu verter-

^a Sudhoff (221) omits “ein.”

^b Sudhoff (221) omits square brackets around “art” and has “gehet” instead of “gehets.”

^c Elsewhere P. lashes out at those who erroneously declare diseases “*morbus incurabilis*” (S 11:56, 78).

great thing to recognize that a good earth yields good fruit, provided there is no incursion from the environment, by which I mean from the external heavens. Take note in this regard: we cannot outsmart the earth as it is. Rather, we must let things develop as they may in accordance with the nature of the heavens, or at least not unless there should be someone present who grasps the *philosophia medica rerum naturalium*. It is the same for women and even more so: for they are to be protected so that they are not infected by the lower heavens which is to say by the man. If no such infection occurs, then she will bear good fruit insofar as she is a good earth. Now much indeed depends upon our understanding that a good tree bears good fruit.¹ To say this is to speak to this effect: a tree that is of a good nature bears good fruit. That same tree that is of a good nature is too strong for the most evil nature and too firmly planted in that which is good so that no evil nature can cause it any harm. For this reason, take note of the example which is given, which is entirely comparable in our case, that Christ recounts the allegory of the good tree which bears good fruit. This refers to a good kind that proceeds from nature. With respect to this good character that proceeds from nature, Christ chose his disciples. From the character that results as evil, he chose the twelfth disciple Judas. For it was not an apostle of good character that betrayed him, but the one of evil character who did this. In the same way that Christ has demonstrated so generously and forcefully the good nature and the evil character, we can recognize the same in nature. If there is a good nature present, then we have good medicines; if an evil <nature> is present, then it happens to us as to Christ with Judas. This character and this affirmation should not be despised. | 230 | For it is from this that the *morbi curabiles* and *incurabiles* stem, and from no other basis.

Christus foresaw that so much depends upon nature. This is why we should separate out what is of good character [and] what is of an evil character, [which is] to be understood with respect to salvation: the physician should be all the more aware of what is good and evil nature. This is why I say this: a woman who is of a good nature in terms of health is to be protected from the lower heaven, which is the man. For that is how she might be corrupted. You can see that in mat-

¹ Mt 12:33.

ben. Dann jhr secht/ das die leute guter arth im Glauben/ zuuersamen seindt zu gutem/ vnd zu bösem/ durch die Prediger: Dann eins Predigers mund ist ein Himmel vnd ein Inclination. Dieweil er nuhn ein Himmel ist: Also ist auch ein Himmel der Mann der Frawen: Aber nicht mit dem Mund/ sondern in dem so zwey ein fleisch seindt. Prediger böser arth/ bleiben auff böser arth/ in derselben bösen arth verführen sie das volck: Also ein guter behaltet sie in gutem. Darumb der Frawen an dem orth die gute arth zu behalten ist/ mit einem Mann der guter arth sey: So also gut vnnd gut zusammen kompt/ da wirt nichts böses auß. Freilich auff den natürlichen lauff/ hat Christus geredt von der ehe/ die Gott zusammen füget/ scheidet der Mensch nicht. Als ob er sprechen wolt: Ihr scheidet die ehe/ vnnd machents wie jhr wöllent. Dann warumb? sie ist ewer zusammen fügung/ jhr seid auß böser arth/ bößlich gohnd jhr mit jhr vmb: Die Ehe aber die Gott zusammen füget/ das ist/ die Ehe/ auß denen die kinder/ die erwelten Gottes/ geboren werden/ die werdent jhr nicht scheiden. Das ist so viel geredt/ als het er gesprochen/ die Ehe Vatter vnnd Mutter *Petri, Iohannis, Iudae, Bartholomei, Simonis, Philippi, etc.* die hatt Gott zusammen gefügt/ vnnd seindt bey einander blieben/ darauß ist geboren *Petrus, Item Iudas, Item Iohannes, Item Philippus/ etc.* Dann die gute arth jhr Vatter vnnd Mutter/ vnnd jhr vorfordern/ hat zusammen gefüget/ die da seindt einer guten arth/ darumb worden^a sie nicht gescheiden von einander. Dieweil nuhn Christus die Natur so auffwirfft einer guten arth/ vnnd auß derselben guten arth außklaubt die seinen: So sol auch die gute arth vom Artzt erkennt werden/ das er sie behalt | 231 | in gutem wesen/ den *Microcosmum* vnd *Microcosmam* so zusammen kommen: Nicht allein in den tugenden/ sondern auch in den Leiblichen dingen/ betreffende das/ dauon ich hie rede. Diese erkantnuß ist groß/ vnnd trifft viel an. Dann dieweil *Christus* sein Apostel dermassen erwelt hat/ so sol auch der König dermassen sein/ vnnd das land sol sein Obrigkeit auch also welen: Dann ein böse arth/ die sich gut zeigt/ ist *Iudas/* der sich auch gut zeigt/ von wegen der Armen leuten/ sein war aber der nutz. Darumb

^a Sudhoff (222): “werden.”

ters of faith people of a good nature must be assorted into the good and the evil [ones] by the preachers. For the mouth of a preacher is a heavens and an inclination.¹ And just as he is the heavens, the same holds true of the man with respect to the woman. But [this is] not by means of the mouth, but in the way that two are of one flesh. Preachers of an evil nature remain of evil character; and in this same evil nature they lead the people astray. Likewise, a good preacher maintains them in the good. This is why the good nature of women is to be maintained in that same way by means of the man. Thus, good and good come together, and nothing evil can result. Certainly, with respect to the natural course [of things], Christ said of marriage that what God has joined together, the human being should not separate.² It is as if he were saying: “You separate a marriage and are doing just as you like.” What is the meaning of this? [It is as if he were saying:] “It [marriage] is your conjunction; you are of the evil nature, and therefore you treat it in an evil way.” But the marriage that God joins together is the one from which the children, the elect of God, are born: that one you shall not dissolve.” It is as much as if one were to say that he was speaking of the marriage of father and mother [but was actually referring to] *Petrus*, *Johannes*, *Judas*, *Bartholomeus*, *Simon*, *Philippus*, and so on, having been joined by God so that they would stay together; [so that] from this [marriage] were born *Petrus*, as well as *Judas*, as well as *Johannes*, as well as *Philippus*, and so on. For the good nature had joined their father and mother and their ancestors together, had conjoined those of a good nature, and this was why they would not part from one another. In the same way that Christ projected the nature of the good character, and [just as he] from the same character selects his own, in this same manner should the physician recognize the good character which he | 231 | preserves in its good essence, so that *microcosmus* and *microcosma* come together. It applies not only to the virtues, but also to the physical things of which I speak here. This understanding is great and it has many consequences. For in the same way that *Christus* has chosen his apostles, the king should follow suit, so that the country should choose its government as well. For an evil nature which also manifests itself as good is exemplified by *Judas*, who appeared to do good for the poor, but was

¹ Cf. OED, **incline**: a contemporaneous English translation of Ezra 9:9 reads: “Oure God...hath enclined mercy vnto vs” (1535).

² Mt 19:6, “So they are no longer two, but one flesh. Therefore what God has joined together, let no one **separate**.”

nicht von solcher rede wegen/ gutes scheins wegen/ sondern guter arth nach/ die welungen geschehen sollen: Dann mehr hat die böse arth guts im mundt/ dann die gute arth. Die gute arth ist in wercken/ vnnd erzeigung im thun vnnd selbst fertigen: Die böse arth thut aber nichts/ redt aber viel dauon. Auff das Maul ist nicht zu vrtheilen/ auff das Hertz aber/ das kompt in das maul nicht/ ohne die werck. Das alles verstantent auch/ auff das/ das der Artzt die gute arth/ in guter natur sol erkennen: Dann dieweil es im hertzen ligt/ so muß die Natur das anzeigen. Zugleicher weiß wie *Christus* von der Ehe redt/ die Gott zusammen fügt/ scheid der Mensch nicht: Das ist/ ist ein gute arth vnder der Ehe/ so werdent jhrs nicht brechen/ sondern sie wirdt bleiben: Das ist/ die nichts zustahnd/ die werdent jhr nicht verführen. Also die arth/ wie auß der Ehe zusammenfügung erkant wirt/ ob sie gut sey oder nicht: Also auch wissent/ das in der natur ein solches sol erfunden werden: Dann was nicht in jhr gut ist/ da wirt nichts guts auß. Dann wie alle ding gescheiden sein von einander/ die Sonn/ der Monn/ der Tag/ die Nacht/ also auch der Teuffel/ die Engel/ etc. So ist auch vnter den Menschen zwo arth: Die der arth der Finsternuß ist/ er sey mit seiner erzeigung wie er wölle/ so ist er finster/ da wirdt nichts guts auß/ wie auß dem Teuffel. So nuhn die natur dermassen ist/ so ist kein helffen da/ zu gutem.

Darumb ich das anzeig/ dieweil ich angefangen habe zu reden/ das der Baum gut bleibe/ dz ist/ die Frawe gut bleibe/ sol sie am ersten einer guten arth sein. So sie das ist/ sol sie mit dem vndern Himmel jhres Mannes nicht gebösert werden: | 232 | Das ist/ eine jedliche gute arth der natur zufügen/ darauß werden gesunde vnnd gute früchte. Also ists auch mit dem hertzen/ das hie den Artzt nicht antrifft. Die vnterscheidt ist auch zuhalten in der artzney: Das offte ein Erden gute frucht hat/ das ist/ guter sahmen in sie geseet wirdt/ aber sie mißbraht. Darumb gehort ein jedlichs ding zu seiner arth/ das also die Erden vnd der sahmen sich vergleichen: Dann das ist die Ehe die der Mensch

only being self-serving.¹ For this reason, it is not on account of a good utterance [or a] good appearance but because of good character that selections should be made. For the evil character has more good in its mouth than does the good character. The good character shows itself in works and in the display of actions and what one brings about oneself. The evil character, however, does nothing, but talks about it a lot. One should not judge by the mouth, but rather by the heart: that heart which does not enter into the mouth without works. All of this is to be understood with reference to how the physician should recognize the good character in the good nature. For whatever lies in the heart nature must make manifest. It is the same as when *Christus* spoke of the marriage that God has joined together, and the human should not dissolve. This means that if the marriage rests on a good nature, you will not break it. It will remain whole. This means that those who have nothing will not be led astray by you. This is how the character is recognized if it is good or evil from the conjunction of marriage. You should be cognizant that the same thing is found in nature. For from that which is not good in it, nothing good will result. For just as all things are separated from one another, as are the sun, the moon, the day, the night, so also the devil, the angels, etc. Therefore, there are also two natures among the human beings: that which is the nature of darkness: no matter how it manifests itself in being dark, nothing good will ever come of it, no more than of the devil. When the nature is like that, there is no help for it to the good.

This is why I made it clear when I began speaking that the tree should remain good. By this I mean that the woman should remain good, if she is principally of a good nature. If this is the way she is, she should not be made bad by the lower heavens of her husband. | 232 | By this I mean that every good character of nature gives rise to healthy and good fruit. It is the same with the heart, though this does not concern the physician. The same distinction is to be maintained in medicine. It is often the case that an earth has good fruit, by which I mean that good seed has been sown in it, though it turns out badly. For this reason, everything adheres to its nature, so that the earth and the seed should be alike. For that is precisely the marriage that the human

¹ A reference to **Judas' false objection** to Mary's anointing of Jesus' feet with a costly perfume in Jn 12:5-6, "'Why was this perfume not sold...and the money given to the poor?'" (He said this not because he cared about the poor, but because he was a thief...)"

nicht scheidet/ das ist/ das Gott zusammen fügt. Dann auff dem felsenn ist der samen velohren/ das ist/ er wirdt dum/ ob er schon sonst gut ist. Die gute art wirt alle mal behüt/ das sie nicht einfelt in die vngnade Gottes: Ob sie schon abtrit in solchem hertzen/ wie der guten arth eigenschafft ist. Also auch in der artzney/ so ein solcher kranck wirdt/ so stehet er wider auff von seiner kranckheit/ durch die artzney: die böse arth aber in der natur bleibt liegen. Darumb die krancken heilbar vnd vnheilbar erfunden werden: die sich fürwar nicht anders vergleichen/ dann mit *Petro* auff ein theil/ zum andern mit *Judas*/ auff denselbigen theil/ der nit wieder auffstund/ sondern wie er sich hieng/ also bleib^a er.

Viel ist gesagt worden/ von den vnheilbaren kranckheiten/ aber der grund ist nit berürt worden/ vrsachen/ der art halben. Gute art stirbt auch/ so sie nit aufferstehung hat/ das ist/ hilffe der artzney. Darumb die vnwissenheit da ist der Artzte/ die auß gebresten der Kunst haben geredt: das ist jhnen vnheilbar/ dz noch heilbar gesein ist. Also ist vom ersten zubetrachten/ der Himmel der vndern Sphær: darnach die obern vnnd vndern Sphær zusammen/ als ein Himmel: darnach die arth: Als dann der leib: Als dann die Mutter an jhr selbst: Jetzt in den dingen ist die *Theorica* gantz. Vnnd eine solche art ist auch in der artzney zu suchen. Dann auß dem grund gehet die Kunst der Componierung/ welche auß der Anatomey gehet: Nicht auß den *gradibus*, *Complexionibus*, *Experimentis*, sondern auß den *Anatomiis*, die sol eines jedlichen Artzts anfang vnd ende sein: Denn ohne die wirt er kein Componist sein. Die Kunst ist jhr selbst anzeigerin durch die dinge/ sie verbirget sich selbst nicht. Dann sie weißt wol/ das Mann vnn^b Weib zusammen gehört/ allein auß der Anatomey: Also sol der Artzt | 233 | auch wissen/ das zusammen gehörend die artzney vnd die kranckheiten nach jhrer art. Dann weißt der Artzt das/ das die artzney die kranckheit heilt/ so muß er auch wissen dieweil der kranckheiten mehr dann eine ist/ vnd mehr dann eine artzney/ welche zusammen getheilet werden/ vnnd vermehlet: Das muß durch die Anatomey geschehen. Wiewol das ist/ das Eine Artzney ist/ in der alle *Anatomiae* stohnd/ aller kranckheiten/ vnd aller artzneyen/ welche artzney das höchste ist in allen dingen: Dahin wirt der Himmel fallen zu seinem jhar/ das Eine kranckheit sein wirt vnd Eine^c artzney: Der *Astronomus*

^a Sudhoff (224): “blib.”

^b Sudhoff (225) corrects to “und.”

^c Sudhoff (225) has “eine arzney,” “eine krankheit,” “eine arzney.”

being cannot dissolve because it has been joined together by God. For on rocky ground the seed is lost:¹ it becomes stale even if it was once good. The good nature must always be guarded so that it does not fall into disfavor with God, even if it should depart in such a heart as the good character has as its own property. It is the same in medicine: if someone gets sick, he rises again from his disease by virtue of medicine. Yet the evil character remains within nature. This is why the patients are found to be either curable or incurable, which is truly no different than with *Petrus* on the one hand and Judas on the other, the latter being that which does not rise up again. Instead he hanged himself and stayed as he was.

A great deal has been said about the incurable diseases, but the grounds have not been touched on with respect to cause [or] nature. Good nature dies too, if it does not experience resurrection, by which I mean the assistance of medicine. This is the reason for the ignorance of the physicians who have spoken from a deficiency of art, claiming that things are incurable which are indeed curable. First of all, one should contemplate the heavens of the lower sphere; and next the upper and lower sphere in conjunction as a single heavens; and after that nature; and then the body; and finally the mother in herself. At this point in all these things the *theorica* is complete. The same sort of nature is to be sought in medicine. For it is from this foundation that the art of composition proceeds, which proceeds from the anatomy, not from the *gradus*, *complexiones*, [or] *experimenta*, but rather from the *anatomiae*: these should be the beginning and ending for every physician. Without them he will be no composer [of medications]. The art reveals itself through the things. It does not conceal itself. For it knows indeed that man and woman belong together, merely from anatomy. So also should the physician | 233 | know how the medicine and the diseases belong together in accordance with their nature. For if the physician knows what it is that heals the disease, he must also know that there is more than one disease and more than one medication, whereby the former and the latter are to be distributed and joined together: this must happen by virtue of the anatomy. Even if it is posited that there is to be only one medicine in which all *anatomiae* subsist, of all diseases and all medications, and that this medicine is the highest of all things—the heavens will first fall in their appointed year

¹ The **seed sown on rocky ground** evokes Jesus' parable of the sower (Mt 13:20-21).

vnd der Artzt verstanden mich allein. Dieweil aber die Sophisterey/ so bißher geführt ist worden/ nicht abgeheth/ so stellet man den grossen Arcanen nit nach: Dann die Sudler der Apotecken/ zerbrechen der Artzney bereitung.

Damit ich wider zum anfang komm/ vnnd dem beschluß nachgange/ so wissent/ wie sich die vereinigen mit einander/ der *Centrum matricis* vnd die gantze *Matrix*/ also/ wie eins dz ander inficiert/ dz ist also. Zugleicher weiß/ als subtil die Sonn durch ein glaß gehet/ vnd wärmet dz jenige dz inwendig dem glaß ist: Vnd ein fewr das durch sein Offen gehet in die stuben/ vnd doch nichts verletzt/ das/ so darzwischen ist: Also gehen die Geist der kranckheiten durch den *Centrum matricis*/ vnd nit durch die *poros* noch *meatus*.^a Darauff so wissent/ dz ein kleiner glaub zuhalten ist/ vnd gar für vntüchtig/ in den grossen scharffen kranckheiten zusetzen den durchgang in die *poros*: Dieweil alle kranckheiten diser arth/ allein Geist seind/ welche Geist vom Corpus nit anders gehet/ dann wie die wärme von der Sonnen: Denn die Sonne brent/ denselbigen brennt der Geist der Sonnen.^b Nun secht da ein vnterscheid/ in deme/ wie die Sonn wärmet durch das glaß/ dz fewer durch den Offen/ so wärmen sie doch nit durch die haut des Menschen. Die hitze/ so im Menschen angehet in solchen dingen/ ist die hitze des leibs/ stercket sich von der eussern/ vnnd seüdt in seinen *liquoribus*: Dann sie treibt den dampff auß/ wie alles siedens arth ist vnd eigenschafft/ darumb treibet es sein dampff auß durch die *poros*. Der Geist der kranckheit/ von dem hie geredt wirt/ auß dem *Centro matricis*/ ist also zuuerstehen/ das er ein ander Substantz ist als | 234 | die Sonn/ vnd ist die Substantz der *Matrix*/ vnd die Sonn ist jhr Substantz/ wie sich dann teilen die drey arth vnd *Centra*. Darbey wissent/ so die *Matrix* ein kranckheit in jhr hat/ so ist das erste/ das dieselbe kranckheit ein *Corpus* wirt/ dz bleibt ligen: Nachfolgens so gehet der dunst auß/ das ist/ jhr *spiritus* von jhr/

^a Based most likely on his surgical experience with battle wounds, P. held views on the need for properly functioning *pori* and *meatus*: “als wan ein wunden auf halben arm gehauen würd, dieselbigen meatus und adern versagen den gang des andern teils, daraus dem glid sein nachteil begegnet. und so in der heilung durch den mumia der natur, die glider, adern, pori an einander nicht geheilet werden, gleich wie sie anfänglich gestanden seind und von natur sein sollen, so folget der schad daraus” (S 6:67-68).

^b Sudhoff (226): “den die sonn brent, denselbigen brennt der geist der sonnen.”

before there is that one disease and one medicine. Only the *astronomus* and the physician understand me. Yet as long as the sophistry that has obtained up till now is not vanquished, one will not pursue the great *arcana*. For the apothecary brewers are destroying the preparation of the medicine.

In order to come back to my point of departure and approach the conclusion, you should be aware of how these things are conjoined: the *centrum matricis* and the entire *matrix*. How does the one infect the other? It happens thus. As subtly as the sun passes through a glass and warms that which is within the glass; or just as a fire through a stove enters into a room without harming anything that might lie in between: in the same way the spirits of the diseases pass through the *centrum matricis*, and not through the *pori* or the *meatus*. From this you should understand that little belief is to be placed [in such a theory], and indeed it is not viable [to assume] the passage of the great, acute diseases through the *pori*. Since all diseases of this sort are purely spirit, this spirit travels from the corpus in no other way than the warmth from the sun. For when the sun burns, it is the spirit of the sun that burns. But consider the difference in how the sun warms through the glass [or] the fire through the stove: in neither of these cases do they warm [piercing] through the skin of the human being. The heat which begins in such things in the human being is strengthened from the external and it boils in its *liquors*. For it expels steam, as is the nature and property of all such boiling. This is how it expels its vapor through the *poros*. The spirit of the disease from the *centrum matricis* about which we are speaking here must be understood as having a substance, different | 234 | from the sun. It is the substance of the matrix; and the sun is its substance, since the three natures and *centra* are thus divided. You should know about this that, if the *matrix* contains a disease, the first thing that happens is that this disease becomes a *corpus* which remains there. The next thing is that the vapor proceeds from it. This is its *spiritus*. This is nothing other than a taste

der nichts anders ist als ein geschmack/ der auß einem Bisem^a gehet oder Rosen/ der durchtringet/ vnnd gehet nach/ niemandts greiffv vnnd sicht jhn. Also seind alle kranckheiten/ so auß der Mutter in den leib gehendt. Die aber auß dem leib in die Mutter gehendt/ die seind leiblich mit jhren *Corporibus*/ wie dann an seinem orth erzehlet wirdt. Also wissendt hierinn/ das die Geist/ so auß der Mutter in den leib gehent/ geferbt seindt/ das ist/ sie haben an jhn Farben macht/ auß vrsach/ wie ein Geist vom Vitriol ferbet/ vnnd ist ein Geist: Also ferben auch die Geiste die kranckheit/ vnnd greiffen das *Corpus* an inn allen dingen/ als hetten sie ein *Corpus*.

Wie nuhn viel kranckheiten zufallen der Mutter/ so gibt sich das auch viel/ das ein theil/ vom andern geheilet wirdt. Als/ so der *Centrum matricis* kranck wirdt/ so wirdt er oft von der Matrix curiert: Also auch *Matrix* vom *Centro*, das je eins des andern heilung ist. Dann zugleich weiß/ wie eins das ander böse macht/ kranck macht/ so mag also auß solcher arth/ auch eins das ander gesundt machen:^b Dann wo kranckheiten entspringen/ da ist auch die wurtzen zuerlangen/ die gesundtheit: Dann gleich auß der wurtzen da die kranckheit gehet/ auß demselben muß auch die gesundtheit gohn: Vnnd wo die gesundtheit außgeheth/ da muß auch die kranckheit außgohn. Nuhn/ ist die kranckheit möglich von jhr selbst zu kommen: So ist auch möglich die gesundtheit von jhr selbst zu kommen. Ist möglich dz wir kranck werden/ durch ein *Accidens*: So ist auch möglich das wir gesundt werden durch ein *Accidens*: In deme da wir kranck werden/ in demselbigen werden wir auch gesund. Darumb/ macht vns das *Astrum* kranck/ so muß er vns auch gesund machen: Macht vns die Gebluet kranck/ so muß sie vns auch gesundt machen: Dann in jhre arth gehet vnd bleibt ein jedliche hülf/ vnd nicht in der frembden. | 235 | Darumb so ist im leibe *Microcosmi* dasselbe auch/ also/ das die eussere gesundtheit/ die jnnere kranckheit vberwindt: Das ist/ die Leibgesundtheit vberwindt die Centrumkranckheit/ vnd die Centrumkranckheit vberwindt die Leibkranckheit der *Matricis*. Denn so vns der Himmel kan vnd mag krencken von aussen an/ denn gesunden leib/ den wir auß der Erden haben: So kan vnd mag er auch widerumb

^a The essence of aromatic substances is an alchemical phenomenon in *Archidoxis*: “Quintam essentiam aus zu extrahiren von aromatibus” is exemplified, “als aus **bisem**, musco, sibeta, camphora und der gleichen, welcher weg ist am ersten, das die quinta essentia sol gebracht werden in ein ander form” (S 3:134).

^b What causes illness also heals.

which proceeds from a musk (**Bisem**)¹ or from roses: it penetrates and lingers on. No one can see it or touch it. This is how it is with all the diseases that proceed from the mother into the body. However, those that pass from the body into the mother are physical because of their *corpora*, as will be shown in the proper place. So you should be aware that the spirits that proceed from the mother into the body are colored. By this I mean that they have within them the power of colors, for the same reason that a spirit can be colored by vitriol, and yet it is a spirit. It is in this way that the spirits taint the disease and attack the *corpus* in all ways, as if they themselves had a *corpus*.

Since many diseases attack the mother, there are also many cases in which one part is healed by another. For example, if the *centrum matricis* becomes ill, it can often be cured by the matrix; and likewise *matrix* by the *centrum*, so that each one is healed by the other. For just as the one can make the other one evil and sick, by virtue of this same nature the one can make the other well. Where diseases arise, the root of health can also be attained. Just as the disease results from the root, from it must result health as well. And [conversely] where health results, the disease must also result from the same source. What is more, if it is possible that the disease can come all by itself, it is also possible for health to result by itself. If it is possible for you to become sick by virtue of an *accidens*, it is also possible for you to become healthy by virtue of an *accidens*. By virtue of which we become sick, by virtue of that same do we become healthy. Accordingly, if the *astrum* makes us sick, it must also make us well. If the blood (**Gebliet**)² makes us sick, it must also make us healthy. For every sort of nature goes to its [own nature] and retains there a remedy and not in the alien nature. | 235 | For this reason it is also the case in the body of the *microcosmus* that the external health overpowers the internal disease. By this I mean that the health of the body overcomes the disease of the centrum; and the disease of the centrum overcomes the disease of the body of the *matrix*. For if it is the case that the heavens can and may cause us to become sick, that is, the healthy body that we have from the earth because of an external source, it can also in turn make us

¹ See Grimm, **Bisem, Bisam**: *moschus, muscus* (cf. H 1:306).

² See Grimm, **Gebliet** (1e): blood that belongs together; used in medical contexts.

gesund machen vnd erhalten den leib/ den die gebrechlichkeit krank macht/ vnnnd wil machen: Also da auch eine gleichmässige arth ist. Darumb/ an dem orth do *Hippocrates* sagt/ so ers den weg gemeinet hat/ die *Virtus*^a ist die/ so die krankheit heilet: Das ist so vil/ das je ein *Virtus* die ander vertreibt. Also/ *Virtus* ist eine Himmlische krafft/ nit auß der artzney/ sondern ein vnsichtbar artzney. Als/ so einer geführt wirdt von jhm selbst ohn alle artzney/ das ist durch *Virtutem* gesund worden: Dise *virtus* ist *Coelestis Astronomia, etc.* darumb macht sie die krancken gesund. Die aber dermassen nit gesund werden/ die müssen artzney gebrauchen/ die werden durch die *Arcana* gesund: *Arcanum* ist kein *virtus*, sondern *vis, potentia*, mehr dann ein *virtus*. Wiewol der jrjsal lang in den Artzten gelegen ist/ das sie *Vires potentiales, virtutes*^b geheissen haben/ darumb haben sie *Hippocratem* nie verstanden/ auch seine *Commentaria* nit.

Damit wil ich also in der gemein beschlossen haben die Monarchey/ so den Frawen zusteht/ zubetrachten den Artzten. Wiewol ich damit nicht wil geendt haben/ (so Gott wil)^c sondern weiter ein jedliche krankheit der Frawen/ so sie gemein mit den Mannen haben/ vnnnd so sie allein/ ohne gemeinschaft der Mannen haben/ sonderlich ein jedliche zubeschreiben: Auff dz dise Monarchey des *Microcosmi*

^a Idiosyncratically, P. reckoned H. to be more of the “spiritual” than the “natural” medical school (S 1:170). In Basel, he raised H. above Galen: “virtues” (not Galen’s humors!) operate in the elements: “reliqua quae hoc loco desiderantur, habentur in philosophia nostra de elementis et elementatis ex quatuor matricibus, de quibus agit **Hippocrates** noster, in aphorismis, **de virtutibus** naturae, contra interpretationem rhetoris Galeni” (S 4:92). The Basel “Commentary on the Aphorisms” makes H.’s intended affinity with P. appear strong, if forced. Where the aphorism states, “Contemplari igitur...et tempus...et regiones,” these terms advise attention to time as the astral powers (“nun sind die astra in den elementen und in elementen haben sie ir wonung wie ein sêl im blut und fleisch, wie ein geist in eim corpus, wie die arzney in eim kraut”); the reference to “regiones” is taken to support P.’s emphasis on natural diversity (“dan anderst ist das land dan das ander,”etc.—S 4:501). H.’s reference to “experimentum fallax” validates P.’s “theorica medica, die in vier seulen stehet” (497). (Cf. Intro 8) H. is not spared P.’s criticisms altogether.

^b Of the best of ancient physicians (certainly including Hippocrates), P. writes: “sie haben von den artzten, die got beschaffen hat, gehört die kraft der kreuter, tugent der gesteinen, und das sie ein himlische theorica der tugenden und krankheit getragen” (S 7:393). This suggests that the best ancients excelled in knowledge of *virtus* rather than of *vis* [*potentialis*]. The difference is not clear, since precise specification of functions and powers characterizes both *virtus* (as *attractiva, coagulativa, digestiva, expulsiva*, etc.) and *vis* (likewise as *attractiva, digestiva, laxativa, narcotica, retentiva, separativa, styptica*, etc.—cf. Müller.)

^c Sudhoff (228) eliminates the parentheses.

healthy and preserve the body that has been made willfully ill by virtue of its frailty. Here too there is an equanimity of nature. This is why, when *Hippocrates* speaks [of such things] as of the manner in which the *virtus* heals disease, he is saying in effect that one *virtus* drives out the other. Thus is *virtus* a celestial power. It is not from medication, but is rather an invisible medicine. For example, [it is revealed] when someone is treated by himself without any medication, which means becoming well by means of *virtus*. This *virtus* is *astro-nomia coelestis*, etc.; and this is why it heals those who are sick. However, those who are not healed in this fashion are in need of medication; for they are healed by the *arcana*, which is not the same as *virtus*, but rather *vis* [or] *potentia*, more than a *virtus*. Although the error has long prevailed among the physicians in their referring to the *vires potentiales* with the designation *virtutes*,¹ the reason for this is that they have understood neither *Hippocrates* nor his *Commentaria*.

With that I intend to conclude in general that monarchy assigned to women in its relevance to the physicians. However (God granting), that will not be the last word on it. Rather, I intend to describe each disease that women have in common with men, as well as those only they have, each and every one. The purpose is to understand and recognize the monarchy of the *microcosmus* by means of explication and

¹ *Virtus* could signify “miracle” in medieval Latin (MLLM); *vis*, *vires* may be the power of human agency or art, the capacity of the alchemist-physician, as distinct from the virtues endowed by God (cf. H 2:15).

verstanden werde vnd erkent/ mit außlegung vnd erklerung aller der dingen vnd vrsachen/ so die noturfft erfordert: Mit der Männischen/ Anatomischen vnd Archimeyischen vnterrichtung/ mit dem vrsprung der Mundanischen vnterweisung/ ausserhalb welcher kein *Medicus* sein mag. Vnd wiewol das ist/ das ich in dieser Monarchey gar mich eusser von andern Artzten/ aber billich: Dann vrsachen/ das dieselbigen genugsamen befunden werden mit allem vnuerstande vnd vngründt zuheilen/ vnd ohn das Liecht der natur | 236 | pflügen zu schreiben: So doch ein Artzt nichts sol schreiben/ allein es sey dann im liecht der natur also wie er schreibet. Denn sol er die artzney auß der Erden nemen/ so muß die Erden der Artzt sein/ vnd nit der Mensch: So muß er auch auß der Erden sein lehr nemen/ das er das weiß zubrauchen/ das die Erden gibt dahin es gehört. So er das nit pflügt vnd weist/ so ist sein schreiben/ vnd fürnemen/ allein ein verführung/ dem Artzt vnd seinen krancken. Wiewol das ist/ dz sie groß gewidmet seind vnd eingesetzt/ der vier seulen eine der Hohenschulen/ darauff sie denn groß ding setzen/ als sol niemands wider einen solchen Stand reden. So wissent doch in den dingen/ das die/ so sie gesetzt haben/ selbst bekennen/ sie haben sie daher verordnet: Aber sie wissen nit/ speculierens gerecht oder nit: Sie lassen sie jhr ding verantworten. Allein sind sie darzu geursacht worden durch ettliche Experiment vnd *rationes*: Ob aber das der Grund sey/ lassen sie sich selbst verantworten. Das ist eine schlechte seule setzen/ hat ein schlechten grundt. Zu dem/ dz sie viel auff den Grund bawen/ vnd sagen/ die sie auff die Hohenschulen gesetzt haben/ das viert glied zu sein/ jrren nicht: Es ist fürwar wüste geirret/ in dem/ das man euch gesetzt hat. Sie haben jhren Grund genommen auß *Christo*/ der sagt/ die krancken bedörfften des Artzts: So jhr den namen habend/ so haben sie gemeint jhr seidts also gar. Aber fürwar/ hetten sie das baß betracht/ das Gott den Artzt beschaffen hat/ vnd sein artzney auß der Erden/ vnd das man jhm solt stadt geben: So hetten sie eine frag in der Schul lassen vmbgehen/ ob Ihr von Gott oder von dem Teuffel beschaffen werendt worden/ das ist/ ob jhr mit warheit oder mit lügen werend vmbgangen: So hette man wol geschmeckt/ wer euch geschaffen hette. Dann dz Gott den verderbten Schulmeister/ Procurator/

explanation of all things and all causes which are made necessary by our needs, doing so by means of the male, anatomic, and Archimedean instruction, by the source of the mundane instruction without which there can be no *medicus*. And although it is the case that in this monarchy I hold myself aloof from other physicians, [I do this] appropriately. The reason for this is that they are thought to heal adequately with all their incomprehension and baselessness, and are accustomed to write without the light of nature, | 236 | notwithstanding the fact that a physician can write nothing except in the light of nature. For if it is the case that he must take his medicine from the earth, then the earth must be the physician and not the human being. Accordingly, he must draw upon the teachings of the earth, so that he knows how to use the things the earth will give in the way that is proper.¹ If he does not understand and follow that, then all of his writing and proposing will serve to lead both the physician and patient astray. For [true medicine] is richly endowed and instituted, as a university founded upon the four pillars, a foundation for works of importance. Therefore no one should speak against its establishment. You should be aware in this respect that those who established it know themselves that it has been ordained in this way. However, [the false physicians] do not know this; they speculate, disregarding whether it is correct. They take charge of things in their own way. Nothing but a few experiments and *rationes* have justified their proceeding this way. Whether that is an adequate foundation is something they take upon themselves. Doing so makes for a poor pillar and a poor foundation. In addition, they build a great deal on this foundation. They declare that they have instituted things on the authority of the universities, [claiming] to be the fourth faculty; and that they cannot err. It was a terrible error indeed to have installed your kind. They [should] have taken their ground from *Christus*, who speaks: “the sick are in need of their physician.”² Since you bear the name, they [the sick] have thought that this is you. However, they would have done better to consider that God created the physician and his medicine out of the ground so that one would know to cede the ground to him. Then people would have circulated the inquiry in the universities: whether you have been created by God or by the devil. By this I mean, whether you proceeded with truth or with lies. Then one would have had a palpable proof of who it is that created you. For

¹ Sir 38:4.

² Mt 9:12, “But when [Jesus] heard this, he said, ‘Those who are well have no **need of a physician**, but those who are sick.’”

Apotecker/ Pfaffen/ Münch vnnd dergleichen/ zu einem Artzt beschaffen habe/ das ist nicht. Euch hatt Leyptzig/ Tübingen/ Wien/ Ingolstat/ beschaffen/ also seindt jhr auch: Wie der Schöffner/ der euch da geschaffen hatt. Es ist nicht minder/ jhr schmeckent etwas in der *Astronomia*, etwas in der *Philosophia*, etwas in der *Logica*: Aber das jhr schmeckent/ ist weder kalt noch warm. Wann der *Astronomus* sein *Sortilegium*^a hinweg thet/ vnnd | 237 | der *Philosophus* sein *irrationabilia*, vnd der *Logicus* sein lügen: so wer es wol/ das jhr in der Artzney ein grund hettend. Das jr euch wöllen verantworten/ mit *Machaone*, mit *Apolline*, *Aristotele*, *Galeno*, *Auerroe*, *Auicen*.^b *Rhasi*, *Mesue*, etc. ist weit fehl: Ihr müsstent am ersten probieren/ ob sie gelogen haben oder nicht. So sich das finden wirt/ als dann so wirt es nachgelassen/ oder nit. Wann jhr geschrifften pfeiffen weren/ es müst ein guter Organist sein/ der mir ein liedlein darauff machen könt. Ihnen ist eben wie den *Geometris*, die speculieren seltzam Circkel vnnd Instrumenten/ die sich selber treiben/ gond/ vnd in dem so fliegen sie mit jhren Instrumenten: Die Rösser sind hültzen/ vnd so es aber an das reitten gehet/ so ist es gauckelwerck. So jhr Gott nit hettent/ zu einer außrede/ vnnd mit jhm verkauffet ewere tolle weise/ jhr wurdent viel gröber erfunden/ dann kein Alchimist oder Wünschel Prophet. Aber jhr sagend/ Gott wils nit/ Gott hats thon/ wer will jhm in sein Gericht/ Gewalt greiffen/ alle ding sind in seiner hand: Warumb redent jhr das? Darumb/ das jhr auß einer bösen arth sind/ darumb ligt euch *Verbum Domini* im Maul. Vnd das lassent jhr auß/ Die krancken dörrffen jres Artzts/ warumb? das sagend jhr nicht. Wenn

^a P.'s *Practica* of 1530 implies that *sortilegium* is the device of a decadent magic or astronomy (S 8:247). The *Liber de Praesagiorum fundamine* distinguishes five types of prophesy ("weissagung"): 1. that of the prophets, sybils, or Christ's disciples; 2. prophesy by natural signs; 3. prophesy from one's self (*divinatio*); 4. prophesy from supernatural spirits; and 5. augury by animals or other "creata." The forth is *sortilegium*: "ein weissagung der geister, heißt sortilegium. die selbig mag der mensch innen werden aus den geistern, nach dem und er mit inen ein büntnis hat" (S 14:156).

^b Sudhoff (229): "Avicenna."

it is certainly not the case that God made the corrupt schoolmasters, procurators, apothecaries, priests, monks, and that sort to be the physicians. You were made by Leipzig, Tübingen, Vienna, [and] Ingolstadt;¹ and that is how you are: like the maker that made you. It might be that you have tasted a bit of *astronomia*, a bit of *philosophia*, a bit of *logica*, but what you have tasted was neither cold nor warm.² When the *astronomus* puts away his *sortilegium*³ and | 237 | the *philosophus* his *irrationabilia* and the *logicus* his lies, then you would have a foundation in medicine.⁴ You are far from the mark in wanting to justify yourselves with *Machaon*, with *Apollinus*,⁵ *Aristoteles*, *Galenus*, *Averroë*, *Avicenna*, *Rhasiz*, *Mesuë*,⁶ etc. First you would have to test whether or not they were lying. Depending on how that turns out, you would be approved or not. If their writings were pipes, it would take a fine organist to make a tune with them. With them it is as with the *geometri* who speculate with strange compasses and instruments that work and run on their own, so that they can fly with their instruments: the horses are made out of wood, and as soon as it is a matter of riding them, it becomes clear that it was all trickery. If you did not have God to excuse yourselves with in order to sell your mad procedure by means of him, you would be exposed as worse than any alchemist or folk prophet (**Wünschel Prophet**).⁷ But you say that God did not will it or that it was he who did it. And who would want to interfere with his judgment and power when all things are in his hand? Why do you talk like that? Because you are of an evil character. This is why *verbum Domini* is so much in your mouth. And you leave this out: “The patients are in need of their physician.” Why? You do not say that. If indeed you do say it, it is simply because you want people to give you

¹ In listing the **German universities**, P. begins with the one at Leipzig which has recently rebuffed his writings in response to an inquiry submitted by the city authorities in Nuremberg.

² Rev 3:15, “I know your works; you are **neither cold nor hot**. I wish that you were either cold or hot.”

³ *Sortilegium*: fortune-telling, witchcraft (MLLM).

⁴ P. here appeals to the widespread sense, shared by Erasmus and Luther, that it is time for every discipline to rise to a new state of perfection. See Intro 39, note 33.

⁵ On **Machaon**, see H 1:254, note; a possible derivation of the unidentifiable **Apollinus** is “the Apollinian one” or follower of Apollo; see H 1:282. An additional possibility, Appollonius Tyanaeus, is discussed by Hartmut Rudolph in “Die Kabbala im Werk des Paracelsus” (cf. citation, H 1:282).

⁶ On **Avicenna** and **Mesue**, see H 2:10, etc.

⁷ See Grimm, **Wünschel-**: in compounds this suggests an effective magical pronouncing or incantation.

jhrs schon sagend/ so ists darumb gesagt/ das man euch Gelt gebe/ vnd
das man euch Glaube: aber das hertze des Artzts ist weit von der
zungen. Darumb bedencket euch wol/ lassents nit vnverantwortet.

money and believe you. However, the heart of the physician is far from his tongue. For this reason, consider it well. Do not leave this without a reply.

AVREOLI PHILIPPI THEOPHRASTI
 Von Hohenheim
 Fünff Bücher:
DE CAVSIS MORBORVM INVISIBILIVM.^a

Das ist/
 Von den unsichtbaren Kranckheiten
 vnd ihren Vrsachen.

Vorrede in die Bücher der vnsichtbarn Kranckheiten/
 durch den Hochgelerten Herrn
Theophrastum von Hohenheim
Doctorem, etc.

Demnach ich vollendet hab die drey Bücher im Liecht der Natur/ vnd im selbigen erzelt die anligen vnd gebresten des sichtbarn vnd leiblichen theils *Microcosmi*, vnd dieselbigen beschrieben mit hohem fleiß vnd erfahrungheit/ vnd genugsamer darthung seiner Philosophischen vnnnd Experimentischen außweisungen. Nuhn aber wiewol das ist/ das dieselbigen etliche Bücher die anligen des sichtbaren leibs^b *Microcosmi* wol vnd vberflüssig tractirend/ vnnnd alle ding stattlich fürgehalten in einem jedlichen Versal^c so weit vnnnd das liecht der | 239 | Natur zubegreifen ist/ nichts darinn aussen gelassen/ noch vergessen: So ist aber doch das anligen des sichtbarn theils *Microcosmi* noch nit gar erzelt/ so weit vnd sein anligen reichen. Dann wiewol das [alles] beschriben ist/ das sichtig den augen erscheinet/ vnd den henden zu tasten begreiflich: welche anligen vnd gebresten durch die Philoso-

^a Although the explanation of psychic disorders figures importantly in P.'s medical writings (see Midelfort and KOR for relevant overviews), such disorders are not usually characterized as "**invisible diseases**." Are the disorders addressed here in a special category or are they presented in a special light? They are both. Some disorders addressed are forms of religious hysteria. Moreover, precisely in terms of the relationship of visible to invisible, these diseases also appear in a theological light. Each book takes up one or more manifestations of spiritual psychology: the power of faith, religious hysteria, Anabaptist martyrdom, spirit possession, the use of "characters," or the healing power of saints. Religion and psychiatry are integrated.

^b Sudhoff (251) inserts "des."

^c P.'s use of the word "**Versal**" betokens an increasing self-consciousness about compositional organization and style: taking internal subdivisions such as "Paragraphus" and "libell" seriously and making references to the "stilum der alten" or "auctoriteten," he expresses the hope that what is "mit einem kleinen versal begreifen," will not encounter scorn for that reason alone (S 8:362).

AUREOLI PHILIPPI THEOPHRASTI

Von Hohenheim

Five Books

*DE CAUSIS MORBORUM INVISIBILIIUM.*That is, On the Invisible Diseases
and their Causes

Preface to the Books on the Invisible Diseases,

by the Highly Learned Herr
Theophrastus von Hohenheim
Doctor, etc.

With that I have completed the three books in the light of nature and told in them of the ailments and frailties of the visible and corporeal part of the *microcosmus*. I have now described all of this with much application and experience and with a sufficient demonstration of its philosophical and experimental lessons. Now it is true that these several books treating of the ailments of the visible body of the *microcosmus* have described those things well and more than enough, and have demonstrated all of these matters in a useful way under every heading (**Versal**),¹ as far as the light of nature | 239 | extends, leaving nothing out and forgetting nothing. However, the ailments of the visible part of the *microcosmus* have not yet been entirely exhausted to the very limit of their frailty. Indeed it is true that <everything> has been described that appears visibly to the eyes and can be grasped by the hands, whereby these ailments and frailties can be explained most

¹ **Versal**: a capital letter signifying a chapter heading and thus a chapter or subdivision.

phey/ vnnd ohne mangel des grundes/ so gewaltig mögen ergründet werden/ das ein jeglicher Erfarner in den dingen ohne jrrung stehen mag: (wiewol die Humoralisten in irrung den gantzen Proceß geführt/ aber jhrs vnuolkommenen grundes ist zuuergessen die höchste seligkeit.)^a Nun aber wie fürgehalten/ so ist doch nur begriffen worden in denselben Büchern des halben Menschen widerwertigkeit des einen theils/ das^b sichtbar ist: So erfordert die noturfft weiter/ auch den andern theil des andern halben Menschen zubeschreiben/ auff das der Mensch gantz in der einbildung des Artzts stand. Wiewol vnsichtbar derselbige ist/ vnd doch greifflich: vnd das da greifflich ist/ das ist nit sichtbar/ vnd im liecht der Natur zu gleicher weiß zu verstehen ist/ als ein Blinder der da greiffet/ vnnd sieht nit das er greiffet: Also im gegenspil/ wir sehen/ vnd greiffen/ aber empfinden das nit/ das wir greiffen. Vnd als wunderbarlich dem Blinden sein greiffen anligt/ also wunderbarlich ist vnsern sichtbarn augen/ daß sie blintzen vnd nit empfinden/ das die hende greiffen. Vnd merckend diß Exempel wol: dann nicht vmbsonst wirt vns der Blinde geboren/ sondern er gibt vns damit ein beyspil/ das wir blind sein mit sehenden augen im liecht der Natur/ darumb dasselbige zu erforschen billich ist.

Wir Menschen auff Erden/ was haben wir ohn das liecht der Natur in der erkendtnuß aller natürlichen dingen? Auß welchem liecht der Natur ich weiter fürfar/ das sich von sichtbarn streckt in das vnsichtbar/ vnd gleich so wunderbarlich im selben als im sichtbarn. Vnd das ich aber behalt das liecht der Natur/ so ist das vnsichtbare sichtbar. Was die augen geben/ wie in dem andern halben sichtbarn

^a The reference to the highest bliss or salvation (**die höchste seligkeit**) marks an apparent paradigm shift in P.'s views of psychic disorders. One of the *caducus* ("fallend") works offers an alchemical explanation for this malady (S 1:148). *Das siebente Buch in der Arznei. Von den Krankheiten, die der Vernunft berauben (De morbis amentium)* refers to rampant mental illness, but denies that this is caused by "incorporalischen geschöpfen und diabolischen geistern" (S 2:393). Of St. Vitus' dance, P. writes that, "es treffe die heilige geschrift nit an," being more a matter of nature than of God (407). Yet in apparent contrast, the tracts on mental disorder or disability in *Philosophia magna, de divinis operibus et secretis naturae* seem to reverse this naturalistic bent by focusing on Jesus' exorcistic miracles and parables and linking the divine mystery to fools ("narren"): "drumb so muß es ein groß mysterium han, das verborgen ist in der natur...das so gar kein creatur narret wird, alein der mensch, und die edelst creatur, die doch gar solt on gepreßten sein und mangel" (S 14:74). Since nature is divine mystery, these two approaches need not contradict one another.

^b Sudhoff (251) has "der" instead of "das."

forcefully by means of philosophy and without any lack of foundation, so that anyone who has experience in such matters can stand without any error. Of course, the humoralists have introduced error into the whole process. However, their foundation is inadequate because they forget the highest blessedness. Nonetheless, as I have said, those books only encompass whatever attacks the half of the human being which is visible. For this reason, it is necessary to continue and describe another category, that of the other half of the human being, so that the human being will stand complete in the conception of the physician. Although [this other half] is invisible, it can nonetheless be grasped; and that which can be grasped [about it] is not visible. [Therefore] in the light of nature this [other study] is to be understood as if it were a blind person who grasps something without seeing what it is he grasps. Corresponding to this, we do see and grasp, but we do not [fully] register (**entpfinden**)¹ what it is that we seize hold of. Just as to the blind man his grasping seems miraculous, ours is equally marvelous to our visible [i.e., sensing] eyes. Hence, they blink and do not register what their hands have taken hold of. Take careful note of this example. The blind person does not come into the world in vain. Rather, he comes into the world to provide us an example, showing how we ourselves are blind in the light of nature even with seeing eyes. This is the reason why it is appropriate to study this topic.

We human beings on earth: what knowledge of all natural things would we have without the light of nature? Guided by the light of nature, I will proceed onward [into a realm] that extends from the visible into the invisible,² and yet it is as wondrous in it as it is in the visible realm. And as long as I retain the light of nature, the invisible is visible. As to that which the eyes yielded, as has been demonstrated in that other visible half [of medical anthropology], all of that has re-

¹ See Grimm, **entpfinden** (3): the verb refers to an intellectual and abstract sensing or registering of things.

² P.'s reasoning from **the visible** (created) to **the invisible** (i.e., supersensible or divine) is based on Rom 1:20, "Ever since the creation of the world his eternal power and divine nature, invisible though they are, have been understood and seen through the things he has made" ("*Invisibilia enim ipsius, a creatura mundi, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta, conspiciuntur: sempiterna quoque eius virtus, et divinitas*"). Adapted here to contextualize the light of nature as part of a hierarchy of knowledge, the inference from the visible to the invisible is applied to the "invisible diseases." Hence P.'s odd characterization of mental illness as part of the miraculous revelation of nature. The linking of psychic abnormality to a sacred realm is neither new nor culturally unique. Moreover, Jesus' healing miracles are of considerable relevance here.

theil fürgehalten ist/ dasselbige bedarff wenig darthuns: dann die augen sehen die grosse Welt/ vnd bringen die grosse Welt in die Philosophie/ daß sie jhnen sichtbar vnder den augen ist/ dann das | 240 | daruon ergründt wirt/ das ist sichtbar: Nuhn fürhin aber in den andern Büchern so hie hernach volgen/ dauon das Argument genommen wirt/ das ist nit sichtbar: darumb auch dahin zu bringen/ ein vnsichtbars sichtbar zu halten/ viel darzuthun von nöten ist. Dann grob/ rudisch/ vnd Tannzapfisch sind die *Discipuli* bißher erzogen worden/ daß sie auch kochen im sichtbarn sind. Aber weiter die ding außzustrecken/ so wissend/ dz die Welt vnd alles/ das wir in jhrem kreiß sehen vnd greiffen/ ist nuhr der halbe theil der Welt: Vnd das wir nicht sehen/ ist gleich vnd eben als vil im tragen vnd heben/ im wesen vnd in der eigenschafft: Das macht das noch ein halber Mensch ist in welchem die vnsichtbare Welt wircket/ vnd vergleicht. Also machen beyde Welt zu verstehen/ zwen Menschen in einem Leibe.^a Dann so wunderbarlich sind die Creaturen/ das sie im liecht der Natur so hoch zu erfahren seind/ in dem/ das Gott vnsichtbar an jhn gemacht hat: also in dem/ das wir sichtbar haben. Dann also streicht Gott seine *magnalia* herfür/ vnd die Schule des liechts der Natur/ das wir nit allein vns die augen sollen lassen ersetzten/ sondern vns verwundern/ vnd nachforschen den natürlichen dingen/ so der augen gesicht nicht begreiff: vnd doch so bedeutlich^b vor jhnen stehet/ als ein Seulen die vor dem Blinden stehet. Auff dz auffthun der augen ist weiter mein fürnemmen/ dieweil im liecht der Natur so heiter gezeiget wirt/ vnsichtbar ding sichtbar zu sehen/ wie das sey zu erfahren/ zu gleicherweiß als diß Exempel außweist: Der Mond ist ein liecht/ aber

^a Also of this period (1533), *De Potentia et Potentia Gratia Dei* generalizes the assertion of two bodies by referring anthropoly to the duality of a visible and an invisible realm: “die natur hat in ir unsichtbar kraft und sichtbar kraft, **unsichtbar leib und sichtbar leib**, und seind alls leib und natürlich” (G 1:138). Belief in unseen prodigies of an invisible realm accords with contemplation of the human soul or the saving power of Christ in *Das Buch von der Gebärung der empfindlichen Dinge in der Vernunft* (S 1:250-51).

^b Sudhoff (253): “deutlich”; the Vienna Codex (V 285) coincides with Huser.

quired little presentation. For our eyes can see the great world and can introduce it into philosophy as something that is visible before our eyes. That which | 240 | is explained by it is visible. Now, however, in these other books that follow here from which the argument is taken, it is not visible. For this reason, [we must be] brought to the point of regarding something invisible as [if it were] visible; [for which end] much presentation will be necessary. For until this time the *discipuli* [of medicine] have been educated in a coarse, rough, and crude¹ sort of way, so that they remain crude² in the visible realm as well. But to extend matters further, you should be aware that the world and everything that we see and grasp in its circumference is no more than half of the entire world; and that which we do not see is every bit its equal in terms of what it bears and gives rise to, in its being and its properties. In consequence of this, there is another half of the human being, upon which the invisible world acts and to which it is akin. Thus the two worlds³ give us to understand that two human beings are within a single body.⁴ For it is a wondrous thing in the creatures that they can be known so magnificently in the light of nature with regard to that which God has fashioned of them invisibly, in that which we have [presented to us] visibly. For it is in this manner that God brings out his *magnalia* and the school of the light of nature so that we cannot merely let our eyes be sated, but rather we must also be astonished and [compelled to] research further into the natural phenomena which the sight of the eyes do not encompass—even though these things stand before them as significantly as a pillar before a blind man. My further purpose is to open our eyes [even wider], since it can be shown so brightly in the light of nature how invisible things are to be seen visibly. This will be experienced in the way that the following example

¹ See Grimm, **tannzapfisch**: the citation is to this passage. The aspersions cast on others echo P.'s own self-characterization of himself as a homespun Swiss fellow without the benefit of Humanistic niceties.

² See Grimm, **Knochen** (5a): in a metaphorical sense this implies strong but also crude.

³ That **works of the visible world reveal the invisible divine world** rests on the authority not only of Rom 1:20 but also of Heb 11:3 (“By faith we understand that the worlds were prepared by the word of God, so that what is seen was made from things that are not visible”).

⁴ **Human duality** must be understood with reference to P.'s complex and often inconsistent anthropology: it has been summarized in Ernst Wilhelm Kämmerer, *Das Leib-Seele-Geist-Problem bei Paracelsus und einigen Autoren des 17. Jahrhunderts in Kosmographie* 3 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1971); see also Rudolph².

die farben gibt er nicht zu erkennen: Aber so die Sonn auffsteiget/ so werden alle farben vnderscheiden zusehen. Also ist auch die Natur ein liecht/ das vber das liecht der Sonnen scheint: vnd wie der Mond gegen der Sonnen scheint/ also scheint das liecht der Natur vber alle gesicht vnd kräftt der augen. Im selbigen liecht werden die vnsichtbaren ding sichtbar: vnd das je ein liecht das ander vberscheint/ lassent euch ingedenck sein.

Wir glaubend den wercken/ vnd müssen jhn glauben: dann der zu wenig glaubt/ dem bresten die werck: die werck zeigen an das/ dauon sie kommen. Sind die werck sichtbar/ vnd das dauon sie kommen vnsichtbar: so wissend/ daß sie nit anders vnsichtbar | 241 | sind/ dann das wir im selbigen liecht nicht wandelen/ welches dasselbige sichtbar macht. Vnd ist gleich als wenn wir bey der finstern nacht ein Glocken hören^a die mögen wir nicht sehen/ vnd doch das werck der Glocken sehen wir wol: das ist/ wir hörens/ wöllen wir nuh dz sehen/ daruon dz gethön kompt/ so muß es durch ein liecht beschehen. Der Monn ist eins/ aber ein finster liecht: die Sonn erklärts am gründtlichsten. Darumb so müssen wir vns nit begnügen lassen/ an dem liecht dz zu den wercken leucht/ vnd solche sichtbar macht: sondern wir müssen weiter suchen vnd gedencken/ daß das/ so die werck machen^b mehr ist/ dann das werck: drumb muß auch mehr sein liecht sein. Dann ein jeglich ding hat sein liecht/ darinn es ersehen wirt: vnd ein jedlich liecht macht sichtbar das seinige/ so vor dem andern liecht vnsichtbar scheineth. So nun die werck vns weiter weisen dann bey jhnen zu bleiben: den würdend die werck nit gleubig machen/ der sich diesen zeiger nicht wolte füren lassen. Glauben wir die werck/ so glauben wir auch dem Meister des wercks: dann das ist ein todter Glaube/ vnd eine kindische art/ auß den wercken zu dem Meister nit zu wandelen. Die gebew gefallen vns wol/ noch vil mehr sol vns der Meister gefallen: die gebew lernen vns nichts/ die lehr der gebew fliessen vom Meister. Dann secht diß Exempel an: Christus war ein liecht der Welt/ aber vnsichtbar/ dann er war ein Mensch/ seine werck beweisen das. Die

^a Sudhoff (253): “hörten”; V (285 verso): “horten.”

^b Sudhoff (254): “machtet”; V (285 verso): “machen.”

shows: the moon is a light; however, it does not reveal colors. Yet as soon as the sun rises, all the colors can be seen distinctly. In the same way, nature is a light that shines even beyond the sun. As the moon shines in comparison with the sun, so does the light of nature surpass all vision and all the powers of the eyes. In this same light, the invisible things become visible. The fact that one light surpasses the other is something that you should take to heart.

We believe the works and must believe them. For whoever is of little faith fails in terms of works. The works reveal that from which they arise. If the works are visible and that from which they come is invisible, then you should be aware that they are not | 241 | invisible in any other sense than that we do not walk in that same light that makes them visible.¹ It is precisely as if in a dark night we were to hear a church bell. We do not see it, and yet we do indeed “see” the work of the bell. (By this I mean that we hear it.) If we then want to see that from which the resounding comes, this must happen by means of a light. The moon is one sort of light, but it is an obscure one. The sun will clarify it most fundamentally. For this reason we must not make do with little when it comes to the light that shines toward the works and makes them visible. Rather, we must go on searching and reflecting that what has made the works is more than the works themselves. For the same reason, its light must also be greater, since everything has its own light in which it is seen; and every light makes visible what is its own, as that which shines without effect compared to the other [greater] light. Accordingly, the works give us instruction to proceed further and not to abide with them. Whoever would refuse this sort of indication would not be made into a believer by the works. If we believe the works, then we also believe the Master of the work(s): for that would indeed be a dead faith and a childish character which did not proceed from the works to the Master. The things that have been built (**gebew**)² please us well: how much more does the Master please us. The things built teach us nothing. The teachings flow entirely from the Master. For consider this example: Christ was a light of the world, but invisibly so. For he was a human being.

¹ The biblical phrasing from 1 Jn 1:7 (“if we **walk in the light as he himself is in the light...**”; cf. Luther, “So wir aber im Liecht wandeln/ wie er im liecht ist...”) confirms the above cited paradigm of a Christian faith-based knowledge.

² See Grimm, **Gebäu** (3c): the entire world as built by God: “in diesem wunderbarlichen gebewe, das gott gemacht hat” (Melanchthon, *corp. doct. chr.* 422).

seine werck bey seinem liecht erkanndten/ die wandleten heiterer dann alle Sternen am Firmament scheinen möchten: vnser augen sahend die werck beim liecht/ dz auß der Sonnen gieng/ dasselbige liecht mochte aber den Meister nit zuerkennen geben. Darumb die jhn wolten erkennen/ vnnd wolten jhn sichtbar haben/ als dann Er war/ so mußten sie das liecht haben/ das vber jhn schinn/ dauon gesprochen ward von den Aposteln/ hie wöllen wir drey Tabernacul bawen. Also hat ein jedlich ding sein liecht: vnd der bey dem hauptlicht nicht sehen will/ dem sind die vnsichtbarn leib vor den augen/ gleich wie bey der finstern nacht ein grosser Berg. Also finden wir in der Natur ein Licht dz vns sichtbar macht/ das Sonn vnnd Mond nicht vermag. Drumb sey das dermassen fürgehalten/ das wir den Menschen/ vnd alle Creaturen | 242 | nuhr halber sehen: auff das noth ist/ weiter zu wandern.

Dieweil nuh auch der *Dionysius Areopagita*^a bey seinem liecht nit kund sehen die werck/ die da geschahen vnter dem Creütz Christi/ dem doch dz Firmament *Astronomicè* bekandt was/ wolte auch im werck nit ertrincken/ sondern er wolte weiter sehen den Werckmeister diser Welt/ vnnd sucht ein ander liecht vnd erfands: Also sollen wir auch nit ersauffen im werck. Dann der da suchet vnd klopfet an/ der

^a To P., “**Dionysius Areopagita**” was an astronomer who abandoned this science in order to follow Paul, thereby confirming the superiority of the supernatural to the natural: “als dan bewisen wird, das D. A. zu Athenis die astronomiam verlassen hat und ist Paulo nachgangen” (S 12:27); however, he is also legendary for having recognized inwardly Jesus’s suffering on the cross and surmised that either the world was about to end or its creator was suffering, thereby deserving the dignity of sainthood, which should be instructive for us: “D. A. hat die finsternis am kreuz Christi erkent, vom innern himel nicht vom eußern himel, darumb er sprach, entweder leidet der, der die welt erschaffen hat, oder sie wil undergehen. welcher durch solche innerliche himlische wirkung durch Paulum betracht, ist wirdig ein heilig in Christo zu werden” (278).

His works prove that. Those who recognized his works in his light proceeded in a greater brightness than all the stars of the firmament can shine. Our eyes beheld the works by the light that proceeded from the sun. However, this light was not sufficient to allow the Master to be recognized. For this reason those who did want to recognize him and who did want to have him visibly, just as he [truly] was—they had to have that light that shone above him about which the apostles had spoken.¹ Here we would want to build three tabernacles.² Thus every thing has its own light; and whoever does not want to see by the chief light, to him the invisible bodies are ranged before his eyes just like a great mountain in the darkest night. Thus it is that we find in nature a light that renders things visible for us in a way that the sun and the moon cannot. For this reason, it should be emphasized that we see the human being and all creatures | 242 | only halfway, so that it is necessary to continue to travel further.

Since *Dionysius Areopagita*³ by his light could not see those works that happened under the cross of Christ, even though the firmament was known to him *astronomicè*, he therefore refused to drown⁴ in the [created] work, but rather insisted on seeking further for the master craftsman of this world; and therefore he sought another light and discovered it. Neither should we drown in the work. For whoever seeks

¹ This might refer to various passages. Jn 1:9 speaks of John the Baptist as a witness to Christ: “**The true light**, which enlightens everyone, was coming into the world.” Though the ascending hierarchy of light is perhaps reminiscent of Plato’s Allegory of the Cave, it is soon made clear that the highest light is the Master-Creator, the source of blessedness forgotten by previous medical theory.

² This dangling reference to the **tabernacle** described in Ex 26-27, 38-39, though not articulated, can only be explained in the context of an exegetic and mystical usage that coordinated “paths” inward and upward to God in order to convey a progressive approach to a divine being hidden beneath the common experience of nature or the human mind, as for example in Bonaventure’s Franciscan mysticism.

³ See DGWE, **Dionysius Areopagita (Pseudo)**: The reference is both to: (a) the Athenian man converted by Paul in Acts 17 and (b) the mystical theologian and author of *The Celestial Hierarchy* and other works, who was considered identical with (a) until textual researches by the Renaissance Humanist Lorenzo Valla proved otherwise. Around the same time, the reputation of the Areopagite was refined, as Ficino, Agrippa von Nettesheim, and others expanded on a medieval association of the angelic intelligences with astrology by fostering an “association of astral powers, sun magic, and the Dionysian hierarchies” (cf. TRE).

⁴ See Grimm, **ertrinken**: used in moral-theological sense to signify becoming lost in worldly experience; cf. RLAC, “Ertrinken”: metaphorically, the unrepentant sinner “drowns” in sin.

findt. Also ist es von den wercken zu verstehen/ dieweil wir an vns finden krankheiten/ deren vrsprung im sichtigen leibe nit ergriffen mag werden: So sind doch dieselbigen krankheiten nuhr werck/ welche werck vns ermanen/ nit zusagen/ es ist vber meinen verstand/ sonder das liecht anzünden/ dadurch wir sprechen mögen/ es sey vnter vnserem verstand. Vnd so wir jhm nachvolgen/ so geben sie/ das der ander halbe Mensch auch vorhanden ist: vnd das nit allein blut vnd fleisch der Mensch ist/ sondern noch ein Cörper/ der den groben augen zu klar ist/ in demselbigen die krankheiten ligen: vnnd vber diß alles die vnsichtbaren vrsachen dieser krankheiten alle. Von derselbigen vrsachen/ vnd vom selbigen Cörper darinn sie wirckt/ ist weiter mein fürnemen zuschreiben/ auff das dieselbigen krankheiten mit jhrem vrsprung ein gantzen Artzt machen. Dann wie geschrieben sind die leiblichen krankheiten/ so folgen jetzt hernach die vnleiblichen/ vnd doch auch leiblich/ wie erkleret ist: darzu vns beweget hat das werck/ welches weiter anzeigt seinen Meister/ wie es daher kompt/ vnd was das ist/ dz es schmidt vnd zimmert. Wie nun dasselbige zu erkünden ist/ dasselbige volgt hernach/ getheilt in seine Bücher vnd Versal. Dann jhr sollen alle wissen/ wo werck beschehen/ daß sie allein darumb beschehen/ das wir jhr vrsach erfahren: dann alle werck geschehen durch Gott: wie sie aber an vns langen/ dasselbige zu erforschen/ ist vns befohlen. Dann sie werden vmb keiner andern vrsach erboren/ dann das vns Gott damit etwas weiter will zu verstehen geben: vnnd durch seine Göttliche weißheit vns da anzeigt/ mehr wunderbarer ding zuerfahren in seinen heimlichkeiten/ auff das wir seine tieffe vnd vnbegreifliche weißheit/ die ohne zahl ist/ erkennen vnd spüren: nit allein vnser groben augen ersettigen will/ sondern | 243 | auch vber dieselbigen seine grosse *magnalia* darthun. Darumb dieweil er die werck stellet/ so sind sie billich weiter zu suchen: dann wir sind zu schlaffen nicht geboren/ sondern zu wachen/ zu allen seinen wercken bereit zu sein.

Dem Menschen ist es vnglaublich/ der im sichtbarn liecht der Natur allein wandelt/ vnd ein gantzer vnwille vnd ein groll/ allem leiblichem verstand/ das der Mensch vom Teuffel soll besessen werden^a vnd soll

^a “Vom Teuffel besessen werden” calls to mind an ambiguous psychic condition, not only Jesus’ healing miracles of the possessed, but also, by association, the magical or prophetic arts that are insinuated into the human imagination by possessing spirits: “so wissen, das ire inventores mit den geistern besessen seind gesein und die künst also aus der selbigen besizung erfunden und erdacht” (S 14:166). In the Gospels, the possessed are “bestial,” “vhiisch” (271). P.’s lurid depiction also indicates that the

and knocks at the door will find.¹ This is how we should understand the works that we find in ourselves as diseases the origin of which cannot be grasped within the visible realm. Those same diseases are only a work, a work that should admonish us not to say that this is beyond my understanding. Rather, we should ignite that light which enables us to say that it lies within [the purview of] my understanding. And if we follow after it, these [works] will open the way for the other half of the human being to present itself [to our understanding]; and [reveal] that the human being is not merely blood and flesh but also a body that is too bright for the sight of the coarse eyes in which diseases reside. Beyond this, [we should recognize] the invisible causes of all such diseases. It is my purpose to write more about these same causes, and about that body upon which they act, so that [the knowledge of] these diseases in their source should round out the complete [knowledge of the] physician. For just as the bodily diseases have been described, there will now follow in this framework the non-bodily ones (though they are also corporeal, as will be explained). We are motivated to do this by [the example of] the work which reveals its master [by compelling us to ask] whither it comes and what it is that forges and crafts it. An account of how this is to be investigated will follow here, divided into books and sections. For all of you should be aware that wherever works are effected, this happens solely in order that we should learn of the cause; for all works are effected by God. But we are commanded to look into the matter of how they reach us. They are generated for no other reason than because God wants to increase our understanding of something, because his divine wisdom is indicating to us that we should explore more of the wondrous things in his mysteries so that we can recognize and trace his deep and unfathomable wisdom that is without number, [doing so] not merely to satisfy our coarse sense of sight | 243 | but also in order to make his great *magnalia*² manifest. For this reason, his giving to us of these works makes it fitting that we should research them. For we were not born in order to doze but rather to be awake and alert to all his works.

For the human being who walks only in the visible light of nature, it is something unbelievable, something reluctantly conceded and greatly annoying to the entire physical understanding [of nature] that a

¹ Lk 11:9, [Jesus says] “Ask, and it will be given you; search, and you will find; knock, and the door will be opened for you.”

² On the origin of the term *magnalia* in the Vulgate, see H 1:103, note.

jhn registriren/ also/ das der leibliche verstandt nit anders achten kan/ dann das der selbige Mensch kein Mensch sey/ sondern ein Teuffel. Ist das nit ein wunderbarlich werck durch Gott/ das der Mensch soll lebendig auff Erden ein Teuffel zuhaben/ erscheinen: so doch der Mensch ein Bildnuß Gottes ist/ vnd nit des Teuffels/ vnd so weit vom Menschen/ als Stein vnd Holtz. Darzu auch das vnglaublich ist vber das/ daß der Mensch Göttliche Bildtnus ist/ vom Teuffel durch Gott den Sohn erlöset: vnd nichts dester minder in ein solche grewliche gefengnus geführt sol werden/ vnnd keinen beschutz soll haben. Warumb aber das beschicht/ solte nit billich sein/ sein eigen Capitel durch jhn zu erfüllen? Nuhn ist es doch nuhr ein werck/ vnd müssen durch das werck glauben/ das ein grössere vrsach da vorhanden ist: Vnd dieselbige vrsach wil Gott/ dz wirs wissen/ vnd will/ dz wir dz werck nit als ein werck lassen bleiben/ sondern erforschen vnnd erlernen/ warumb es daher gestellt sey. Dann können wir erforschen vnd ergründen/ warzu die Wolle an den Schafen gut sey/ vnnd die Bürsten auff dem rucken der Säwen/ vnd können ein jegliches ding dahin bringen dahin es gehöret/ vnd darzu die rohen^a speiß kochen/ wie sie dem mund wol schmecket/ vnnd vns Stuben für den Winter bawen/ vnd Tächer für den Rägen/ das alles nur den Leib zu zartlen dienet: Noch viel mehr sollen wir nachforschen das nicht dem leibe/ sondern dem Ewigen dienstlich ist. Dann was dem leibe schadet/ das bricht das hauß des Ewigen: So nuhn der Teuffel im selbigen hauß wohnt/ so zerrüttet ers. Nuhn ist die vrsach billich zu erfahren/ warumb er da zu einem werck worden ist: Vnd mags die sichtbarliche

possession of witches or old women by or of (the reference is unclear) fiery men or burning lights in the fields (“ein feuriner man,” “zundeln,” “brinnende liechter auf den wisen und eckern”) proceeds from the devil and is sexual in nature (S 14:135).

^a Sudhoff (256): “rohe.”

human being should be possessed by the devil and should be legally understood¹ in such a way that the physical comprehension can conclude nothing less than that this particular human being is no longer human but rather [tantamount to] a devil. Is that not a wondrous work through the agency of God that the human being should appear while still alive on earth to have the devil and to be so far removed from a human being as stone is from wood, notwithstanding the fact that the human being is an image of God and not of the devil? Moreover, it is incomprehensible that this very human being, the divine image, was saved from the devil by God through his Son;² and equally so yet again that [the devil] is to be placed into a frightful prison without end. But since this is to happen, should it not be fitting to complete a chapter devoted to him? Of course [that of which we speak] is only a work, and by way of works we must believe a still greater cause [of them] is present. And as for this cause, God wants us to know of it, and wants us not to let it remain merely a work, but rather [wants] that we should research it and learn of it why it has thus been placed before us. For if we can research and explain what the purpose of the wool on sheep is, and why swine have bristles on their backs; and are we able to assign everything to its proper place, and indeed to cook food which is raw so that it is tasty to the mouth and to build ourselves warm rooms for winter and roofs against the rain, all of which serves merely to indulge the body: should we not all the more, then, research that which does not pertain to the body, but which is rather of service to that which is eternal? For whatever harms the body destroys the residence of that which is eternal. If the devil should dwell in the house, he will shake it asunder. Now it is truly fitting that we should learn of the cause of this state of affairs in which he [the devil] has

¹ See Grimm, **registrieren** (1, 2): the verb injects a note of legalism into the assertion, though the subject and object references are unclear here.

² The thought presented here seems less unmotivated if one bears in mind the prominence of possession among those miraculously healed by Jesus, as in Mt 8:16, "That evening they brought to him many who were **possessed with demons**; and he cast out the spirits with a word, and cured all who were sick." This sort of healing was part of the apostolic mission when Jesus "gave them authority over unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to cure every disease and sickness" (Mt 10:1); cf. RLAC, "Geister (Dämonen): Neues Testament": Not only possession but illness is attributed to demons; moreover, the evil spirit may partake of supernatural knowledge, a biblical precedent relevant here and for the *Faust* of 1587.

vernunft^a nicht begreifen/ so ersuchen wir die vnsichtbaren: welche so sie angriffen wirt bey seinem liecht/ nit minder/ dann wie die sichtbar ist/ | 244 | entgegnet. Also dieweil auß den wercken ein zahl genommen wirt/ als dann auch bewust/ das ein jedliche *Practica* auß der *Theorica*^b fließen soll: so folgen hernach dieselbigen krankheiten in seinen Versalen/ wie dieselbigen Geistkrankheiten mögen sein^c vns sein: welcher Geist doch sichtbar ist bey seinem liecht/ dann er ist der halbe Mensch.

Also wil ich dich Leser ermant haben/ das du dich in allen nachfolgenden krankheiten in ein sichtbarn verstand bringest: dann die werck sein alle sichtbar/ sichtbar müssen auch jhr vrsachen sein. Vnd laß dich das nit betrüben/ das die dinge nit alle an der Sonnen ligen: sondern betrachte/ wie heimlich Gott ausserhalb der Sonnen ist: vnd so wir dasselbige sein/ befunden/ dz wir hie die vnsichtbarn ding vnbillich vnsichtbar geheissen haben. Dann die werck vnterweisen vns/ daß sie auß einem andern werck gangen sein. Zu gleicher weiß wie ein hauß/ ist ein werck/ vnnd ist sichtbar/ vnnd sein Meister ist auch ein werck/ vnnd ist auch sichtbar: der Meister ist ein werck Gottes/ vnnd das hauß ein werck des Meisters: Also ist auch zu verstehen/ dz wir die werck sichtig vor den augen sehen: vnd so wir den Meister des wercks ergründen/ so ist er vns auch sichtbar. In den ewigen dingen macht der Glaube alle werck sichtbar: in den leiblichen vnsichtbarlichen dingen macht dz liecht der Natur alle ding sichtbar. Darumb laß dich dz nit erschrecken/ ein ding dz sichtbar mag werden/ acht nit darumb dz es jetzt nit sichtbar sey. Was sichtbar wirt/ das laß dir gerade sein/ als sey es jetzt auch sichtbar. Ein Kind dz in der entpfengnus staht/ dz ist ein Mensch/ wiewol es vnsichtbar ist/ was schadt es dem sichtbarn? ist gleich dz jenige das sichtbar ist. Damit/ Leser/ will ich beschlossen haben die Vorrede/ vnd mich hierinne beschirmen/ dz jr mich nit vrtheilen wöllen/ biß in außlegung des

^a **Vernunft**, human reason, is always ambivalent and ambiguous. In *Vom Ursprung und Herkommen der Franzosen*, it is clearly negative when it adopts the hubris of P.'s academic opponents whose "disputiren ist ein eröffnung der hoffart in menschlicher vernunft, deren der arzet gar nicht underworfen sein sol"; instead the physician "sol im weg der arcana wandlen" (S 7:274).

^b On the ambiguous priority of **theory** and **practice**, see vis-à-vis.

^c Sudhoff (257) corrects to "bei"; V (4th inserted page after 286): "bey vnns sein."

been embodied in [what can be called] a work. If the visible reason¹ cannot comprehend this, then we will seek out the invisible [one], which will make use of its light to take matters under consideration, responding in no less a way than the visible does. | 244 | Therefore, in the same way that a number gets extracted from the works, we should be aware that every [sort of] *practica* should flow out of *theorica*.² Accordingly, there follow here those particular diseases in their aspects that are present in us as the diseases of the spirit, whereby the spirit in question is indeed visible under its particular light, for [that spirit] is half of the human being.

In this sense, I hope to have adequately admonished you, [my] reader, that, with regard to all the following diseases, you should adopt a mode of visible understanding. For the works are all visible: therefore their causes must be as well. Do not be dismayed that not all things lie in the light of day. Rather, contemplate how mysterious is God [in his works] outside the sunlight; and insofar as we are like that too, it will be found that we have been incorrect to call the invisible things invisible. For the works instruct us that they have proceeded from another work. Similarly, a house is a work and a visible one; and its craftsman is also a work, and a visible one as well, so that [we can say that] the builder is a work of God and the house a work of the builder. It is to be understood in this sense [when I say] that the works lie visibly before our eyes, and if we fathom the builder of the work, then he too [becomes] visible to us. In eternal matters, faith makes all works visible.³ In corporeal invisible matters, the light of nature makes all things visible. For this reason, you need not be daunted by the fact that a thing that can become visible is not visible now. As to that which will become visible: regard it as if it were already so. A child in the condition of having been conceived is already a human being, even though it is invisible—what does that detract from the realm of the visible? It is equivalent to that which is visible. With this word, reader, I have brought my preface to a conclusion and ask for sufferance in these things, in order that you should not pass judgment

¹ The “visible reason” signifies here any speculation directed toward visible objects; hence, the “invisible reason” would merely mean reflection directed toward the invisible realm of things spiritual or divine.

² On *Theorica*, see H 1:74. Note that here the relationship of “works” to “number” is analogous to that of theory to practice. The discussion of theory occurs in the shadow of a theologically grounded speculation.

³ Cf. Heb 9:1, “Now faith is...the conviction of things not seen...” (cf. H 1:240).

grunds alles. Dann je dieweil die werck so gewaltig erscheinen/ so benöten sie die vrsache zu ergründen: dieweil auch nit allein ich/ sonder viel in den dingen mancherley erdencken: vnd aber/ dieweil dem liecht nit zugangen wirt/ so werden solche anligen *Microcosmi* zauberisch/ Teüfflich/ Hexisch/ Augurisch/ Superstitiosisch geurteilt werden: Vnd doch aber als felschlich vnd vnbillich/ wie dann in nachfolgenden Büchern beschlossen wirt. *Vale.* | 245 |

ARGVMENTVM

In die nachfolgenden Bücher.

Nvhn weiter euch zu vnterrichten was nachfolgend tractiert wird: So wissendt/ das zwo Philosophey seind: Also seind auch zwen wege der Artzney. Der eine ist beschrieben von den leiblichen krankheiten: Hie werden nuhn weiter die vnleiblichen begriffen vnnd geteilt in vier Bücher/ warumb sie vnsichtbar sein/ vnd sichtbar sollen werden. Das erste beschleußt die krankheiten so vns der Glaube gibt/ vnnd so weit der Glaube begreifen vnd einfassen mag. Das ander Buch tractiert von den *impressionibus* des verborgenen Himmels/ in was wege vnd gestalt derselbige in vns wircke. Das dritt Buch von den krankheiten der einbildung/ wie die einbildung ohn alle *materia* sich selbst gebären mach.^a Darnach das vierdte von den heimlichkeiten der natürlichen krefften/ die da wider die leibliche vernunft wirckent/ durch jhres leibes eigenthumb: Vnd also wie die ding der Natur arbeit sein/ sollen hie bey mir gesucht werden. Vnd wiewol eins gebresten wirt/ nemlich das Buch der heilung/ darumb so volget nach den vier Büchern das fünffte/ darinn ein jedlicher genugsam ersettiget wirt.

^a Sudhoff (259): “mag”; V (287): “mag.”

until the entire matter has been presented in its fundamentals. For since the works appear powerful, their causes need to be explained. It is not I alone but many who have various opinions of such matters; and as long as the light [of which I have spoken] is not approached, these ailments of the *microcosmus* will be judged magical, diabolical, witchcraft, augurial, [and] superstitious, though all of this is incorrect and unfitting, as will be demonstrated in the books which follow. *Vale.* | 245 |

ARGUMENTUM

For the books that follow.

Proceeding on, you should be instructed further about that of which the following books will treat. You should be aware that there are two philosophies. Moreover, because of this, there are also two paths of medicine. The one has been written of the corporeal diseases. In the present context, the incorporeal ones will be comprehended and divided into four books, [in order to explain] why they are invisible, and why they should become visible. The first [book] comprehends the diseases that result from faith; it encompasses faith and what can pertain to it. The second treats of the *impressiones* of the concealed heavens, and of the ways and forms in which they act upon us. The third treats of the diseases of imagination, [and] of how the imagination can give rise to things [that lie] within us without any *materia*. After that, the fourth [will treat] of mysteries of the natural powers that exert their effects contrary to the physical reason, by virtue of the property of their body. And [of the knowledge that] should be taken from me regarding the operation of the things of nature. Since we still lack a book concerned with healing [these maladies], after the four books a fifth will follow in which each [reader] will find out to a sufficient degree [about what is of interest].

Eingang des ersten Buchs von den dingen/
so dem Menschen auß dem Glauben zufallen.

Diese ding müssen gegründet werden auff die Lehr Christi: Dann menschlicher vernunft/ wie auß Adam fleust/ sein sie vnmüglich zu ergründen. Vnnd aber wie nuhn dieselbige lehr fürgenommen wirt/ so sol sie starck im Glauben geführt werden: Dem Menschen von jhm selbst/ sind des Glaubens kreffte nit zuergründen/ darumb/ dieweil Er in dem das höchste Liecht ist/ hie den | 246 | grundt anzeigt/ was wir sollen in solchem Glauben verstehen. Dann zu gleicher weiß wie Gott vns einen grundt gibet/ zu lehren in leiblicher artzney/ vnnd dasselbige in Kreuttern/ in Steinen/ im Lauff des Himmels/ vnnd dergleichen: Darinnen wir vns verwundern müssen/ auß welchem wunder nachforschung der Natur: Jetzt erfahren jhr/ was in der *Eufragia*^a ist/ was in andern dingen dergleichen: Dann also sind die werck vrsacher vnnd beweger/ nachzugründen dem rechten verstandt. Also auff das wissen/ das nicht all ding inn solch *Obiecta* gestellt seind/ zuerfahren nur allein was dem sichtbarn leib zusteht/ das nur ein teil ist: Sondern auch in die wörter der höchsten geschriff/ in welcher verfast ist das *obiectum*/ durch welches wir erforschen mögen die jenigen ding/ so mein fürnemen vom Glauben betreffen ist.

Ihr wisset wie das *Euangelium* ein kurtzen begrieff gibet von der krafft vnnd macht des Glaubens/ do es sagt ein solchen sententz: Ist es sach das jhr werden ein Glauben haben nur als ein Senffkorn/ vnnd auff denselben Glauben/ vnnd in krafft desselbigen/ sagen zu den Bergen/ du Berg send dich hinab in das Meer/ so geschicht es. Darinn wissendt/ das vnser stercke/ die der leib hatt auß dem fleisch vnnd blut/ gar ein kleine stercke sey/ vnnd vnser stercke alle ligt allein im

^a *Eupragia* as an herb for the eyes inspires great confidence in P. It possesses the “anatomiam oculorum” (S 1:376); its power equates with what P. later terms the “signatur”: “eufragia hat in ir die form und biltus der augen, daraus folget nun, so sie eingenommen wird, so stellet sie sich in ir glit und in die form des glits, also das eufragia ein ganz aug wird” (S 11:210). In its completion of the likeness, the eye is made whole.

Beginning of the First Book on those Things
that can befall the human being because of faith.

These things must be grounded upon the teaching of Christ. For human reason of the kind that flows out of Adam cannot possibly fathom them. And when that teaching is taken up, it must be powerfully maintained in faith. For the powers of faith cannot be fathomed by the human being by himself. For this reason, since He is the highest light in such matters, [God] | 246 | indicates to us the foundation we should understand in faith. Just as God gives us a foundation so that we can learn in matters of physical medicine, and just as he does the same for herbs, stones, the course of the heavens, and everything of the sort, about all of which we must be amazed, [so that our] research of nature [proceeds in] such amazement, [just so] we are now learning what lies in *eufragia*¹ and in other such things besides. For all these things are there so that we will look for the true understanding of the cause and mover of these works. Therefore, you should know that not everything which is placed in such *objecta* is to be known solely as it concerns the visible body, which is only a part of it all. Instead, we must also consider the words of the most exalted Scripture, in which we find composed that *objectum* by virtue of which we can research those things concerning my proposal involving faith.²

You know how it is that the *Evangelium* [Gospel] provides a brief summary of the power and force of faith in offering the following pronouncement: “If only you have faith like a mustard seed and believe in accordance with the same and should say with the force of the same to the mountain: ‘you, mountain, betake yourself off into the sea,’ then that would happen.”³ In this regard you should know that our strength which we possess from our flesh and blood is really a small strength indeed and that our [real] strength lies solely in faith.

¹ See Latham, *eufragia* is *Euphrasia officinalis*, “eyebright”; German “Augentrost” (Nikolov); cf. HDA: its blossoms display the signature of the eye. Brunfels: “Dioscoridis/ spricht vnder anderen worten also/ das dem Bibenel/ ist gleich ein Kreütlin/ heysstz Evfragia...ein sonderlich Augenkraut” (xxxix).

² With this P. expands on the preceding scriptural premises: the arcane powers of herbs that are now being revealed by his medicine have reference also to the invisible powers of God and are therefore also relevant to the religious issues which are taken up in each book of the *Invisible Diseases*.

³ Mt 17:20, [Jesus]: “For truly I tell you, if you have **faith the size of a mustard seed**, you will say to this mountain, ‘Move from here to there,’ and it will move; and nothing will be impossible for you.”

glauben. Vnd als sanfft vnd leicht als wir mögen ein Senffkörnlein nemen in vnser handt/ vnnd das werffen in das Meer/ das da gar kein schwere gibt: Gleich als sanfft vnnd als leicht werffen wir die grossen Berge durch vnsern glauben in das Meer. Darumb sollen wir verstehen im Glauben/ das wunderbarliche wirckung im selben beschehen/ das der sichtige leib nicht darff in sein sinnen gedencken. Dann secht an den Samson^a wie was sein leib? nichts: sein Glaube war seine stercke: Auch *Iosua*^b vnnd ander dergleichen/ die vns alle fürbilden das vnser Irdischer leib keine stercke hat/ sondern alle stercke die wir haben sollen/ vnnd brauchen/ die sol im Glauben stehen. Vnnd also verstanden/ das des Glaubens krafft/ wie jetzt angezeigt ist/ erkannt sol werden.

Nuhn aber weiter verstanden auch hierinn: Den Geistern ist solchs auch möglich/ vnd mögen den *Olympum* werffen in | 247 | dz Rote Meer: Sie mögen auch das *Mare Oceanum* werffen auff den berg *Aethna*/ vnd dergleichen anders/ so Gott solches verhengete. Darauff wissend/ die Geiste haben kein leib/ weder blut noch fleisch/ noch haben sie die stercke: Das thut der Glaube den sie haben. Darauff mercke/ das diese Summa des Euangeliums also lautet/ als wolte *Christus* sprechen: Was seindt jhr Menschen in eweren krefften? nichts: Das sage ich aber euch/ wo jhr ewre stercke sollen nemen: Nemens auß dem Glauben: So jhr des glaubens haben nit mehr dann so vil ein Senffkorn groß ist/ so sehend zu/ so seind jhr so starck/ als die Geiste seind: Vnd jetzund/ wiewol jhr Menschen seind/ so ist ewer krafft vnd sterck allen Geistern gleich/ wie sie dann auch gesein ist im *Samson*. Darinn merckend/ das wir durch vnsern glauben zu Geistern werden: Vnd was wir vber die Irdische natur handeln/ ist der Glaube/ der zu einem Geist durch vns wircket/ vnd seind nit weniger/ dann wie die Geist. Vnd ist gleich als spreche *Christus*/ so jhr habend einen Glauben als ein Senffkorn/ vnd seind Irdische Geiste/ wie vil mehr

^a Here the strength of **Samson** is rooted in his faith. Precisely like the Areopagite's inner knowledge of Christ's suffering, Samson's strength stems from an inner astral source: "also ist auch die sterke Samsonis gewesen von dem innern himel," an inner strength which surpasses our normal powers (S 12:278).

^b As with P.'s awe of the strength of Samson and his belief in a legendary clairvoyance of the Areopagite, the sun's standing still for **Joshua** represents supernaturalism or "magica" witnessed by biblical testimony and rooted in faith (S 12:371).

And as gently and easily as we might take a mustard seed into our hand and toss it into the sea, so that there is no difficulty at all in doing this, equally gently and softly might we also throw great mountains into the sea by means of our faith. For this reason, we should understand concerning faith what wondrous effects are wrought by it, effects that the visible body cannot conceive in its senses. For just consider the case of Samson: what did his body amount to? Nothing. His faith was his strength. The same is true of *Joshua* as well, and of others besides. They all demonstrate to us that our earthly body has no real strength. Rather, the entire strength that should be at our disposal and for our use resides in [our] faith. And this is how the power of faith, understood in this way, should be regarded, as I am now going to demonstrate.

In these matters, you should also be aware of the following: that it is likewise possible for the spirits to accomplish such things and to cast the *Olympus* into | 247 | the Red Sea. Moreover, they can cast the *Mare Oceanum* up onto Mount *Aetna*, and do more things still of this kind, if God were to permit this. You should know in this regard that the spirits have no body, nor do they have blood or flesh, nor do they have strength: It is only the faith which they possess that does these things. Accordingly, you should realize that that summa of the Gospel reads as if *Christus* were telling us: “What do you human beings amount to with all your strengths? Nothing. I will tell you, however, from where you should draw your strengths. You should draw them from your faith. For if you have faith no greater than a mustard seed, then you will see how you are just as strong as the spirits. Even now, though you are [only] human beings, your powers and strengths are equal to [those of] all the spirits, just as it was the case with *Samson*.” For in this respect you should be aware that by virtue of our faith we also become like spirits. And what we use in order to investigate and account for (**handeln**)¹ the earthly nature is that faith which, when transformed into spirit,² acts through us; so that we are nothing less than the spirits. Thus it is as if *Christus* were saying: “If only you have faith like a mustard seed, and are [only] earthly spirits, how much

¹ See Grimm, **handeln** (12a): in 16th-century usage the transitive verb could have this meaning, related to the noun “Abhandlung.”

² If it is difficult to recoup the mental association of the problem of knowledge with the realm of spirits, one need only recall the opening chapters of the *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* (1587); there the link signifies Christian faithlessness, here faith according to P.’s intention.

wirt es euch werden/ wenn ewer Glauben ist wie die Melonen: Wie hoch werden wir die Geiste vbertreffen/ wenn er ist wie die grossen Cucurbiten/ etc.

Nuhn wissend in diesen dingen allen/ wiewol der Mensch durch seinen glauben dz vermag/ vnd bleibet dem menschen auff Erden: Vnnd durch diese sterck des Glaubens vbertrifft er die Geist/ vnd vberwindt sie/ also dz alle Geist vor jhm still müssen stahn. Dann durch den Glauben wirt den Geistern widerstritten/ die sich sonst anders gegen vns zu kriegen stellen würden/ die da müssen still stahn/ vnd vns fliehen/ vnd durch einen kleinen Glauben vberwinden wir vil. Das zu gleicherweiß zuuerstehen ist/ als wann ein grosser Haußlayb brodt auff dem tisch lege/ vnd so vnser Glaube nit grösser were/ dann der wenigste brossamen/ der da abrisse/ so sein wir den Geistern starck genug: wie vil mehr so wir ein groß stücke daruon essen? vnd laß eben sein/ als wer der glaube wie ein solcher Layb. In solchen dingen verstanden weiter/ das solcher Glaube von der ersten Schöpfung auff vns genampt hat/ Moisen/ Abraham/ vnd dieselbigen all erhalten in jhren krefften: Darumb sie wunderbarliche Männer | 248 | gesein seind/ wunderbarlich vber menschliche Natur gehandelt. Also widerumb auch wissend von denen/ die den Glauben nit gehabt haben/ sondern sich vertröst auff die Irdische stercke/ weißheit vnd krafft: Dieselbigen seind von den Geistern vberwunden worden/ vnnd haben den Menschen darzu bracht/ dz er die knie gegen jhnen gebuckt hat/ wie gegen einem gewaltigen König: Vber dasselbige sie angebettet/ als weren sie Gott/ vnnd sich zu Abgöttern gemacht. Ist das nicht ein stercke/ ohn alle spieß vnnd waffen den Menschen dahin bringen/ vnnd das weder fleisch noch blut hat/ jhn also nider zutrucken? Was ist diese stercke als der Glaube der Geister? Sonst haben sie nichts.

Nuhn wissendt mehr von dieser stercke/ das sie auch im Teuffel ist/ darinne merckend ein solche geteilte außlegung. Sie haben den

greater would it amount to, if you had faith the size of a melon: how greatly would we surpass the spirits, if [your faith] were like the great watermelons?" etc.

You should be aware in all these matters that, though the human being can indeed be capable of such things, he remains [only] human here on this earth. For by the power of his faith he surpasses the spirits and overcomes them so that all the spirits must come to rest before him. By means of faith the spirits are combated and placed in check, [the spirits] that would conduct their warfare against us in a different manner. In this case they must come to rest and flee from us, for by virtue of a small faith we can overcome a great deal.¹ You can imagine how it would be from the following likeness: It is as if a large loaf of bread lay on a table, and our faith were no greater than the smallest crumb which should break off, even then we would be strong enough for the spirits: How much greater would it be if we were to break off a big piece of it and swallow it? And let us then suppose that faith were the size of this loaf. In terms of this it should be understood indeed that from the first creation a faith of this magnitude has been witnessed for us by Moses, Abraham, and their kind, all of whom were maintained in their powers. This is why they were wondrous men | 248 | and [why they] have acted, wondrously surpassing human nature. Therefore, too, you should know about those who did not have faith, but instead consoled themselves with earthly strength, wisdom, and force. They have been vanquished by the spirits that have brought the human being to the point of bending his knee before them, as if before a very powerful king: and this being has been worshipped by them as if they were God. They have turned themselves into idols. Is that not a fine sort of strength, to be able to oppress the human being and bring him to such a pass, and to do so without flesh or blood and without any sort of weapon? What can this strength be other than the faith of the spirits? Otherwise they have nothing going for them.

Now you should also be aware regarding this strength that it resides in the devil as well. In this matter take note that interpretation might

¹ Overcoming in the world understood as a **battleground of faith** against evil spirits is evoked as vividly here as in Luther's contemporary hymn *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* (1529).

Glauben alle/ auß dem haben sie jhre stercke: Daraus volgen zwey/ recht: brauchen/ vnnd mißbrauchen. Recht brauchen/ bleibt an jhm selbst: Mißbrauchen ist das/ dauon ich weiter rede. Die Teuffel haben jhren glauben mißbraucht/ darumb seind sie verstossen worden: Der Glaub ist jhn aber nicht genommen/ allein das verhengten Gottes ist vber sie gesetzt. Darumb so jhn der Glaube nicht genommen ist/ so haben sie auch macht die Berge ins Meer zu werffen/ vnd dergleichen: Sie haben auch gewalt durch jhren glauben gesundt vnd kranck zu machen: Vnnd wie die Sonn guts vnd böses vberscheinet/ eim wie dem andern/ also mag auch der Teuffel gegen dem Menschen handeln: Darumb mag er gute oder böse zeichen thun. Dann dieweil jhm der Glaube bleibt/ dieweil ist er des mächtig. Wie nuhn also der Glaube verstanden wirt von den Geistern/ also verstand jhn auch gegen den Menschen/ das wir mögent vnsichtbar einander schlagen/^a den Glauben recht oder mißbrauchen/ wie vns Gott dasselbige verhengt: Vnnd solche streiche die also in solchen krefften beschehen/ seind nicht anders zuuerstehen vnd zubeweren/ dann gleich wie Samson beweren würde/ wie er hette mit dem Kinnbacken ein solche zahl volcks erschlagen. Dann solchs schlagen ist ein verhencknuß Gottes: Vnnd ein jedlicher der Sambsons glauben hatt/ deren viel seind/ so Gott die stercke wolte | 249 | volbracht haben/ auff Erden/ es ist aber nicht noth.

Vnd wiewol der Glaube dz bey vns vermag/ dz wir Teuffel vnnd Geist mögen in derselbigen stercke jagen/ vnnd die Berge in das Meer werffen/ darumb sollen wir es aber nicht thun: Wir sollens glauben/ vnnd am glauben genug haben. Samson der glaubts/ darumb geschachs/ es thet noth: Vnd so es noch auff die stundt derselbigen gleichen noth thet/ so weren noch mehr Samson in der Welt. Wir sollen aber der Geschrift vnd dem *Euangelio* glauben/ vnnd darbey wissen/ das wir es vermögen/ vnnd nicht dermassen handeln/ als der

^a Anticipating the present work in discussing image magic and the use of “characteres,” the fourth book of the *Volumen Paramirum* (*Entien-Schrift*) envisions parallel worlds in which bodies can injure one another without affecting the spirit and the spirits harm one another and the body, but without the intervention of the body: “lezen unsere leib einander, so lezen die geist einander nit; des gleichen lezen die geist einander, das sie als wol in gewalt haben als wir.... aber so die geist einander lezen so muß der leib des gelezten geists die burden tragen die der geist empfangen hat.” There are in effect two worlds (“zwo welt”). (S 1:218).

go two ways. They all have faith.¹ From this arises their strength. From this it follows that there are two [kinds of strength through belief]: proper use and misuse. The proper use is a matter unto itself. Misuse is that of which I will speak further. The devils have abused their faith. This is why they have been expelled. Yet their faith was not taken away [from them]. It is only the case that the judgment of God has been placed upon them. Because their faith was not taken away from them, they have been able to cast mountains into the sea and do other things of this kind. Through the faith they have, they have also been able to heal and make ill. For just as the sun shines above good and evil alike, upon the one as well as the other, the devil can exert effects upon the human being in this sense. This is why he can effect good or evil signs. For as long as he retains faith, he has power over such things. In the same way that faith is understood with respect to the spirits, it is also to be understood with respect to the human beings: we can slay one another by invisible means. We can use faith properly or improperly—whatever God allows us to do. Actions of this kind which occur by virtue of such powers are to be understood and asserted no differently than in the way that Samson exerted himself when he killed that great number of people with a jawbone.² Slaying of this sort [results from] a judgment of God. And [the same applies to] anyone who has the faith of Samson. There are many of those in whom God has wanted | 249 | to perfect their strength upon earth. But this is not [always] necessary.

Even though faith would enable us to chase devils and spirits and cast mountains into the sea employing that same strength, nevertheless we should not [seek to] do so: we should believe and let our faith suffice. Samson believed, and for this reason it came to pass. It was necessary. And if even now there were the same need, there would be more Samsons in the world. But we should simply believe the Scriptures and the *Evangelium* and thereby know that we would be capable of this, and not behave in accordance with the measure of the one who

¹ Despite the apparent extravagance of his speculations, P. is within the bounds of scriptural precedent, as the Epistle of James (Jas 2:19) states, “**Even the demons believe**—and shudder” (Luther: “Die Teufel gleubens auch vnd zittern”).

² **Kinnbacken**, *maxilla* (Grimm), refers to Judg 15:14-15, “...the spirit of the Lord rushed on him, and the ropes that were on his arms became like flax that has caught fire, and his bonds melted off his hands. Then he found a fresh jawbone of a donkey...and with it he killed a thousand [Philistine] men.”

jenige thet/ der das eine Auge außgrub/ auff das es jhn nicht ärgerte. Was wir glauben das darff der werck nicht: Dann der/ der den wercken zueilt/ der eilet vom glauben/ vnnd begert zu der verdamnuß. Dann Gott hats nicht darumb geredt/ das wirs sollen begeren zu beschehen/ sondern das wirs wissen/ in was krafft der Glaube in vns standt: Vnnd darbey vns der geschichten viel bewiesen/ durch die Alten im alten Testament: Auch durch die Newen im neuen Testament/ durch die er die krafft des glaubens eröffnet hatt. Vnnd wiewol wir im fleisch wandeln auff Erden/ so ist doch der Glaube so groß/ den wir haben in den Schöpffer aller dingen/ das es niemandt außzusprechen ist: Vnnd wirt niemandt genommen/ dann dem/ der jhn selbest hinwirfft. Darumb so wircket er in zwey wege: In den guten Menschen zu guten dingen: In den bösen Menschen zu bösen dingen. Von denen in guten dingen ist nichts zu schreiben: Von denen aber in bösen dingen/ das merckend hernach.

So wir nuhn als ein glauben haben/ vnd fallen mit jhm zu bösen dingen/ dz die Heylig Geschrift nach jhrem Teutschen heist/ Versuchen: Dann do versuchen wir Gott/ vnd wöllen den glauben dahin brauchen/ dahin er nit geben ist. Wir wöllen jhn also probieren/ ob er also sey oder nit/ vnd wir sollen nit versuchen. Wir sollen aber glauben/ als wers versucht/ vnnd die werck der wörter nit ansehen/ so bleiben wir rein im glauben. Nuhn ist es sonderlichen ein Gebet gegen Gott: Fuere vns nit in versuchung/ das ist/ verheng vns die versuchung nit. Denn wem seines versuchens begeren volg geschicht von | 250 | Gott/ der hab acht auff sein Seel. Darumb was nit geschicht/ vnd sein füngang nicht hat/ ist ein erlösung vorm^a vbel. Dann Gott last auch die Geist jhren willen nit volbringen/ dann es blibe kein werck in seiner statt nicht: Noch nichts desto minder vermügen sie es/ vnd wir auch. Wir vermögen auch alle Berg vnnd Bühel ab der strassen zu thun/

^a Sudhoff (264): “vom”; V (290) matches Huser: “vorm.”

plucks out his eye because it offends him.¹ What we believe is not in need of works. For whoever rushes to find works rushes away from faith and covets damnation. For God has not spoken in the sense that we should long for things to happen, but rather that we should know in what sort of power the faith within us stands. There are many accounts that prove this by the ancients of the Old Testament and also by the more recent ones in the New Testament, through whom [God] has revealed the power of faith. And even though we walk [embodied] in the flesh upon the earth, so great is the faith we have in the Creator of all things that no one can express it; moreover, it is taken away from no one except from him who casts it away of himself. This is why it acts in two ways: in good human beings for good things; in evil human beings for evil things. About the good nothing need be written here. However, about the evil ones, take note of what follows here.

If we have a faith and fall into evil affairs with it, which the Holy Scripture refers to in German as “temptation,”² then we are tempting God; and we are attempting to use faith for purposes for which it has not been given. We are trying it out in such a way as if to see whether it is real or not; and yet we should not be tempting in this way. We should, however, believe as if it had been attempted [and thereby proved], and not pay heed to the works of words. Under those circumstances, we remain pure in our faith. Now of course this is the special prayer to God: Lead us not into temptation.³ This means, do not direct temptation toward us. For whoever has the desire of his temptation brought about by | 250 | God should watch out for his soul. For this reason, that which does not happen and has no issuance represents a deliverance from evil. For God does not allow the spirits to accomplish their will either; for then no work would remain in his place.⁴ Nevertheless, they have a capacity of this kind and so do we. We are capable of moving all mountains and hills from the roadway and

¹ Mt 5:29, “If your right **eye** causes you to sin, **tear it out** and throw it away; it is better for you to lose one of your members than for your whole body to be thrown into hell.” (Luther: “Ergert dich aber dein rechts Auge/ So reis es aus/ vnd wirffs von dir. Es ist dir besser/ das eins deiner Gelied verderbe/ vnd nicht der gantze Leib in die Helle geworffen werde.”)

² See Grimm, **versuchen**: anfechten, *tentare*.

³ Mt 6:13, in the Luther version: “Vnd füre vns nicht in Versuchung. Sondern erlöse vns von dem vbel”: “**Lead us not into temptation**, but deliver us from evil.”

⁴ If the spirits could do with the work of creation as they choose, it could not represent God visibly.

vnd eben zu wandeln/ es geschicht aber nicht: Dann Gott wil sie da haben stehen/ Gott geb du gangest wie du wollest.^a Zu gleicher weiß wie ein Zimmermann/ der kan ein Hauß bawen/ vnnnd vermags zu bawen/ kans vnd weißts/ auff ein Wiesen oder Matten: So fern vnnnd jhms derselbige Herr auch vergünne/ so geschichts vnd sonst nicht. Also ist das ein puncten im mißbrauchen der krefft des Glaubens.

Wie der Glaube den Leib kranck macht.^b

Nvhn was ist es aber das ich die ding erzehl/ so ich doch noch nicht angriffen hab/ dahin mein fürnemen ist/ wie es geschehe/ das der Glaub den leib kranck mache. Dann bißher hab ich allein tractiert/ die krefft vnd stercke des glaubens: Jetzt aber von einem andern puncten des mißbrauchens/ vnnnd ist also. Zu gleicher weiß wie ein Artzt/ der hat vnder jhm die guten artzney: Darnach er ist/ darnach mag er mit handeln: Er mag dem krancken damit helffen/ er mag jhn auch damit tödten. Dann kan er Melissen eingeben zur gsundheit/ so kan er auch Arsenic eingeben zum todt. Wie ist aber diß zuuerstehn? das nicht anders/ dann das wir mügendt durch vnsers glaubens krefft guts oder böses würcken wir Menschen gegen einandern/ so anderst der Herr seim Zimmermann sein willen last. So ist vnser glaub nit anders dann wie eins werckmanns Instrument: Derselbig werckmann der schmidt ein Messer/ damit er sein nechsten schlag/ vnd letze jhm sein leib/ vnnnd ohn Messer vnd dergleichen kan er jhn nit hawen. Also in der gleichnus/ verstandt auch/ so wir den Glauben mißbrauchen wöllen/ vnd fallen von dem/ darumb er vns | 251 | geben ist/ vnd legen vnsers glaubens krafft in ein falschen weg/ vnd entrinnen vom rechten/ vnd glauben das sey das/ das/ das: Jetzt dieser falsch mißbrauch auß den

^a Sudhoff (264): “wöllest”; V (290) matches Huser: “wollest.”

^b P.’s fascinating interest in the relationship of **faith** or imagination to illness and health was anticipated in his eight-book work on the origin of *Franzosen* (1529). Many have been made sick and many well “durch den glauben der imagination” (S 7:330). Faith and imagination cause diseases to become incurable. This has implications for the miracles attributed to saints. Christ himself stated that one can be healed by one’s faith—a statement that bears broader implications (331). Yet there is a distinction between “dem glauben und der imaginirung. die ein imaginatio ist leiblich, die ander himelisch.” Faith is a heavenly imagination. This distinguishes the agency of either kind, as physical in the first instance and as founded upon Christian love and hope in the second: “der in Christum imaginirt, des grund und fulment muß liebe und hofnung in in sein. also durch Christum wird er also gesund” (331). Sudhoff (265): “krank mache”; V (290) has no such subtitle.

walking on level ground; but this will not happen. For God wants them there. God grants you should go forward as you like. It is the same as with a carpenter: he is capable of building a house, and he has the capacity to do so and knows how on a pasture or meadow: [but] only to the degree that the master of that place allows him to; otherwise it should not happen. That is one point about the misuse of the powers of faith.

How Faith Makes the Body Ill.¹

But here I find myself telling about these things, though I have not yet come to my proposed theme of how it happens that faith can make the body ill. For until now I have treated of the powers and strengths of faith: [But] now I intend to come to another point, that of the abuse. It is like this. Imagine a physician. He has at his disposal good medications. In accordance with his character, he will apply himself with these. He can either help the patient with the medications or he can use them to kill the patient. He can apply the balm of *melissa officinalis*² to bring about health or he can administer arsenic to cause death. So how is the present illustration to be understood? It means nothing less than that we human beings, through the power of our faith, are capable of effecting good or evil in someone else. It is as if the master were to allow the carpenter to have his will. Thus our faith is no different from the instrument of a craftsman. The same craftsman might forge a knife to slay his neighbor and wound his body, whereby without the knife he would be unable to strike at him. You should understand in terms of this likeness that if we abuse faith and fall away from the purpose | 251 | for which it has been given to us, and apply the power of our faith toward false purposes, and depart from the true one; and if we willfully believe this is so or that is so, then under these

¹ Cf. note on *imagination* on H 1:221.

² On *melissa*, “beebalm,” see H 2:27; 2:40.

krefften vnsers glaubens/ macht er/ das wir sagen/ er sey das/ vnnd schmidet das waffen/ daß das gemacht werdt/ das wir glauben/ es sey es.

Also wissen weiter/ das wir dasselbig geschmidt ding/ das leiblich sunst ein waffen heist/ woll mügendt heissen ein Geist. Dann ein Geist mag ohn hend vnd füß/ thun was ein mensch thut: darumb so dz auch also wircket/ so ist es jhm nit vngleich. Nuhn aber ein kurtze vnter- richtung zu geben von dieser schmidung/ das der Glaub haben will ein solche ordnung: Wann wir haben ein kranckheit im land/ vnd fallen drauff/ es sey ein Buß/ Rach oder Plag/ so ist es dann. Vnd wiewol es natürlich ist/ so macht sie doch der glaub vnnatürlich/ vnnd bringt sie dahin/ das nach den natürlichen zeichen sich niemandts drauß erinnern kan/ vnd machts also/ das all natürlich hülff da verloren seindt: Darzu bringts das waffen/ das der Glaub schmidet. Dann können wir guts thun/ so können wir auch args dardurch thun. Vnd wie der Berg in das Meer geworffen wirdt/ also wirt auch hie des glaubens gewechs eingeworffen. Dann der Glaub vermag in jhm selbst alle geschlecht der Kreutter zu machen/ ein vnsichtbare Nessel/ ein vnsichtbar Schöllkraut/ ein vnsichtbar Trioll:^a Vnd also ein jedlich ding das in der Irdischen Natur wachst/ das vermag auch die sterck des glaubens zu bringen: Also vermag auch der Glaub alle kranckheiten zu machen. Aber in dem hatt es ein jrrung/ vnnd ein hinterstellung/ das Gott krafft vnnd macht gibt/ so ferr aber/ das niemandt^b gebrauch. Wir haben macht/ einandern zuerstechen/ vnnd viel vbels einandern zu beweisen/ wir sollens aber nicht thun: Also vermags auch der Glaub in

^a **Schöllkraut** is cited in a balsam for treating wounds (S 10:108); typically it is one of several ingredients; and **Nesseln** are acerbic, “was beißt wie pfeffer” (S 4:104); they can be applied directly to limbs suffering from “schwinen” or wasting away (S 5:354); they embody the “hiz urticae” of other similar herbs (S 2:240; cf. H 1:95). P.’s *Von der Bergsucht und anderen Bergkrankheiten* mentions the **trollenblum** (S 9:523); V (290) “schelkraut...triol.”

^b Sudhoff (266): “so ferr aber niemants gebrauch.”

conditions the abuse arising from the powers of faith will result in our effecting what we say should happen. It will forge the weapon that brings about that which we believe should be so.

Next you should be aware that this same forged object, which physical art calls a weapon, might properly be called a spirit. For without hands and feet a spirit can perform what is done by a human being. The reason that it can act in this way is that it is like one. But now we need a brief explanation of this forging, [which occurs because] faith wants a certain order of things to come about. When we know of a certain disease in a particular country and conclude that it is a [matter of] penance, vengeance, or plague, then the truth of the matter is as follows. Even though this lies [in the realm of the] natural, faith makes it into something [that operates in the realm of the] non-natural. A state of affairs comes about in which no one can recollect anything about it using natural signs. The result is that all natural help seems lost. What then results is that weapon that is forged by faith. If we are able to bring about good through [faith], we can also bring about evil through it. Just as the mountain was cast into the sea, that which grows out of faith is here thrust into [our affairs]. For faith in itself is capable of producing [the effect of] every kind of herb: an invisible nettle, an invisible celandine (**Schöllkraut**),¹ [or] an invisible globe-flower (**Trioll**).² Thus every sort of thing that grows in earthly nature may likewise produce the strengths of faith. In the same way faith can cause all diseases. Nonetheless, it would be an error and a false supposition to think that God gives [us] this force and power and that no one uses it in this way. We indeed have the power to stab one another to death and to prove that we can do much harm to one another, but we should [still] not do such things. The same thing applies

¹ On **Schöllkraut** (*celidonium*), see note on “Chelidonia” (H 2:41). Relevant here beyond other medicinal and magical applications is the association of “celandine” (OED) with the swallow that conferred sight on a blind youth by bringing him this herb, a symbol of Christ’s healing of spiritual blindness (LCK; cf. HDA, “Schellkraut”). Brunfels, claiming as his sources Theophrastus and Pliny, writes: “das es die schwalben auch brauchen/ iren jungen die augen damit vffzûthûn. Dahör man von erst abgenomen/ vnd ermessen/ das es auch der menschen augen sol dyenstlich sein” (cxxxii). Cf. Med² (clxxi verso): “Von der tugend der quinta essentia... von dem krut Celidonia” (the latter is vital to the former yet here more of a panacea).

² Aschner interprets **Trioll** as “Trollblume.” Wahrig defines this as a yellow flower of the buttercup family found in mountainous regions: *trollius europaeus*. Marzell notes a traditional association with pilgrimages to Einsiedeln, P.’s birthplace. However, it is not clear by when the association was valid.

seinen krefften. Dann die leiblichen ding geben beyspiel/ wie sie in vermügen seindt/ vielerley guets/ auch vielerley böß zuthund.^a Also vermags auch der Glaub in seinen krefften. Dann wir werden gleich den Geisten/ denen die ding all müglich seindt/ vnsichtlich zu thun/ das der leib sichtlich thuet. | 252 |

Wie also erzehlt ist/ das vns der glaub auß vns selbst nicht genommen wirdt/ vnd gibt ein Instrument/ das wie ein jedlich waffen geschickt ist. Vnnd in was weg die Erdt den menschen mag verletzen/ in denselbigen weg mag sie jhn auch vergiffen: Vnnd alles auß der krafft des glaubens: Durch den Glauben/ durch den wir den Berg ins Meer werffen. Dann es wer ein schedlich werffen/ den Berg in das Meer sencken: Aber so wir mißbrauchen den glauben/ vnnd glauben dahin/ das vnserm nechsten zu argem erschist/ so geschichts also. Durch vnsern ernstlichen glauben werden die leut zu todt gebetten/ Krumb vnnd Lahm: Natürlich krankheit werden verkert in vnna-türlich: Vnd wo solche Aberglauben in eim land sind/ do geth es dem Artzt gleich wie *Christo* in seim Vatterland/ der mocht nicht viel zeichen im selbigen volbringen: Dann sie glaubten nicht/ wie der glaub jnnenhielt/ sondern sie glaubten einandern vnglückhafft/ dabey ließ ers auch bleiben. Dann Gott will/ dz wir im rechten glauben wandeln: Vnnd so wir im rechten glauben wandeln/ so mögen wir vns selbst gesundt glauben/ das aber Gott nicht will: Sondern will/ das wir den glauben jnwendig tragen vnnd glauben die möglichkeit in vns zusein/ vnnd den eussern augen sollen wirs nicht zeigen. Vnnd darumb/ das ers heimlich will haben/ das ist/ im glauben/ vnnd nicht probiert: Darumb seindt vns die artzney beschaffen/ die sollen die werck Göttlicher liebe erzeugen gegen vns/ vnnd den glauben mit den wercken lassen ruwen/ durch den wir doch wol möchten mit trucknem fuß durch das Wasser gehn. Warumb aber Gott verhengt das wir durch des glaubens krafft einandern zu krankheiten bringen/ vnd mit dem Aberglauben ein anden krank vnd gesundt machen/ das vrtheil Gott.

^a Sudhoff (266): “zu tun”; V (291): “villerlei boß zu thundt.”

to the powers of faith. Physical things offer us examples of the way in which the same things are capable of causing all sorts of good or all sorts of harm. It is precisely the same with the powers of faith. For we become [by way of faith] just like those spirits to which all things are possible and that can do the things invisibly which the body does visibly. | 252 |

As has been explained, faith is something that does not stem from us. It yields an instrument which is comparable to any other weapon. In the same ways that the earth can wound the human being, it can also poison him. All of this comes about by the power of faith—by virtue of that same faith by means of which we [could] cast mountains into the sea. For that might be a harmful sort of casting, to submerge a mountain in the sea. And if we should abuse faith, and our faith should be directed to the purpose that harm should befall our neighbor, then it will happen precisely that way. By virtue of our intense faith, people can be put to death by prayer, [or made] crippled and lame. Natural diseases are perverted into unnatural ones. When such superstitions abound in a country, what the physician encounters is like that which *Christus* experienced in his own fatherland:¹ He did not want to effect very many signs in such a place. For their belief was not the sort of faith that remains in itself. Rather, they believed in such a way as to make one another ill-fated. He let it remain that way. For God wants us to proceed with the true faith. If we do proceed that way, we are capable of making ourselves healthy by believing, but even this is not what God intends. Rather, he wants us bear the faith within us and to believe that the possibility lies within us, but not that we have to exhibit it outwardly to the eyes. And because he does want to have it held in mystery, by which I mean in faith, and not tested out, for this very reason medications have been created for us. These should bear out the works of divine love toward us, letting faith rest alone with its works of the kind that would allow us to walk on water without getting our feet wet. As to why God has ordained that by means of faith we should be able to cause diseases in one another, to cause illness and health with such superstition, that is for God to judge.

¹ Echoes Jesus' words in Lk 4:24, [following Luther] "Kein Prophet ist angenehm in seinem Vaterlande."

Vnterscheid des Glaubens.

Nvhn aber das der glaub wol gescheiden werdt/ so ist es nicht der Glaub in *Christum*, dz ist/ der selig macht/ sondern es ist allein der angeboren glaub den wir haben in Gott | 253 | den Vatter. Darumb so ist der Glaub/ durch den wir selig werden/ hie nit begriffen: es ist auch vom selbigen glauben bißher nichts gehandelt worden/ dann derselbig Glaub geht auß *Christo*, vnd wieder in jhn. Dann er meldet nit/ das so wir in jhn glauben/ sich die Berg in das Meer sollend sencken: Sonder das meldt er/ so wir in jhn glauben/ dz wir durch ihn selig werden. *Christus* selbs/ als ein Sohn Gottes/ hatt er niemandt von Kranckheiten oder vom Tod erlößt: darumb er aber gsein ist die ander Person in der Gottheit/ durch derselbigen krafft hatt ers gethan. Als er auff Erden gangen ist/ da ist sein Ampt nicht anders gsein/ dann vns erlösen vom Teuffel/ der Erden vnd der Hellen: Damit er aber dem gemeinen Volck die sich der Geschriff/ noch anderer gezeugnus/ nit gleubig machen wolten/ demselbigen hatt er die zeichen vnnnd die werck geoffenbaret/ die niemandt vermocht hat/ dann allein Gott: auff daß sie sehen vnd glaubten durch die wercke/ das er wer der Son Gottes. Nuhn merckend aber hiebey/ wie sich das gsund machen scheidet. So *Christus* gsund machet/ oder in seinem Nammen/ die werden durch die krafft Gottes gesundt/ vnnnd durch jhren eignen glauben nicht: sonder durch jhr bitt vnd betten/ so gegen *Christo* geschehen ist/ haben sie die barmhertzigkeit *Christi* erbetten/ das er sie durch dieselbe barmhertzigkeit erlößt hat/ von der kranckheit vnd gebresten.

Warumb sag ich aber das? ich will/ das jhr hierdurch verstanden/ daß die jenigen/ die durch dergleichen bitt vnnnd erbetten/ vnd durch die Barmhertzigkeit *Christi*, nit gsund werden/ vnd werden doch wunderbarlich gesund/ das dieselbigen durch jhren eigenen glauben sich gesundt glauben. Von dieser gesundwerdung ist mein fürnemmen: dann wir sollen durch unsern Glauben nicht gesund werden/ sonder durch Göttliche Barmhertzigkeit. Dann zu gleicher weiß/ wir mögen keinen blinden gebornen gsehend glauben/ vnnnd keinen gestorbenen Menschen lebendig glauben: aber durch bitt die Barmhertzigkeit

Discernment of Faith.¹

But now the faith must be distinguished: it is not a matter of the faith in *Christus* that saves, but rather a matter of the innate faith which we have in God | 253 | the Father. Accordingly, the faith by which we are saved is not encompassed here; for that particular faith proceeds from *Christus* and also returns to him. For he does not announce that if we believe in him, the mountains will sink into the sea. Rather, he declares that if we believe in him, we will be saved. *Christus* personally, as a Son of God, has not redeemed anyone from illness or death. It is because he was the second person in the divinity, only by virtue of that power could he effect such things. When he walked upon the earth, his office was none other than to save us from the devil, [the devil] of the earth and of Hell. But for the purpose of bringing the common folk to faith, who would not believe based on Scripture or any other testimony, he revealed to them things and works which no one other than God could have effected; [he did so] in order that they should see and believe by virtue of these works that he was [indeed] the Son of God. However, you should take note of the difference in this healing: those who were healed by *Christus* or through his name were made healthy by the power of God. Not by the power of their own faith, but rather by their requests and prayers directed toward *Christus* did they obtain the mercy of *Christus*. Thus did he save them by means of that same mercy from their disease and their frailty.

But why am I stating this? What I have in mind is that you should understand from this account that those who are not restored to health by prayer and supplication of that kind, [that is] not through the mercy of *Christus*, yet are still miraculously restored to health, have believed themselves into health by means of their own faith. My purpose is to write about this restoration of health. For we should not be made healthy by our own faith, but rather by virtue of the divine mercy. For in the same way that we cannot make someone who was born blind seeing by means of belief, nor restore to life any deceased human being, but rather we can [only] attain the mercy of God through prayer

¹ Given a context having to do with spirits and supernatural effects, this heading evokes the late-medieval theological discussion carried on by Jean Gerson, Heinrich von Langenstein, Jean Ruysbroek, Thomas à Kempis, and others on the problem of the *discretio spirituum*, or the **discernment** of godly from diabolical inspirations or effects of the spirit (cf. DSAM, “Discernement des Esprits”). Here the criterion of true faith in Jesus is the proper discernment of spirits.

Gottes erlangen/ das solches geschicht. Wo wir aber vnsern Glauben gebrauchen/ blos den Berg in dz Meer zuwerfffen/ vnd ein Geist in vns erheben: Jetzt fallen wir in die Hoffart/ darinnen wir das bitten vnd erlangen der Barmhertzig| 254 |keit außschlagen/ vnnd achten vns selber für Götter/ vnnd brauchen vnser Glaubens krafft vnnd gwalt/ glauben einander Lahm/ vnd vnglückhafftig: darinn vns Gott verhenckt/ das wir vnser gwalts vom Glauben/ krafft vnnd macht sehen/ das wir vns selbs kranck glauben/ vnnd gsund glauben: das nach rechtem teütschen allein ein verzweiffelt leben heist: vergessen hierin vnser Gottes/ vnd seiner Barmhertzigkeit/ vnnd leben in vnserem eignen boch vnnd trotz/ die vns in verzweiffung führen.

Nun wissen weiter/ daß die kranckheiten/ so jetzt in der gantzen Welt gemein sind/ im anfang der Welt je eine der andern nach gesprungen ist/ darumb sie frembd vnd seltsam dem Volck erschienen sind/ vnd auß der frembde vnnd seltsame vermeinten/ es wer ein Plag vnd straff:^a haben also in solchem angerüfft^b die sonderlichsten vnnd fürtreffentlichsten angenemesten Männer vnder jhnen/ vor diesen Plagen zusein: darumb sie dann in mißglauben gefallen sind/ vnd nicht betracht/ das ein jetliche plag/ durch ander weg muß genommen werden. Vnd also ist der Glaub mißbraucht worden/ welchs mißbrauchens die Egyptier die gewaltigsten gsein sind: vnd also bey den Heiden auch erwachsen/ vnd jhr Abgötterey^c auffgericht: so lang also

^a Despite the implication of error, P. believed that plagues, as in the Bible, could be a divine punishment. In the *Volumen Paramirum (Entien-Schrift)*, the fifth *ens (ens Dei)* is also referred to as “das flagellum” (S 1:226), indicating a “scourge” of God.

^b Sudhoff (268): “angeruft”; V (292): “angeruefft.”

^c For P. idolatry, “**abgötterei**,” is not merely false worship but attribution of the objects of Christian faith to the pagan natural realm: Christ as the “*filius solis*”; or it is alchemy without scriptural truth (S 14:219, 228).

so these things happen. Whenever we make use of our own faith for the purpose of casting the mountain, as it were, into the sea and thereby exalting a spirit in ourselves, we thereby descend into a [sinful state of] pride in which prayer and the attainment of mercy | 254 | are rejected. We [thereby] regard ourselves as gods and apply the power and force of our faith in order to make one another lame and unfortunate. In such matters, God ordains that we should regard the power and authority of our faith, its power to believe ourselves into being sick or well, as what is called in proper German a desperate life. [Thereby we] forget about our God and his mercy and live instead in our own arrogance and defiance, which leads us to despair.¹

Now beyond this you should be aware that the diseases which are now common in the entire world, [began to] emerge in the beginning of the world one after the other. Because of this emergence, they appeared foreign and strange to people. Because of their foreignness, [people formed the opinion] that it was a pestilence and punishment.² They consulted in the matter with their most select and excellent men [as to what should be done] against these pestilences. As a result, they descended into false beliefs and failed to observe that every pestilence must be responded to in a different way. In this sense, [their] faith was abused. The Egyptians were chief among the abusers of faith; and thus [false faith] grew stronger among the heathen peoples as they exalted their idolatry. This belief and abuse of faith lasted until *Aesculapius*

¹ See Grimm, *verzweifeln* (C, 2c, α): in the 16th century, to call someone “desperate” expresses moral revulsion at their lack of faith.

² In translating this difficult passage, it was helpful to consult Aschner’s valuable interpretation, though he appears to emphasize the naturalistic geographic spread of epidemic disease at the expense of a successive emergence, rooted in history as biblical revelation.

geglaubt vnd mißglaubt/ biß *Aesculapius* vnd *Machaon*^a kommen sind gsein/ die sich der Artzney vnd natürliches lauffs so hefftig beladen haben/ vnd befunden/ dz natürliche krankheiten gsein sind/ vnd sie in die Bücher geschrieben/ vnd geoffenbaret/ wie die Natur da arbeite/ vnnnd nicht die plage der straff: vnnnd also den falschen Glauben/ der vbel gebraucht ist worden/ gestilt/ wie dann solche ding noch dem Artzet zu stehet zu verkünden. Aber vnangesehen diß alles/ ist es vnder die Christen auch gewurtzelt: vnd wie die Heiden Apollinische^b Pfaffen gehabt haben/ sind durch solche Pfaffen die Nammen verkert worden/ vnnnd Antonisten/ Wolffgangisten/^c für Apollinisten worden: vnnnd also im glauben gehandelt/ den Berg in das Meer geworffen/ vnd alle Barmhertzigkeit vnnnd erbittnuß gegen Gott vergessen/ allein was von des guten scheins wegen geschehen ist.

Nun aber/ wie es jetzt vorhanden ligt/ so werffen wir einan-
| 255 | der den Berg in den Schenckel/ in Bauch/ vnnnd dergleichen: vnd

^a The *Spital-Buch* (1529) contrasts P.'s true medicine, associated with fire as alchemical art, recognition of the changing nature of disease and medicine, and God's dispensation of healing powers in herbs, with the false medicine of rigid and outmoded *regimina*, simplistic humoral theory, and empty Galenic speculation. Along with Hippocrates, **Aesculapius** and **Machaon** rank in the positive tradition which drew its sources "aus der gabalien" before the latter degenerated into "irrung gabalistica." The former tradition is our only access to a knowledge of the invisible: "dan außerthalb diser religion ist kein erfarenheit nie entsprungen, noch nie kein wissen aufgestanden, der unsichtbaren dingen zu erkennen. pfu dich Plini, Dioscorides, ir abcontrafeter" (S 7:398; cf. 394ff.). This true tradition was then counterfeited. P.'s estimation of nearly all precursors varies and rarely shuns the negative, but here and elsewhere the true ancient tradition is said to stem directly from God and to distinguish itself by recognizing the miraculous: "dieweil got den geist der arzney durch Apollinem, durch Machaonem, Podalirium und Hippocratem hat grüntlich lassen angefangen werden und das liecht der natur on einen befinsterten geist wirken hat lassen und treffenlich wunderbarlich große werk, große magnalia, große miracula aus den mysteriis, elixiriis, arcanis und essentiis der natur vollent seind worden..." (S 11:125). Unfortunately, the devil sowed weeds among this good seed.

^b As above (cf. S 11:125) and in other proclamations, **Apollo** remains the mythic embodiment of a pristine medicine whose "stul Appollinis" false followers have usurped (S 10:316; cf. 4:3-4). *Astronomia Magna* integrates the status of Apollo by identifying him with a celestial teacher of medicine, not God, yet a higher principle of authority from which one learns "adepta medicina," just as Paul learned from the divine source how to become a "theologus adeptus" (S 12:188-91): "also ist Apollo das firmament" (189).

^c Here begins P.'s quarrel with a popular custom of ascribing to **saints** both particular healing powers and motives of vengeance ("rach") against the living, against whom they harbor grudges (see S 6:146; 14:294).

and *Machaon*¹ came along. They took up medicine and the natural course of things so intensively that they discovered that these were natural diseases. They wrote books about it and revealed [to their fellows] how nature operated, and that it was not a matter of the pestilence as punishment. In this way, they silenced that false belief which had been sorely abused, a clarification that the physician is still obliged to publish. And yet notwithstanding all of this, [this belief] is [still] deeply rooted among Christians. In the same way that the heathens had their priests of Apollo, our own priests have perverted the names [of the saints] and replaced the Apollonian² ones with “Antonists”³ and “Wolfgangists;”⁴ and in this way, acting in [the name of] faith, they have cast the mountain into the sea and forgotten all about mercy and supplication to God, all except that which is done for the sake of appearances.

However, as these matters stand now, we actually throw | 255 | the mountain at one another, striking at the thigh, the belly, and so on; and

¹ Aesculapius is **Asclepius**, the great physician who became a god of medicine; **Machaon** his son (Zedler).

² It is relevant to P.’s subsequent assertion that signs associated with the saints were manifest even before Christ; and in addition to the god **Apollo** of pagan medicine, the Christian Saint Apollonia was associated with medicine as a patron of dentists and those suffering toothache.

³ See LMA, **Antonius** der Eremit: Since it was the role of St. Anthony to care for pilgrims, not least those suffering from the “holy fire” (later: St. Anthony’s fire, i.e. ergotism, the toxic condition caused by eating grain infected with the ergot fungus), his association with healing was strong and susceptible to the sort of superstitious abuse described by Johan Huizinga in *The Waning of the Middle Ages*.

⁴ St. **Wolfgang** was a 10th-century missionary and bishop, patron of forest workers and carpenters, whose symbol is the axe (BROCK, LNH). One site of his activity was at Einsiedeln, where P.’s physician father competed for the business of the suffering pilgrims against the healing powers ascribed to the saints. This may have intensified P.’s aversion to the abuse of faith in the healing power associated with St. Wolfgang.

ist nienen kein glied in vns/ das sicher vor dem Berg sey/ vnd nienen kein kranckheit/ der Berg muß auch hinein. Darumb die kranckheiten vnnatürlichen werden. Was nun den Berg in dz Meer glaubt hat/ das muß jhn wider hinauß glauben/ an sein statt: das ist die Kunst vnnnd Artzney in diesen kranckheiten.

Nuhn ist von nöhten/ das ein Aberglaub auß dem mißbrauch des Glaubens entstand: vnnnd dieweil wir den Berg werffen/ so müssen wir mit Bergen handeln: Das ist/ die Heiligen machen wir zu Bergen/ vnd werffen einandern mit denselben. Nuhn mögen wir die Heiligen nicht ab statt werffen: der Glaub aber schnitzlet vns Heiligen/ vnd auß seiner krafft wirfft ers in das Meer dahin wir glauben. Vnnnd also wie der Glaub die Heiligen schnitzlet vnd abcontrafeyt/ vnnnd dieselbigen Abcontrafeytung vnd schnitzlung/ schnitzlet vnd abcontrafeyt dieselbigen auch ab/ so die Heiligen in das Meer werffen/ darauß werden die höltzine Bilder. Vnnnd wie der Leib sein Fantasey damit braucht vnd spilt/ also possiert der Glaub auch/ vnnnd macht ein Geistgötzen darauß/ auß desselbigen Geistheiligen krafft. Wirdt eben in vns geworffen/ als wenn du Sanct Dionysius Kopff nemest/ oder Sanct Catharina Raht/ oder Sanct Wolffgangs Hecklein/^a vnnnd würffsts eim Bawren ins gefreß. Also wenn solche Heiligen die kranckheit vnnatürlich machen/ so ist es gerad dieselbigen gattung: dann der Leib/ vnd desselbigen Geist im glauben/ rennen alle mal neben einandern/ vnd ist eins eben als gut als das ander.

Wer will also das widerreden/ dieweil die stercke/ die vns Gott in den jrrdischen Leib geben hatt/ gebraucht wirt zu solchen höltzenen Göttern/ das nicht auch die stercke des Glaubens/ welche der vnsicht-

^a P. displays no other interest in these saints; they are for him merely tokens of an abused faith. Sudhoff (270) writes “sant,” lower case, for all three.

there is nary an organ within us that is safe from the mountain and nary a single disease against which the mountain is not cast. For this reason, the diseases are becoming less and less natural. The process by which belief cast the mountain into the sea must be reversed. The mountain must come back out of the sea and to its proper place. That will give us the [true] art and medicine to apply to these diseases.

Now it is also unavoidable that a superstition must arise from the abuse of faith. Since we have begun to toss around mountains, we must also begin to treat of mountains. We transform the saints into the mountains and toss them at one another. Now it is a fact that we cannot remove the saints from their places.¹ However, belief whittles saints [as idols] for us and with its power belief casts these into the sea as directed by our beliefs. Just as belief carves out and counterfeits the saints, this same counterfeiting and carving is in turn fashioned in such a way that it casts the saints into the sea. From this result the wooden images [of the saints]. And in the same way that the body utilizes and exercises its imagination doing these things, belief does likewise and turns out a spirit idol with a force that proceeds from the spirit-saint. This is then cast at us in the way that you take up the head of St. Denis,² the wheel of St. Catherine,³ or the hatchet of St. Wolfgang⁴ and thrown it into a peasant's face. When saints of this kind render the disease unnatural, we have the same sort of phenomenon; for the body and the body's spirit in [its] belief run parallel to one another and cooperate, and the one works as does the other.

Who would want to deny this—given that the strength that God has implanted in our earthly body is used for [the purpose of] this kind of wooden gods—that the strength of belief which is the invisible human

¹ In expressing these criticisms of **the cult of the saints** and the supernatural powers ascribed to them, P. is echoing a familiar contemporary discourse, voiced by Protestant Reformers, or Agrippa von Nettesheim's *De Occulta Philosophia* (1531, 1533). P. did not doubt the existence of spiritually gifted human beings summoned by God to support their fellow Christians in need. P. compared true saints to the physician and false saints to "malefici" or evil-doers (Biegger 27). See also OER, Franz Courth, "Saints: Sainthood" and Robert Scribner, "Saints: Cult of the Saints," on the place of this theme in the Reformation.

² Denis or **Dionysius** was the patron saint of Paris who died a martyr's death at Montmartre. Even outside of France, he was revered as a helper in illness or need. Typically portrayed holding his own severed head, he exercised a healing power over headaches (LCK).

³ The broken wheel is the traditional symbol of **St. Catherine** (LCK).

⁴ On the "hatchet" of **St. Wolfgang**, see note on H 1:254.

bar Mensch ist/ zu solchen Göttern auch solte brauchen? Denn was der Leib anzeigt vnd thut/ dasselbig thut der Glaub gleich als wol. Darumb so wissen auff das/ wo solcher Heiligen krankheit sind/ oder gsumdmachung/ dz sie nit der Teuffel thut/ sondern wir selbst: Er aber hatt des ein | 256 | freüd vnd wollust. Dann ein mal so vermag der Glaub/ daß der Leib vermag: Auß der Büchsen den nechsten zu erschiesen/ das vermag auch der Glaub/ baß/ denn der Leib. Vnd laß dir das Exempel ein vnderricht sein: du bist sichtbar vnd leiblich: nun ist noch einer/ der du auch bist/ der nicht sichtbar ist: was nun dein leib thut/ das thut der ander auch: du sichtbar/ der ander vnsichtbar. Also wiß vom Glauben/ das in der gestalt die Bilder^a jhren vrsprung genommen haben/ also daß der Mensch ein Wächsisch Bild gemacht hatt/ in nammen seins feindts/ vnnd dasselbig an seim leib geletzt: Also hat der vnsichbare also vnsichtbar sein rechten feind geletzt. Das Gott solchs aber verhenckt hatt/ ist ein zeichen/ das wirs vermögen/ vnnd ein ansehen/ wer wir sind. Nit aber das wir es thun sollen: der es aber thut/ der probiert vnd versucht Gott: wirt es aber verhenckt/ wee seiner Seel. In solcher art/ vnd auß dem grund practiciren die Bilderzauberer/ mahlen ein Bild an ein Wand/ schlahnd ein Nagel dardurch: das thut auch derselbig jhr Geist/ auß krafft deß Glaubens/ der die Berg wirfft/ vnd schlecht ein vnsichtbaren nagel durch dasselb/ allein es wendts denn Gott. Denn also sind auch die Buler entstanden/ so zaubert haben die Frawen/ Wäch sine Bilder gemacht/ vnnd mit liechtern zum schmelzen getrieben/ vnd also die bulschafft vollbracht: das ist/ das jhr Geist mit dem vnsichtbaren liecht auch gereitzt hat. Vnd wiewol die Egyptier/ vnd jres gleichen andere/ Chaldeische/^b

^a *Volumen Paramirum (Entien-Schrift)* discusses under the rubric of *ens spirituale* the use of “**wechsenen bildern**” (S 1:221) though mainly for causing rather than curing diseases. In the same context, he writes of “den charactern” (222; cf. H 1:307ff.). The magic agency entails spirits and images through which all diseases are impressed (“alle krankheiten eingetruckt werden”—218). The use of images suggests that this is an evil inversion of the human creation in the divine image. The magic power of images is taken up in full in the *Liber de Imaginibus* (S 13:361ff.), where the Babylonian sources and biblical profile of magic images are discussed less in relation to medicine per se. Of interest in the present context is the contrast with a divine magic or miracle recounted in the Bible and posited as the power that preserved “Sant Johans im ölsieden” and “Sant Lorenz auf dem rost” (362)—two miracles by which saints were delivered from being cooked.

^b Besides the Egyptians, among whom Moses and Aaron triumphed over the evil magic of Pharaoh, P.’s *Liber de Imaginibus* mentions Chaldeans and Assyrians as precursors of an evil “image art” derived from magic (“**bilderkunst**...aus der **magica**”—S 13:362, 364). This biblically historicized evil image magic has its divine

being is also applied to gods of that kind? For what is manifested and performed by the body is performed also by belief. This is why you should be aware that wherever such diseases or their cure[s] are present, it is not the devil who effects these things but we ourselves who do so. However, the devil does receive from this a | 256 | joy and pleasure. For first of all, belief has the capacity of performing the same operations the body performs. One can make use of a musket to shoot one's neighbor, but this operation can be done by belief as well, better indeed than the body can do it. And take instruction from this example: You are of course visible and corporeal. But there is another who is also you who is not visible. What your body does this other one does as well. You do it visibly, the other invisibly. You should be aware with regard to belief that the images originated as follows: The human being fashioned an image of wax in the name of his enemy and proceeded to injure its body. In this way, the invisible [person] in an invisible manner wounded his real enemy. The fact that God has allowed such a thing to happen¹ is a sign that we are capable of such things and a reflection upon who we are. It is not the case that we ought to do such a thing. Whoever nonetheless does it tests and tempts God. If, however, it should be suffered to happen—woe to the soul! It is in this way and upon this foundation that the sorcerers of the image practice: they paint an image on the wall and pound a nail through it. The same thing is performed by their spirit: drawing upon the strength of belief, the one that casts mountains, an invisible nail will be driven through this [object]—unless God prevents it. It is in this manner that those lewd ones have come into being, the ones who have cast their spell over women, who have made waxen images, and used lighted candles to make them melt, and thereby brought about their lascivious affair. What happened is that their spirit was inflamed by the invisible light. Indeed the Egyptians and all of their kind, including the Chal-

¹ See Grimm, **verhängen** (3): *indulgere, dare veniam*.

nach dem Firmamentischen Lauff auch Bilder geschnitten: Aber all in solchen krefften/ die jhr eigen einfalt nicht verstanden hatt: Bilder gemacht/ die sich bewegt haben vnd geredt: haben vergessen/ daß der Natur nicht müglich were/ aber den krefften/ wie obstehet.

Darumb so verstanden die ding eigentlich vnnd wol/ wie wunderbarlich der Glaub wircket/ so jhn Gott verhenckt. Dann solt ich beschreiben vnd etwas wenigs glimpffen/ denselbigen Zauberern in jhrer zauberey/ was auß Gottes verhencknuß durch sie beschehen ist/ es wurde ein seltzame Chronick werden: die da Gott allein darumb verhenckt hatt/ das wir durch solche werck sehen/ das wir auch möchten den grossen Berg in das Meer werffen/ vnd das wir auch Geist sind/ | 257 | vnd vnsichtbar Leut. Darumb ich aber das alles meldt/ ist darumb fürgehalten/ das wir hierinn sollen ergründen/ das wir eigene Heiligen schmiden im glauben/ die gleich sind als wenß ein Haffner gemacht hett: vnd aber/ jhre krafft vnd macht/ dz sie die Leut krencken oder gesund machen/ in alle weiß vnd weg/ wie von den Bildern der grund inhalt/ das alles der Glaub zu wegen bringt: welchen so wir jhn mißbrauchen/ gleich die geschichten volbringen/ die der Leib nach seinen krefften auch vollbringen mag/ so er sie mißbrauchen will. Vnnd nach der kürtze zu verstehen die ding alle/ so gibt der Glaub den Menschen vnsichtbar/ der schmiedet vnd wercket dasjenige/ das der Leib schmidete/ so ers vermöchte. Dann er wirt also zu einem Geist/ dem dann solche ding müglich sind zu volbringen. Vnd vns wirt die stercke des Glaubens vnd des Leibs nit genommen/ allein es sey dann durch Göttliche fürsehung: So ist es zu gleicher weiß/ als so Gott einen kranck macht/ auff das sein stercke vndn mutwill niemandts schaden thue/ macht jhn also lahm an Hend vnnd Füß: also erlämpt er auch den Glauben solcher vppigen Leutt.

Damit vnd ich auch zum end streck: Wie fürgehalten ist/ dz der Heiligen zeichen je vnd je geweret haben/ auch vor *Christi* geburt/ darumb sie nicht Christenlich geacht mögen werden. Dann sie weren gar zu alt/ vnnd wol Großvätter/ so doch der Christenlich Glaub kein Großvatter hatt. Aber die leuth/ denen Gott im Glauben dergleichen

counterparts. For it was also by means of images that God revealed the secrets of the kingdom of heaven to Isaiah, Ezekiel, and John (in the Book of Revelation), and the “kunst alchimiam und spagircam” to Hermes or Geber, again by means of “bilder und figuren aus der magica,” and finally the secrets behind the prophetic images of popes in the Carthusian monastery at Nuremberg to P. himself (365).

deans, have carved images in accordance with the celestial course as well. However, in their simple-mindedness, they understood nothing about the [true] forces of such things. They have also fashioned images that moved and spoke. They forgot that this was not possible for nature [itself], but rather [only] for the powers described above.

Thus, things [are to be] understood truly and well: how wondrously does faith operate when it is allowed to do so by God. For if I were to describe and give a binding account, even in brief, of those sorcerers and the magic which by the leave of God is effected by them, strange indeed would be the chronicle, all of which has been allowed by God for no other reason than that we should recognize through such works that we might indeed cast the mountain into the sea, and that we are likewise spirit | 257 | and invisible people. The reason why I am reporting all of this is in order to demonstrate that we stand on the same basis in forging for ourselves saints in faith which are as if a potter¹ had turned them out. However, their strength and power to make people ill or well [is] in every sort of way like that upon which [the power] of the images is based—all of this is brought about by belief. When we misuse it, it brings about the same sort of results as does the body in applying its powers whenever these are abused. If all of this is to be understood in brief, it is belief that gives us, in an invisible form, the human being who forges and fashions what the body would forge if it were capable of doing so. For the human being becomes a spirit that has the capacity to accomplish such things. Nor is this power of faith or the body taken from us, except by divine providence. That would be as if God were to cause someone to be ill, laming his hands and feet so that his strength and mischievousness could not harm anyone else: this is how [God] would numb the belief of such shameless² people.

To come to a conclusion [I will say that]: as has been demonstrated, the signs of the saints have always been manifest, even before the birth of *Christus*. Hence, they need not be regarded as Christian [per se]. For they have been manifest far too long and could be called grandfathers, although the Christian faith has no grandfather. But those people who through the indulgence of God do such things can

¹ In biblical usage, the **potter** is a metaphor for the divine creative faculty (see Sir 33:13; Rom 9:21).

² See Grimm, **üppig** (4a): übermütig, hochfahrend, frech, vermessen, ausgelassen, schnöde.

verhengt/ die mögen gwaltig setzen/ (durch krafft des gemelten glaubens/ so sie jhn zum argen brauchen wöllen) ein Widhopffen auff einen zaunstecken/ vnd darnach selbst Richter drüber sein: dieweil jhn der Glaub den Widhopffen geben hab/ so sitz er auß Gott da. Darumb sie sich deß anbetens nicht beschemen/ vergessen das Gott sein Hirten *Petrum* dermassen niemandt befohlen hat. Also ist nach dem alten Egyptischen brauch/ vnd Heidnischen sitten/ auß dem Apollo Sanct Jacob worden: vnnd einer ists gleich eben wie der ander. Dann *Apollo* vnnd seins gleichen/ seind durch glaubens krefft daher gebracht worden: Nit aber das derselbig Geist *Apollo* geheissen hab/ noch der Geist zu Sant Jacob/ Jacob heisse. Dann deren Geist Nammen/ die | 258 | also an deren statt kommen sind/ hatt nie keiner gewußt/ als allein der *Speculator* der in Glaubens krafft den Berg darein geworffen hatt: wie derselbig geheissen hat/ billich heissen auch die Geist also/ dem meister nach/ der da Gott versucht hatt/ vnd ob er Zeichen wolt thun durch den Glauben/ vnnd noch für vnd für versuchen ist/ vnnd darbey vergessen hatt/ das wir deß Glaubens Zeichen nicht begeren sollen/ sondern glauben/ aber nicht das beschehe. Die Zeichen sollen wir aber begeren/ die auß der Barmhertzigkeit Gottes auff vns reichen/ dieselben sind Christenlich vnnd in *Christo* außgegangen/ in jhm geboren. Was also auß der Barmhertzigkeit fleußt/ Liebe vnnd Trew/ das achten Christenlich zu sein. Die andern aber/ wie ich bißher gemeldt hab/ betreffen den

indeed, in a formidable way (by virtue of the aforementioned belief, when they choose to abuse it for ill purposes) place a hoopoe bird (**Widhopffen**)¹ onto a fence pole and then make themselves into its judge. Nevertheless, to the extent that belief gives them the hoopoe bird, it sits there by [the power of] God. Thus, they have no shame about worshipping it, and they forget that God commanded his shepherd *Petrus* to do nothing of the kind. Therefore, in consequence of the ancient Egyptian custom and in accordance with the heathen customs, Apollo became St. James; and the one is no different from the other. For *Apollo* and his kind came into this by virtue of belief. However, I do not mean by this that that particular spirit was called *Apollo*, nor that the spirit of St. James was called by the name of James. For the names of the spirits that | 258 | came to occupy their place were known to no one other than the *speculator*² who, by means of the power of faith, cast the mountain into [the sea]: No matter how they might be designated, this is the appropriate way of designating the spirits—by calling them by the name of the master who tempted God [in daring him] to perform signs by means of faith, and who continues always with this tempting, and in the process has forgotten that we should not covet the signs of faith, but instead should believe, without [expecting] that something should happen [as a result].³ Instead we should covet the signs that come to us from the mercy of God. For the Christian ones are the ones that proceed from *Christus*, [and are] innate in him. Thus that which flows from mercy, love and faithfulness is to be recognized as Christian. Those others, however, whom I mentioned previously in connection with belief—for them there is neither

¹ Aschner and Peuckert render the word as **Wiedehopf** (the bird hoopoe; Lat. *upupa epops*): a shy, solitary, woodland bird known for its beautiful plumage and the foul smell of its nest. A good runner, it is erratic in flight (NCE). It is known for its medicinal purposes. From antiquity it was believed that it became blind in old age but was cured by its offspring; a stone from its nest possessed magical powers (Zedler). Its blood or ashes had magical effects on sleep and dreams (HDA).

² See MLLM, *specularius* is a “mirror-sorcerer,” while “*spiculator*” (also written as “*speculator*”) is an executioner (from “*spiculare*,” to stab). In addition to magical speculation, P. invokes the image magician and covert murderer more than the *speculator* in the reflective sense. The devil is intended.

³ **Something should happen:** P. is alluding to the temptations of Christ in the wilderness in Mt 4.

Glauben/ so haltendt/ das weder *Apollo* noch *Iacob* verhanden sey/
Heiden vnd Christen also betrogen.

Darbey wirt auch gröblich vergessen/ das sich keiner kan gesundt glauben/ er sey dann durch mißbrauch deß Glaubens krank: darzu gehört die gesundtheit deß Aberglaubens. Gesundt machen ist ein werck/ vnnd zeigt sein Meister an: so gebürt sich all vnser gesundtmachung zu fließen auß der Barmhertzigkeit Gottes. Nuhn ist gesundtmachung ein werck der Barmhertzigkeit/ zu gleicher weiß wie die Artzney ein Exempel gibt. Gott hatt vns beschaffen/ vnnd der Zungen vnnd den Augen jhrn wollust zugestellt/ vnnd vns die geschickligkeit gegeben/ dieselben zu rinckeln nach vnserm lust vnd wolkönnen. Darauff die Göttlich fürsehung wol gewisset hat/ was bresten vnnd krankheiten vns darauß entspringen würden: Auff solchs vorwissen der Gottheit/ hatt Gott beschaffen die Artzney/ vnnd die verstendigen darauff/ das ist/ ein Artzt/ solch krankheit zu erkennen vnnd die Artzney darauff wissen zu geben.

Nuhn vrtheilen hierinn/ ob das durch den Glauben beschehen sey/ oder durch Göttliche Barmhertzigkeit/ dieweil die Barmhertzigkeit gesein ist vor dem Menschen? Denn da alle ding geschaffen sind worden/ da ist der Mensch in der Schöpfung der letst gesein.

Nuhn mercken hie/ daß die gesundtheit auß der Artzney | 259 | fleußt/ vnnd die Artzney ist auß der Barmhertzigkeit geschaffen. Also auch was auß Gott dem Sohn fleußt/ das nimbt sich auch auß solchem vrsprung/ daß sein Barmhertzigkeit gesein ist vor dem Glauben. Darumb die werck der gesundtwerdung nicht werck des Glaubens seind/ sondern seind werck der Barmhertzigkeit. Vnnd ob aber der Glaub würde zeichen vnnd werck thun/ so gedencken an das *Euangelium*, das *Christus* gesagt hatt/ sie werden Zeichen thun: das verstanden alß ob *Christus* sprech/ nicht auß meiner Barmhertzigkeit/ sondern in^a des Glaubens krefften ein *Apollinem* vnnd *Iacobum*^b auffwerffen/ nach innhalt jhres Glaubens krefften.

^a Sudhoff (274): “aus”; V (296): “Inn des glaubens krefften, ein Appolem.”

^b *Astronomia Magna* recognizes James along with Christ as a teacher of wisdom: “wie auch **Jacobus** sagt: gebricht iemants weisheit, der suchs und bit darumb, die ist bei got” (S 12:124).

Apollo nor *Jacobus*.¹ Thus have the heathens and Christians alike been swindled.

It is also easy to forget that no one can make himself healthy by belief unless he has been made sick by the abuse of faith. In this regard there is also the health of superstition. Healing is a work by which the master is authenticated: this is why it is proper that all our healing practice should emanate from the mercy of God. For healing is a work of mercy, as the example of medicine indicates. God created us and furnished our tongue and our eyes with their pleasure and allowed us to twist² these [things] in accordance with our desire and ability. Therefore [it seems that] divine providence has indeed known what sort of ailments and diseases would result for us. Because of such pre-science of the divinity, God created medicine and those who are knowledgeable about it, which is to say a physician capable of understanding such a disease and administering the proper medication for it.

Now, would you care to judge whether this happened through faith,³ or through divine mercy, considering that mercy existed even before the human being did? For when all things were created, the human being was the last thing in the creation.

You should be aware in this regard that health flows from | 259 | medicine, and that medicine was created out of mercy. Moreover, whatever flows from God the Son arises from this source, [from the fact] that his mercy existed before faith did. For this reason, it is clear that the works of convalescence are not works of faith but rather works of mercy. And even if faith were to effect signs and works, you should remember the *Evangelium* in which *Christus* said that they will perform signs.⁴ This is to be understood in the sense that it is as if *Christus* were saying, [it would happen], not from my mercy; but rather it would be a matter of exalting an *Apollo* and a *Jacobus*, in accordance with the nature of the forces of their faith.

¹ This presumably refers to **James**, author of the Epistle, brother of Jesus, and teacher of “wisdom from above...full of mercy and good fruits” (Jas 3:13), who wrote that faith without works is dead (Jas 2:17).

² See Grimm, **rinken**: krümmen, drehen.

³ It is possible that in weighing (the more Protestant) “faith” against (the more Catholic) “mercy,” P. is reacting to the confessional rift of his time. Ambivalent between camps, P. in this passage assails a certain kind of generalization from the Lutheran valorization of faith, even while affirming it.

⁴ “**They**” are representatives of Antichrist (cf. Mt 13:27).

So ist aber noch ein meldung hierinnen zuthun/ wie ein gemeiner Glaub in den dingen gehalten ist worden/ das der Teuffel solchs im Nammen der Menschen thue/ das gantz nit anzunehmen ist. Das ist aber wol zu halten von dem gwalt deß Teuffels/ daß er durch seins Glaubens krafft/ so er hatt/ wol mag solche Zeichen thun: aber dieselbigen für sich selbst in dem so jhm verhenget würde. Der Teuffel achtet solcher zeichen nicht: das anligen das der Teuffel gegen vns hat/ ist von wegen der Barmhertzigkeit Gottes/ so vns versprochen ist/ so er vns die zerrütten kan/ das ist sein vornemmen. Er laßt vns von vns selbst arges vnnd böses thun/ er lasset vns den Glauben mißbrauchen/ vnnd alles thun/ das wir selbs fertigen mögen.

Vber das alles/ so er meinert es sey vnsers arges zu wenig: so legt er ein zusatz darzu: deß aber allein behilfft er sich nicht/ dann damit wirdt er sein Reich nicht gewaltig machen. Sein fürnemmen ist/ das er vns in verzweiffung bringe/ in der Barmhertzigkeit *Christi*, dem er ist feindt/ vnnd wie er mit dem Glauben inn *Christo*/ Hoffnung vnnd Liebe zerrütte. Dann in demselbigen mögen wir die Verdammniß erlangen: weitter seind alle ding vnschädlich. Vnnd ob schon durch solche Geist ein neben Bossen beschehe/ bey den erglaubten Heiligen der Heiden vnnd Christen/ die auß der Teuffelischen Legion geschehe: So wurde es doch gleich ein ding sein/ alls wenn ein grober Bauwr neben | 260 | dem Goldschmid stünd/ vnd was der Goldschmid von Gold machet/ das ers von Dreck machet. Darumb so possiert er seine zeichen nun gern in Kelbern vnnd Säwen: das ein anzeigung ist/ das sein gewalt schwerlich verhefft ist/ vnd das er nit rein in seinem glauben fortfaren kan/ er würffe sonst die ding alle zu boden/ vnd wurde sich mechtiger erzeigen/ denn jemandts vermuthen möcht.

There is, however, one more report that should be made in this matter: a common belief has persisted in such affairs that it is the devil who does these things in the name of the human beings. This is not at all acceptable. However, one can still be of the opinion that the power of the devil can perform such signs by the power of that belief that he does possess; but he can only do these things insofar he is allowed to do them. The devil does not care for such signs: the malice the devil holds against us is on account of the mercy of God which has been promised to us. If [the devil] can shake that, it will be his purpose to do so. He allows us on our own to do wicked and evil things. He allows us to abuse faith and to do everything we are capable of bringing off on our own.

Beyond everything else, when he considers our wickedness insufficient, he makes an addition to it. But that alone is of no benefit to him, for he cannot thereby make his kingdom powerful. His intention is to reduce us to despair of the mercy of *Christ*, who is his enemy, and to destroy, along with the faith in *Christus*, hope and love. For it is [only] in that state [of despair] that we are able to come to damnation: Beyond that, all other things are harmless. And even if through these spirits a clever trick¹ is played with the cult of saints [who are] believed into being by both heathens and Christians, [then this is] a joke that issues from the diabolical legion. But it is nonetheless as if a crude peasant were standing next to | 260 | the goldsmith: what the goldsmith makes out of gold, the peasant makes out of dirt. This is why he likes to perform his signs in calves and swine:² it is an indication that his power is hard pressed and that he cannot proceed with a good conscience in his belief without his things falling to the ground, and [that he] would [like to] reveal himself as more powerful than anyone might have suspected.

¹ See Grimm, *Bosse*: *jocus, nugae, ineptiae* (cf. 4)

² The golden **calf** worshiped as an idol and the **swine** into whom Jesus exorcised the evil spirits whose name was "legion" out of the possessed Gerasene man in Mk 5.

Von der Kranckheit die man nennet
Sant Veltins Siechtag.^a

Also verstanden nuhn weiter/ das der natürlich Lauff der Menschen/ der durch die Elementen vnd *Astra* gegeben wirt/ ein kranckheit macht/ die den Menschen niderwirfft/ führt in jhn ein Krampff/ der jhm sein glieder/ Hend vnd Füß streckt vnd biegt/ die Augen vnd den Mund vnnd dergleichen mit viel erschreckenlicher anzeigung. Nuhn aber wie er anfangklich gesein ist/ ist vermuttet worden/ es habens jhm die Heiligen zugefüget/ die wir auff Erden ettwa erzürnet gehabt haben/ die sich auff Erden armut halben nicht haben können rechen/ vnnd schicken vns die Rache vom Himmel hinab. Diß ist in ein glauben kommen/ vnd der Glaub hat so streng den Berg ins Meer geworffen/ das am letsten auff solchen Glauben/ ein Männlin geschmidt ist worden/ das vnsichtbar hierinn gehandelt hat. Vnnd zu gleicher weiß/ als einer/ den man bey dem haar erschütt/ nimbt vnnd wirfft jhn von einem Winckel in den andern: Also hatt der Glaub auch gethan. Darumb die Artzney/ so sie geholffen hatt von der natürlichen fallenden kranckheit/ so hat der Glaub sein wirckung weiter gehabt/ das dem Siechtagen nichts genommen ist worden/ vnnd also all Artzt in verzweyfflung gebracht. So ist auch durch ettliche des volcks Acht-nemung ein auffmerckung genommen worden/ das die Planeten/ New/ Quart/ vnnd Vollmonn/ vnd dergleichen Himmlischen Leuff solch kranckheiten gereitzt vnd gemehret haben. Darumb auch Secten entstanden sind: Etliche vermeint/ die Stern seind Götter: Etliche vermeint/ die Heyligen seyendt Götter worden/ | 261 | haben den Sternen zugebeten. Solcher Secten entzweyung haben die Artzt zu vrtheilen/ vnnd den grundt deren dingen zu entdecken.

^a A Basel student copy of the *Libri Paragraphorum* contains under the heading of “Vom schlag in wunden, id est paralysis” this subheading referring to a recurrent and chronic epilepsy resulting from wounds to the head: “Etiam in hauptwunden wird **S. Veltins siechtagen**, caducus morbus, et cadunt 7 mal im tag, quod si non cavetur, habebit per totam vitam” (S 5:360). In the Basel work on phlebotomy, both the one-size-fits-all prescription of “regimen” (“laßt euch nicht in ein regiment bringen gleich eines ieglichen”—S 4:401) and the conventional wisdom of adjusting one’s diet to saints’ days including “Sanct Veltins” (402) are derided for the same senseless mentality.

On the Disease That is Called
St. Valentine's Day Disease.¹

Next, you should be aware that the natural course of human beings, as established by the elements and *astra*, causes a disease which flings the human being down, inflicting a cramp that makes him stretch and bend his limbs, his hands and his feet, and that affects his eyes and mouth likewise, with many frightful symptoms. In the beginning with this disease, people suspected that the saints caused it because we must have annoyed them while they were on earth; since on earth on account of their [ethos of] poverty, they were not in a position to avenge themselves [it would seem therefore as if] they are visiting their revenge down upon us from heaven. This turned into a [fixed] belief, and the belief cast the mountain so grimly into the sea that in the end, based upon the belief, a little fellow was forged who acted invisibly in that sense. And therefore the belief acted in the same way as if you were to shake someone by the hair, seizing and throwing him from one corner to the other. This is what faith effected. As a consequence of this, the medicine that might have acted against the natural falling disease [was held in check], since the belief continued to have its effect, so that nothing eased its assaults and all the physicians were thereby brought to despair. Next, the attentiveness of some people was directed to the fact that the planets, [or] the new, quarter, and full moon, and other celestial operations of this sort aroused and increased the diseases of this kind. This then gave rise to sects. Some thought that the stars were gods. Some that the saints had become gods and | 261 | had it in them to command the stars. The controversy between these sects is a matter for the judgment of the physician and it is his obligation to uncover the basis of these things.

¹ For epilepsy, it was possible to pray to the early Christian martyrs St. Vitus and **St. Valentine** since in their lifetimes they reputedly cured this disease (LCK). According to Temkin (101), Luther wrote that St. Valentine was only associated with the disease because his name seemed to contain "fall" (cf. H 1:255).

Von den kranckheiten/ so Offen schäden geben/
 die geheissen sindt worden Sant Kūriß Buß/
 Sant Johans Rach/^a etc.

Also gibt auch die Natur ein natürlich auffbrechen deß fleischs vnnd der haut/ durch das Corrosiff oder durch dz Etzsaltz/ so in Menschen geordnet ist. Dieweil nuhn der Etzsaltz mancherley sindt/ so haben sie auch mancherley sich emböret:^b Vnnd wie des Etzsaltz Arth vnnd Natur ist/ schmerzen vnd weetagen zu machen: Hat das volck auch vermeint/ es sey ein solche plag: Vor dem vnd der grund der artzney herfür brochen ist. So hat derselbig Mißglaub geweret biß in die Christen: Vnnd darumb das Sant Cūry für andere vorm volck heyliger geacht ist worden/ haben sie all jhr gebresten desselben Heyligen straff geheissen/ als ob sonst kein kranckheitmacher sey/ dann er. Nuhn aber [seind] durch die selbigen Bußpriester sonderlich die flüssigen schenckel für Sant Kūriß buß erkennet/ vnd dergleichen/ wie der vrsprung ist/ die artzney darauff gesetzt/ vnd also auch ein Bildtlein im Glauben geschnitzlet/ das die schenckel geheilet hatt/ wie jhr glauben inngehabt hat. Vnd also auch mit Sanct Johansen/ dem also auch ein Schatten Menly herein geführt ist worden/ darumb das er ein angenehmer Patron derselbigen Kirchen gsein ist: Vnd nit allein jhm/ sonder andern Heiligen mehr geschehen/ welche durch jrrung des dummen volcks/ vber alles vbel haben müssen thäter sein. Aber wie denen dingen allen sey/ will ich nicht widerreden/ dieweil das anbetten vnd Priesterthumb darauff gegründet hatt/ das der Teuffel auch viel neben Bößlin^c mit gerissen hat: nicht zu beschehen vil zeichen/ sondern daß Hurerey/ der Geitz/ vnd ander dergleichen vppige Laster/ nicht abstürend/ das Volck in den Glauben getriben/ damit sie redlich glaubten/ vnd viel vbels/ Hurerey vnnd Būberey

^a See also H 1:260. Unscrupulous fellows (“geldhansen”) exploited the ulcerations known as the “revenge” or “penance” of St. Cyril or St. John (“**Kūris und S. Johans buß und rach**”—S 6:146). The *Liber de Votis Alienis* discusses the primitive psychology which exploits the notion of “revenge” in offering relief from such diseases: “dan das heißen rach, domit nun der gemein mann kompt und sagt, das ist sanct Johannes rach, das ist sanct Kūris rach, sanct Valtins etc., sanct Antonius” (S 14:294).

^b Sudhoff (276): “empöret”; “emporet.”

^c Sudhoff (277): “nebenbößlin”; V (297 verso): “nebelt pößlin.”

On the Diseases That Result in Open Wounds
Which Are Called St. Cyril's Penance,
St. John's Revenge,¹ etc.

Nature itself can cause a natural laceration of the flesh and the skin by means of whatever is corrosive, or by means of table salt (**Etzsaltz**)² provided for human beings. Since there is table salt of various kinds, they have caused various kinds of excitations. Since it is in the character and nature of table salt to cause pains and extended suffering, the common folk have also supposed that this was another pestilence of that sort. Against this, the reasoning of medicine has advanced. That same false belief had lasted into Christian times. Because St. Cyril was deemed more holy by the people than others, all their ailments were regarded as a punishment imposed by this particular saint, as if there were no other inflicter of disease. However, as a result of [the legends] of these two priests of penance, the [ailment of] rheumatic (**flüssigen**)³ thighs <became> known as St. Cyril's penance, and there were more associations of the kind, having to do with origin; and in consequence an image was crafted which healed the thighs of those who believed in it. The same sort of thing happened with St. John, who was also introduced as a shadowy little fellow because he had always been a pleasing patron of the churches. It was not only with them that this happened but with other saints as well, who, due to the error of the naïve folk, had to serve as the inflictors of every sort of malady. However it might be with all these matters, I am not going to contradict, since worship and the priesthood have been founded upon it and since many of the [wondrous] signs could not happen if the devil did not find many opportunities to mix in his little tricks (**neben Bößlin**).⁴ Worse still, prostitution [of faith], greed and the other similar sins of luxury have not died out. The common folk have been induced to place naïve good faith [in such things] and there has been a great increase in whorishness and rascality. These things have been

¹ The relics of **St. Kyros** (Cyril) and **St. John** were transported from Alexandria to Abu Qir in order to counteract its cult of *Isis medica*. The association with healing presumably resulted in their inclusion among the legendary healing saints who reputedly treated the ill without payment (LNH).

² See Grimm, **etzen**: though in modern German, this means to corrode; in the 16th-century the root meaning was still active, as in "etzen und trinken": to provide food and drink. Both may be implied here.

³ See Grimm, **flüssig** (3): rheumaticus, catarrho fluens

⁴ Grimm does no more than cite this passage for "Nebenbößlein" (cf. Grimm: **Bößlein**: "kleine Posse").

mehreten/ dieselben fürdert der Teuffel: darumb er | 262 | sich hinzu macht/ darumb das er ein solch Priesterthumb fürdere. Sunst lege nichts an den zeichen/ sie weren groß oder klein: Das er aber auch sein Krohm darneben auffrichten kan/ hatt er acht/ wo solche zeichen geschehen/ das er auch darbey sey.

Von dem Natürlichen Brandt/ der nachvolgent
 Sanct Anthonius Fewr^a geheissen
 ist worden.

Also hatt auch die Natur ein eigen selbst anzündtes Fewr in jhr/ dz durch den Menschlichen Schwefel geboren wirt/ zu gleicher weiß wie die Himmelpfitzen/ wie die Stern schossen/ vnd wie die selbst angehenden Fewr im Bergwerck. Nuhn wiewol es ist/ dz von denn Artzeten die kranckheit nicht recht natürlich beschrieben ist worden: Jedoch so hat sich die Natur so viel erzeiget/ durch annehmung der werck von der artzney/ das gnugsam kundtbar gsein ist/ das natürlich vnnnd nicht vnnatürlich die kranckheit geboren ist. Wie aber die Prediger solcher Bußkranckheiten/ die ding gereimet haben/ obschon das volck nicht hat wollen glauben/ so haben sie müssen glauben/ vnnnd hatt vberredens golten. Sanct Anthoni der sey ein Herr des Fewrs: Der doch kein Schmidt/ kein Eß/ nie angeblasen hatt: Vnnnd vergessen/ das er auch nicht ein Herr ist der Elementen: Vnnnd so er noch solte bey leben sein/ so müste ers entlehnen oder selbst auffschlagen. So ist er auch kein *Vulcanus*/ hatt auch nicht den Berg *Aethna* abgelöscht: Vnnnd da soll er eim jedlichen sein stinckenden Oelschenckel löschen. Vnnnd ob er schon auff Erden zu seinen zeiten etwas dergleichen gethan hette/ so ist es diessen kein behelff: Dann was beschehen ist durch jhn/ wirdt im Buch der Heyligen stehen/ vnnnd nicht hie vnter den Zaubern begrieffen. Aber also durch sölchen glauben ist es dahin kommen/ das der Glaub ein vermeinten *Antonium*

^a **St. Anthony's fire** is subject to the same superstitious beliefs as the previously mentioned ailments. The fragmentary draft of this treatise allows for a personal agency, but of the devil rather than of St. Anthony: "Dis zeichen tun ist auch kraft und dieselbig macht, als so einer sprech: teufel hilf etc., und er hülf auf das ...oder so einer sprech, das dich sanct Antoni verbrenn und er verbrent disen, so hats der heilig nit ton, der teufel aber der tuts" (S 9:353).

encouraged by the devil who | 262 | gets involved in order to promote a priesthood of this kind. In general, do not attach any importance to signs of that sort, whether great or small. He sees to it that he can erect his crooked work (**Krohm**)¹ alongside of all that, so that wherever such signs come to pass, he is also involved.

On the Natural Burning, Which Was Subsequently
Called St. Anthony's Fire.²

Thus, too, nature has a kind of fire that is ignited of itself, within itself, which arises from the human sulphur, in the same way that there occur the celestial lightning flashes, the shooting stars, and the self-ignited fires within mines. Though it is the case that the physicians have not given a proper natural account of this disease, nature has nonetheless provided sufficient indication in reacting to the interventions of medicine so that it has become clearly evident that this disease emerges naturally and not unnaturally. Given the way in which those

preachers of penance have attempted to make sense of the diseases of this kind, the people have been reluctant to believe what is said about them, but they have nonetheless been compelled to do so, [thereby] responding to persuasion. St. Anthony is thought to be a master of fire, even though he has never been a smith and has never puffed upon any hearth. It has also been forgotten that he was hardly a master of the elements. If he were alive today, he would have to get help or take some consultation.³ He is not a *vulcanus* who can be said to have put out the fires of Mt. Aetna. And all of that notwithstanding, he is still thought to be able to put out the fire in anyone's stinking fat thigh.⁴ Even if he had accomplished something like that upon earth, there is no help in that. For whatever happened through him should appear in the book of the saints⁵ and will not be encompassed here among the sorcerers. But in any case, by virtue of such a belief, it has come about that faith has forged an intended *Antonius* who properly can be re-

¹ See Grimm, **Krom** (= Krumme, *f.*): refers to a crooked instrument, perhaps also to the proverbial "crooked staff" ("Krummstab") of a Catholic bishop.

² See LMA, **Antonius** (see H 1:254).

³ See Grimm, **aufschlagen** (7).

⁴ See Grimm, **Ölschenkel**: the citations are from contemporary usage (see similar usage, H 1:261).

⁵ Presumably P. means a book such as the 13th-century *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine.

geschmidet hatt/ der wol vnnd billich *Vulcanus* geheissen soll werden: Derselbig hatt angezündt vnnd gefewret/ als sey er ein Schmid vnnd legte | 263 | ein eisen in die Essen. In den dingen allen soll ein jedlicher ein gut auffmerckung haben/ wie solche kranckheiten natürliche krafft verlieren. Dann in verlierung natürlichs lauffs/ ligt die erkantnuß allein.

Von der kranckheit/ die mann
nennet die Veitstantz.^a

Es ist ein seltzammer vrsprung in dieser kranckheit/ etwas geteilt von denen/ die gemeldt seind: Vnnd seindt also herkommen. Die Fraw *Troffea* ist die erste gsein in der kranckheit/ dieselbige nam sich seltzamer lauhn vnnd wise an: Vnnd so sie in ein bleen kam/ vnnd halsstrittig gegen jhrem Mann/ so er sie etwas hieß/ das jhr nicht gefiele/ so nam sie sich einer wise an/ sie wer kranck/ vnnd erdichtet ein kranckheit die jhr auff dißmal gelegen was. Nuhn nam sie sich der wise an zum tantzen/ vnnd gab für/ sie könnte nicht ohn getantzet sein: Dann den Mann verdruß nichts mehr dann das tantzen: Vnnd damit sie dem handel gnug thete/ vnnd bestettete ein gleichnuß einer kranckheit/ so hupfft sie vnnd sprang auff/ sang vnnd lälet/ vnd was dem Manne am vbelsten gefiel: Vnnd nach außgang des tantz/ so fiel sie nieder/ dem Manne zuleidt/ zablet eine weil/ vnnd schlieff darnach. Solchs zeigt sie für eine kranckheit an/ vnnd verschwieg/ das sie den Mann also närret. Hierauff begab sichs/ das auch ander Weiber dergleichen solcher wise pflegten/ vnnd vnterweiset je eine die ander: Vnd kam dahin/ das die Gemeindt solche kranckheit für ein Buß hielten/ vnd namen auß diesem anzeigen ein vrsachen/ der jhn die kranckheit vertrieb. Auff die vrsach hafftet der Glaub/ vnnd geriet in den *Magor*/ ein Heydnischen Geist: Aber es blieb nicht lang/ do ward

^a Relevant to what is thought of as P.'s approach to a psychosomatic pathology, the work on the origins of *Franzosen* depicts the action of the imagination upon the body exemplified by the influence of a mother's "speculation" upon her children, but most of all by St. Vitus' dance: "aus dem folgt nun, das unsinnigkeit und die danzetsucht, die ir nennet **sanct Veits dantz** und ander mer entspringent. was ist nun erschrecken anderst als imaginatio und dergleichen?" (S 7:329). *Sieben Defensiones* ranks it among new diseases that include suicide, diseases incurred through magic, and possession (S 11:132). In the Basel work, St. Vitus's dance is said to be symptomized by discolored urine (S 4:595). Curing this "aegritudo imaginativa" is discussed under the heading of "de cura vitistae vel choreae lascivae vel levitatis animi" (S 2:439-43).

ferred to as a *vulcanus*. This same [phantom] has then ignited and stoked the fire, as if he were a smithy, and | 263 | placed his iron into the food. In these matters, everyone should pay close attention to how diseases of this kind lose their natural force. For it is only in [regard to] this loss of their natural course that the true understanding [of them] resides [and is to be found].

On the Disease That is Called
St. Vitus' Dance.¹

This disease has a strange origin that is distinct from those others that have been mentioned. This is how it originated. Lady *Troffea*² was the first one known for this disease. She adopted strange moods and manners; and when she came into a state of false pride (**bleen**)³ and turned stubborn against her husband when he told her to do something that she did not care for, she then affected a manner as if she were ill and concocted a disease that would suit her purposes in this regard. So she adopted the manner of dancing and pretended that she could not stop dancing. For her husband disliked nothing more than dancing. In order to make sure that her actions had their full effect and had the likeness of a disease, she hopped and jumped high, sang and lulled, and did whatever it was that her husband hated worst of all. After the completion of her dance, she collapsed in order to offend her husband. She jerked a while, and after that went to sleep. She claimed that all of this had been a disease attack, and said no more than this in order to make a fool of her husband. In consequence of this, other women did the same sort of thing, carrying on in this manner, and the one showing the other how to do it. It came to the point that the public regarded this as a kind of penitence; and this signification became a cause which propagated the disease. Linked to this cause was the belief, which came into *Magor*,⁴ a heathen spirit; but it did not remain there for

¹ For a comprehensive overview of the “dancing mania” of **St. Vitus' dance**, see Midelfort 32-49.

² This oddly specific personal reference remains in need of clarification. It may be a personification based on Lat. *tropaeus*, *tropaea*, adj.: “turning around,” “changing” (OLD); or derived from German “troffieren,” to flirt or run around, from Ital. “truffare,” to deceive (Grimm).

³ See Grimm, **blähen**: significantly, the term for inflat(ion) was also used for the sin of *superbia*.

⁴ *Magor* (or *Magur*) was the name given by the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 20:3-4) to the priest Pashhur, who struck the prophet and cast him into prison, whereupon the Lord pledged to make the offender “a terror to yourself and to all your friends.”

Sanct Veit der Glaubengeist/ vnnd must also hie zu eim Abgott werden/ vnnd empfieng den namen darauff Sanct Veits Tantz.

Kahm darnach dahin/ das menniglichen in solchen glauben kahm/ vnd ward also bestetet zu einer kranckheit: Vnd auff die/ | 264 | denen wol mit dantzen war/ auff die fiel der Glaub/ vnd behaftet dieselbig kranckheit/ da sie also bleib neben dem glauben für vnnd für. Darauff merckent/ ein jedlich angenomene weiß/ die einer oder eine fürgibt/ es sey ein warheit/ so gibt dasselbig fürgeben ein solchen starcken glauben/ das war wirdt/ vnnd bestetet sich. Dann also kommen vil kranckheiten/ nicht allein der dantz/ sondern auch viel anderley geschlecht/ die kein zahl haben. Dann also haben sich etliche fürgeben/ sie seyndt besessen/ vnnd ist jhnen am letzten/ in solchem fürgeben wahr worden: Also auch berümbt in Sant Veltins kranckheit/ vnd fieland am letzten darein.

Also sindt viel kranckheiten entsprungen/ die auch täglich nuhn^a zufallen/ ein weg so nuhn kranckheiten kommen/ die vor nie gesein sindt. Also auch mit den Frantzosen geschehen ist/ do haben sie Sant *Dionysium* einhergereimpt/ vnnd dergleichen/ vnd auch also in glauben ein *Dionysium* geboren/ das sie mehr vnheilbar/ dann heilbar. Vnnd auch in der Pestilentz gar nahe auch die gröst vrsach ist/ daß das volck in ein verzweiffung falt/ es müß sein: Vnnd also auch in solcher zweiffung den glauben dahin gefürt/ das jhn [durch] die artzney so vnmenschlich ist zu helffen/ als vnmüglich ist den grossen Berg zu fressen. Sie sind auch so gewaltig in jhrem glauben/ das sie den Himmel vergifften/ das er etlichen Pestilentz gibt/ nach dem jhr glaub ist: Vnnd in vil solchen stucken wirckt der glaub/ das sonst nicht geschehe: Machen vns viel ellender kranckheit/ vnnd jammer/ vnd bringen vns in vnsern kranckheiten dahin/ das wir werden zu gleicher weiß/ als da ist ein Mann/ der mit allen seinen waffen vnd gewehren wol versorget ist: Vnnd so er sieht ein hinckends mennlein gegen jhm stehn/ mit einer angezündten Büchsen/ vnnd der groß Mann fürcht sein geschütz/ lest sich dasselbig erschrecken. Also ist es hie an dem orth auch: Wir seindt starck genug wieder das Gestirn/ wir sindt auch starck genug den glauben recht zubrauchen: So wir aber in die schweche fallend/ so gehet die stercke des Glaubens wie ein Büchse

^a Sudhoff (279): “neu”; V (299): “neue zufallen...neue Kranckheiten.”

long. St. Vitus became the belief-spirit, and it then turned into an idol and thereupon received the name of the St. Vitus' dance.

Henceforth, it came about that many entered into this belief, and it was confirmed to be a disease. And onto those who |264| were pleased with this dancing descended the belief and, attached to it, the disease, so that it maintained itself together with the belief on and on. From this you should take note that every manner that is adopted and which one presents as the truth receives from that same presentation an equally firm belief with the result that it becomes true and is confirmed as such. That is how so many diseases have emerged, not only the dance but others that are too many to be enumerated. For some people have pretended to be possessed, and ultimately they have experienced in their pretense that it became true. This is notably the case with St. Valentine's disease, that ultimately [those who pretended] came down with it.

This is how it happens that so many diseases emerge, a matter of daily occurrence nowadays. It is a way for diseases to arise that never existed before. The same thing has happened with the French disease: they have tried to link St. Denis up with it, and things of that sort; and this has given rise to a believed Denis, which is rather more incurable than otherwise. With respect to pestilence, this is very nearly the greatest factor of all: the fact that the people believe that it has to be that way; and in their desperation they are brought to a state by their belief so that medicine cannot help them in a human way, any more than one could eat a giant mountain. They become so forceful in their belief that they actually poison the heavens. Some people actually catch the disease because of their belief. In many such affairs, belief brings about things that would not otherwise happen. They cause us to have a much more wretched disease and more suffering and bring us to a point in our diseases that we imagine a man armed with all sorts of weapons and armaments; and whenever this man sees some cowering little fellow before him with a loaded musket, the bigger man fears his weapon and lets himself to be [unnecessarily] frightened. The same thing is true here as well. We are strong enough against the stars. We are also strong enough to make proper use of faith. However, if we have an attack of weakness, the strength of faith discharges like a

Where the Vulgate has the common noun "*pavor*" (terror), P. is closer to Luther who glosses the Hebrew as a name: "MAGUR Heist furcht. So verkeret nu Jeremias seinen Namen."

gegen vns/ vnnd müssen gedulden vnnd leiden/ was wir auff ein ander werffen. Also in vielerley wegen/ mehr dann mir zuerzehlen möglich ist/ | 265 | fallen Kettinen vnnd Bandt vber vns/ darinnen wir zahlen. Vnnd so wir den glauben vnuerkert liessen/ begerten des kein Prob/ das Gott gesagt hat möglich zu sein/ vnnd fielendt mit dem glauben nicht in ein versuchung/ vnnd brauchten^a jhn nicht dahin/ in massen wie gemeldt ist/ sondern wie er vns gegeben ist/ vnd suchtent weiter den Glauben der Barmhertzigkeit: Was wollt vns in diesem jammerthal weiter gebresten?

Also werden auch andere werck des glaubens erfunden/ die gleich sind wie die angenommenen/ wie in Sanct Veits Tantz/ vnnd kommen auch auß den eigenrichtigen plastigen köpffen: Dieselbigen nemen jhren grund auß eim neidischen hertzen/ vnnd mugen niemands das sein lassen zu lieb werden/ vnnd nemen jhn für ein Spruch auß der gschrift/ den glossieren sie nach jhren eigenrichtigen köpffen. Vnnd wie sie denselbigen nach jhren eignen köpffen gereimpt haben/ so setzen sie ein solchen gewaltigen glauben drein/ das desselbigen glaubens krafft wieder in sie gaht/ vnnd behafftet/ vnnd sterckt sie so gewaltig/ das sie auch von jrs eigenen verstandts wegen/ das leben daran setzen: Als dann außweisendt die Wiedertauffer/^b die in solchen mißbrauch eins tolln glaubens sich selbst dahin glauben/ das sie auff jhr fürgenommene weiß sterben vnnd verderben. Es mag auch jhr grund/ vnnd Secten kein anderen namen haben/ dann nach rechtem

^a Sudhoff (280): “brauchen”; V (299 verso): “brauchten” (as in Huser).

^b The lay theologian P. wrote works on the sacrament of baptism, *Vom Tauf der Christen* and *Libellus de Baptismate Christiano*. The latter is estimated by Goldammer to have been written not long before 1531, the former around the time of the Anabaptist debacle in Münster, 1534 (G 2:LI-LIII). These independent-minded works seek their own position amid the controversies of the era centered on the sacraments. *Vom Tauf* denounces the “heretical” view that baptism is of no avail for those not yet capable of faith: “darauf so weichen ab, ir ketzer, die ihn den tauf nemen und sagen: sie glauben nichts; was soll er ihnen?” (G 2:337). Of relevance to the question of infant baptism and to the theme of the present treatise, P. defends baptism for the mentally deficient who are as challenged in comprehending faith as infants (G 2:347): “Nun uf die unverständigen, als kinder und dergleichen: denen verkundung des wort gottes nit nutz ist, so mans ihn sagt oder predigt, dann sie seindt des verstands nit. auch also die stumen und einfeltigen, toren und dergleichen! ... nun uf solches ist der gwalt geben, die kinder zu teufen aus annemung und begerung vatter und mutter.” Goldammer observes that the *Libellus* also rejects Luther’s catechistic understanding of baptism (G 2:375, see note h). Accordingly, P. has his own physician’s rationale for denying the need for adult baptism.

musket backfiring against us, and we have to put up with and suffer everything in the ensuing melee. Thus, there are many ways, more than it is possible to recount, | 265 | for chains and fire to befall us which cause us to quake. However, if we had kept our faith properly directed, and not asked for any testing of that which God has said is possible; if we had avoided falling into temptation with our faith and avoided using it in the ways that I have spoken of, but instead [used it] in the way in which it has been given to us; and if we had continued to seek the faith of mercy—what could happen to us then in this vale of tears?

Accordingly, other works of faith are invented too, [and these] are just like the ones taken on, like St. Vitus' dance, and those also come out of the obstinate, inflated minds. They have their sources in an envious heart [that is] unwilling to let anything be for the sake of anyone else. They seize upon some saying from Scripture and then they gloss it, following their own obstinate minds. And as soon as they have made sense of it in their own minds, they invest it with such a powerful belief that the force of this particular belief reverts to them and adheres to them and strengthens them so powerfully that for the sake of their own notion about this, they are willing to give their life up for it. This is shown by the Anabaptists,¹ by their abuse of their mad faith, through which they bring themselves to the point of readiness to die or face ruin for the sake of [their] imagined ceremony (**fürgenommene weiß**).² Their foundation and their sect might not have any other name

¹ In linking female mass hysteria, St. Vitus' dance, and **Anabaptists** (subject to their worst persecutions in the years 1527-1533), P. seems both mean-spirited and arbitrary. If not the meanness of his association, its whimsy is diminished when one considers the scandalizing activities attributed to Anabaptist women—not least in St. Gall, shortly before P.'s arrival there. MacCulloch's *Reformation* draws on the researches of A. Jelsma and others in placing the shock caused by the bold and seemingly hysterical behavior of Anabaptist women in St. Gall and the nearby Appenzell region into the context of the early Reformation (RH 163-64). On other references to the Anabaptists, see H 2:17, 85; H 1:266.

² See Grimm, **fürnehmen** (III.3): sich vorstellen, sich einbilden (imagine or conceive of); **Weise** (f., B2): *modus, ritus, ceremonia*.

verstandt *Incantatio*:^a Nicht das sie verzaubert werden von anderen leuten/ sondern sie sich selbst in glauben treiben/ das sie auß krafft des glaubens vnnd nicht der warheit sich selbst in das Fewr begeben. Dann in das Fewr gehn/ nach Göttlichem willen/ muß vmb ander vrsach willen geschehen/ denn von zwey oder dreymal tauffens wegen: Diessen baß zuerhalten/ hat Gott niemandts darumb geheissen sterben. Der von seins Worts wegen sterben will/ der muß gewaltig im Heiligen Geist vberfließen/ derselbig stirbt seliglich. Die aber jhnen selbst den Glauben zu einem werck schöpfen/ vnnd damit/ das er nicht ohn werck sey/ so dringen sie sich selbst durch den glauben inn die werck: Als woltent sie sprechen/ will Gott nicht zeichen durch vns wircken/ so wollen wir es selber thun: So können | 266 | sie nichts mehr finden/ dann darauff sterben/ das nichts anders den^b Todt ist/ dann wie der Glaubengeist im tantzen ein springen anfacht. Dann dieselbigen leut die mit dem Tantz besessen sindt/ handt die vernunfft so gar verloren/ dz sie gleich wie die Wiedertauffer genaturt seind/ liessen sich von jhrs kibs wegen gleich so wol verbrennen. Es ist ein anders/ dann vnser eigenrichtige weiß/ das vns zu solcher marter füren soll.

Nehm jm ein jedlicher erschreckenlich exempel/ dz sie jhn selbst den Berg zu schwer auff den rucken glauben/ vnnd sencken sich so tieff in das Meer/ das sie jhnen selbst ein fallenden Siechtumb anglauben/ in dem/ vnnd sie niederfallen vnnd sterben. Was ist das für ein grund in der geschriff anders/ dann ein angenommene weiß/ die durch den glauben dahin bestett wirt? Das sind die zeichen die sie

^a *Incantatio* and *superstitio*” are counted as unnatural sources of disease in *De Vita Longa* (S 3:225). Since as always like heals like, the diseases “die da komen aus den imaginationibus, die selbigen sollen durch die imagination geheilet werden durch ires gleichen imagines, und die da komen aus den incantationen sollen durch gegenincamenten abgewent werden und die da komen aus superstitione, die sollen durch die superstition wider die superstitiones gesunt werden” (226). Incantation has an effect comparable to the *astrum*: “so ist incantatio ein wirkung, die da gleich dem gestirn eingêt unser mentem und unsere glider mentalisch und entalisch. aber der grundt ist aus unserm gemüt, als de incantationibus erkent wird (243). The Munich “*Mantischer Entwurf*” classifies the incantation as transfiguring magic: “Dise species lernet aus menschen, hunt, katzen machen etc. lernet auch den menschen verkeren in ander form und gestalt, macht auch unsichtbar, verendert das gemüt im menschen nach willen des künstlers...” (S 10:657). The accompanying draft or fragment treats both “de morbis ex incantationibus et impressionibus inferioribus, das ist von den unsichtbaren krankheiten” (S 9:353).

^b Sudhoff (281): “denn.”

than that which is expressed by the word *incantatio* in its proper understanding.¹ Not that they have been bewitched by other people. Instead, they have worked themselves up into a belief so that it is by its power and not because of the truth itself that they give themselves over to the fire. For to go to the stake in accordance with God's will must happen for some other cause than for the sake of being baptized two or three times. God has commanded no one to die for the sake of keeping [this sacrament] better. Whoever should be willing to die for the sake of [God's] word must overflow so powerfully with the Holy Spirit that someone like that would die in a state of blessedness. But as for those who by their own devices have turned faith into a work, they force themselves into this work by way of belief in order to see to it that it is not without the work. It is as if they were trying to say: "if God is not willing to perform signs through us, then we will do them ourselves." Thus they cannot | 266 | find anything else to do but to die for it. This is no other death than that operation by which the belief-spirit begins to jump in its dance. For the same people who are possessed by their dance have lost their reason to such an extent that their character is exactly like that of the Anabaptists. On account of their quarrel, they could just as well get themselves burned at the stake. It is something else, not our own obstinate ways, that should lead us to such a martyrdom.

Pick for yourself any sort of frightful example, [indicating] that they believe the mountain to be too heavy on their backs, and that they sink so deep into the sea that they concoct for themselves a form of epilepsy out of belief and thereby fall down and die. What sort of argument is it that we find in Scripture, if not a reference to an adopted manner which by way of belief comes to that end and is thus confirmed? Those are the signs that they perform, and the *prodigia* about

¹ See MLLM, *incantatio*: enchantment, spell, or sorcery; "in its proper understanding": the root, *incantare*, means to repeat over and over. By strict legal definition, an Anabaptist is guilty of repeating the ceremony of baptism.

thun/ vnnd die *prodigia*, daruon *Christus* geredt hat.^a Arbeiten sie/ vnnd essen das brodt jhrer arbeit/ vnnd weren so gefliessen dem nechsten zu geben/ alß zu nemen/ vnnd verbrechten die sechs stuck der Heiligen Barmhertzigkeit/ vnnd dergleichen/ so würdt jhr Mißglaub/ in ein andere ordnung gahn: Vnnd so sie von solcher sach wegen getödt würden/ wer wolt sie als dann nicht für Marterer erkennen? Fürwar/ so sie von wegen der wercke der barmhertzigkeit würden jhr leben dargeben/ es würd jhn nicht ein jedlicher flamm schaden thun/ sondern sie wurden manchem Todt entrinnen/ vnd so liederlich nit verbrennen oder sterben. Die artickel aber darumb sie jhr leben wagen/ beweisen jhrs glaubens werck/ dz sie bey Gott nit fast angenehm seindt: Dann von der Artickeln wegen/ würden sie auff dem Rost baldt verbrennen/ vnd im Oelhafen baldt versieden. Es wer jhn wol zu bedencken/ dz die Heiligen vor viel Todt erlöst sind worden/ vnd sich selbst nicht so schnell feyl botten/ vnd vor manchen todthütt worden/ wunderbarlichen auß dem gefencknuß ggangen: Den sie haben Gott gefallen/ darumb er sie lenger gebraucht hat. Diesen aber werden nicht jhr Leben gestreckt/ nur flux her dem Todt zu: Das ist ein widerspiel gegen den Heiligen/ dieselbigen haben erzittert ab dem todthütt vnnd mit schweren^b | 267 | hertzen antretten/ noch hatt die liebe des fleischs in todthütt lassen zwingen: So diese mit tantzen drein springen. Vnnd so wir thetendt alles daß/ das sie gethan haben/ vnnd folgten jhrer lehr/ noch thetendt wir die sechs werck der Barmhertzigkeit nicht/ darinn der erst grundt der lieb ligt zu dem nechsten. Was ist

^a In a world of hearsay, P. defends against the alleged marvels that undermine his position by relating them to the “signs and wonders” against which the Bible warns: “und ob aber **prodigia und zeichen** geschehen, das muß durch den Pseudochristum beschehen, also auch durch den pseudomedicum, das sovil geret ist, die arzney sol bleiben in irem liecht und nit bei den vermeinten erdichten arzten” (*Große Wundarznei*, S 10:161). Yet as the *Sieben Defensiones* state, there were also those who produced true works or signs and wonders by following the true ancient medicine: “es gibts aber eigne vernunft, das auf den Hippocratem geret ist worden, auf Apollinem und Machaonem welche mit rechtem geist der arzney curirt haben, prodigia, signa und opera fürgestellt und liechter in der natur erschienen” (S 11:159). Those who followed “in die Machaonischen fußtapfen” are the physicians whom the Bible enjoins us to hold in high esteem.

^b Sudhoff (282): “schwerem.”

which *Christus* spoke.¹ If they were to work and to consume the bread of their labor, and if they were as eager to give to their neighbor as to take [from him], and if they adhered to the six items of Holy Mercy,² and everything else of that kind, then their abusive belief would enter into a different order. And if they were to die for such a cause, who would not then recognize them as martyrs? Indeed, if they were to sacrifice their lives for the works of mercy, not just any flame could harm them. They would instead escape from many a death and not burn and die so wretchedly. However, those articles (**artickel**)³ for which they dare to give up their lives prove the effect of their belief: they are not actually pleasing to God. For on account of those articles, they would be eager to roast on the grill and boil to death in the vat of oil. They would do well to consider that the saints were saved from death many times over, and did not offer themselves up so quickly, and often were protected from death, [and] miraculously found release from prison. For they did please God, and this is why he worked through them for a longer time. But as for these, their lives will not be extended. Just get on with it [they think], and let me go to my death. That is the contrast with the saints: they trembled before death and went to it with a heavy | 267 | heart; nor did the love of the flesh force them to their death, as is the case with these with their dancing and jumping to it. And if we were to do everything that they have done, and were to follow their teaching, we would still not have performed the six works of mercy of which the first ground is love of one's

¹ Given the context and its negative cast, P. is undoubtedly referring to Mk 13:22, [Jesus says that] "False messiahs and false prophets will appear and produce **signs** and omens, to lead astray, if possible, the elect." The Vulgate actually reads: "*Exsurgunt enim pseudochristi et pseudoprophetae, et dabunt signa et portenta ad seducendos, si fieri potest, etiam electos.*"

² P. refers to the first six works of corporal **mercy** (NCA): feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, harboring the shelterless, visiting the sick, and ransoming the captive. He omits the seventh, burying the dead. It is apparently irrelevant to his concern here with aiding one's living fellows.

³ As opposed to the six tenets ("sechs stuck") of mercy, the "**articles**" refer to the Anabaptist Schleithem Confession of 1527. (On their effect, see RH 164: "Those who compiled it, called the 'Swiss Brethren,' looked back to St. Gall and Appenzell and were aware that they were fencing themselves off on two sides. The Schleithem articles began by bewailing that 'a very great offence has been introduced by certain false brethren among us, so that some have turned aside from their faith, in the way they intend to practice and observe the freedom of the Spirit and of Christ.'" This Anabaptist assault on the Reformation mainstream, as if it were merely some deviant sect, elicited furious responses of which P.'s is an example.)

das für ein werck/ der faull vnnd fressig ist/ vnnd aller vntrew voll?
Bekleiden auch nicht die Armen/ achten auch der Krancken nicht/ nur
die augen hencken/ vnnd niemandt ansehen.

Soll das nicht ein verführter Glaub sein/ vnnd gerechnet in die zall
der kranckheiten/ wie ich vom Glauben geschrieven hab. Dann erfahren
jhre Legend neben den Heiligen/ so finden jhr/ das nichts anders ist/
dann *praesumptio*/ darinnen sie sich selbst in einen glauben füren/
vnnd glauben den Berg ins Meer/ aber nicht wieder hinauß. Sterben
von wegen des glaubens/ ist ein selig ding: Aber sterben von der
Artickeln wegen/ so sie füren/ ist ein todt/ der auß dem Mißglauben
geboren wirt. Es ist nicht ein kostbarlicher todt/ der todt/ der von
solcher dingen wegen auffgelegt wirdt. Dann wann jhr verbrennen/
was werck folgen euch nach? Wo sind die frucht der Heiligen? Dann
zwey mal Tauffens ist kein Heyligen frucht: Jedermann verschmehen/
vnnd verachten/ ist kein Heiligen frucht: Für ewere Feindt bitten/ die
euch durchächten/ ist kein Heiligen frucht. Dann die Artickel die jhr
füren/ so auch *Paulus* zu gegen stünd/ er würd euch ohndurchächtet
nicht lassen: Woltent jhr den für jhn bitten? Bittent jhn/ das Er für
euch bitt: Dann jhr seindt durchächter/ vnnd die nicht/ für die jhr
bittent. Darumb alle die/ so solch leut vor augen haben stehen/ sollen
betrachten/ das sie sich selbst vberglauben/ vnnd den Glauben/ denn
wir sollen stracks zu Gott han/ den mißbrauchen sie zu jhren wercken/
vnnd vergessen hiebey sich selbst zuerkennen. Dann vberredter Glaub
hat sie dahin bracht/ das sie nicht mögen abstehen: Vnnd liegen in der
kranckheit/ zu gleicher weiß wie die mit Sanct Veits Tantz/ wann sie
jhr Fantasey ankompt/ so müssen jhre fürnemmen für sich gehen.

Vnd wen wir all würden/ wie sie seind/ noch wirdt kein
hun| 268 |geriger^a gespeißt/ kein nackender kleidt/ kein krancker
gesundt/ kein elnder beherbergt/ den die ding all brauchen ein
hauptgut. Sie wollendt aber nicht arbeiten/ damit jhr nechster auch
hab/ sondern faullentzen/ vnnd schmorotzen/ vnnd also ein anderen
leeren. Soll das ein glaub sein/ die nur auff jhr Küchen schawendt/
vnnd die Biblischen vnnd Euangelischen Gesetz nicht halten/ vnnd
das Gesetz der Natur verwerffen/ darbey auch das gröste Gebott/ daß

^a Sudhoff (283): "Und wenn...kein hungriger."

neighbor. What kind of work is that which is foul and gluttonous and full of every sort of faithlessness? That does not clothe the poor. It shows no regard for the sick, but instead only lowers its eyes and looks at no one.

Is that not indeed a perverted faith and to be accounted among the number of the diseases in the way I have written about belief? For if we learn of their legend along with that of the saints, then we find in it nothing less than the *praesumptio*¹ in which they get themselves into a belief, and imagine the mountain into the sea, but do not imagine it back out of the sea. To die for one's faith is a blessed thing. But to die on account of the articles that they exalt is a death born of abused faith. It is not a precious death, the one that is imposed on account of such things. For when you burn, what sort of works follow after your death? Where are the fruits of the saints? For baptizing twice is not a saintly fruit. To scorn and despise everyone is not a saintly fruit. To pray for your enemies who thoroughly despise you is not a saintly fruit. As for those articles that you introduce, if *Paulus* were here now, he too would feel utter contempt for you. Do you want to pray for him too? Ask him instead to pray for you. For you are the ones who are full of contempt and not those for whom you pray. This is why all those who are confronted with this sort of people should recognize their superstitious dissimulation, and the faith that we should have in God they abuse for their works and forget to recognize themselves for what they are. For an inveigled faith has brought them to this pass, [to the point] that they cannot desist. They have deceived themselves into [having] this disease, just as have those suffering from St. Vitus' dance. When their fantasy comes upon them, their intentions must be carried out.

If all of us were to become like them, even then no one who suffers hunger | 268 | would be fed, no one naked be clothed, no one sick made well, no one who is wretched would be quartered; for all of these things require a chief good. But they do not want to work so that their neighbor will receive. They only want to be lazy and parasites, and thus take everything that belongs to someone else. Is that supposed to be a faith which only looks to its kitchen and does not adhere to biblical or evangelical commandments, and casts out the law of na-

¹ See MLLM, *praesumptio*: worse than presumptuousness, the term signified effrontery, disobedience, or violence.

das gesatz gibt/ nicht halten? Wer wolt sagen/ das die Christenlich stürben? Darumb spricht jhr keiner/ Kehr mich vmb/ vnd bratt mich auff der seiten auch: Dann je ehe sie von der Welt kommen/ je nutzer der Welt/ darumb erzeigt jhn Gott kein Tod nicht.

Weiter auch gibt der glauben begeren der menschen/ nemlich alß dann ettliche seind/ die da glauben/ sie sehen die heiligen/ vnnd sehen wunderbarliche ding: Denselben erscheint auch ein solchs/ also/ das der Glaub jhn ein solche Bildtnuß fürstelt im schlaff oder auch wachendt. Dann auß solchen Glauben gesichten seindt die Treum- außleger erstanden:^a den was ist der Traum ahn jhm selbst als allein/ die fliegend arth des glaubens? Vnnd das sie glauben/ das kompt jhn für/ vnnd seind gleich dieselbigen heyligen/ die sie dann meinen sie seiens. Wie die höltzenen vnnd Götzen Heyligen sindt/ dieselbigen macht der leib/ vnnd diese macht dein Glaube: Also treibt auch der Glauben durch solch Bildtnuß gleichen/ die Wünschelruten in den henden/ lescht auch kertzen ab/ treibt den schlüssel vmb/ treibt die Scheer/ vnnd das Sieb vmb. Vnd wie dieselbigen künst erfunden werden/ heutt gutt/ morgen böß/ ein^b Ja/ zehen Nein/ ein mall war/ zehen mall erlogen: Also seindt auch die Treum/ vnd dieselbigen gesicht war/ vnd erlogen durcheinanderen. Denn jhnen ist mit jhrem glauben gleich als einem/ der ein Alchimist ist/ derselbig weiß nichts/ vnnd sucht für vnnd für: Gerath jhm eins/ so fehlen jhm zwentzig: Wen ein mal ein warheit kompt/ so geschicht^c es nehmen. Also geschicht auch mit den dingen im glauben: Du glaubst das dir nit wissendt ist/ vnnd darumb so du es nicht weist/ so weiß auch dein glaub nicht: Denn wie du bist/ also ist er auch. Wiewol das ist/ das wir im Glauben den Geisten gleich sind/ | 269 | vnd alle ding vns wissent: aber nit alle ding noth/ dem leib zu offenbaren. Darumb so wir leichtfertig glauben/ leichtfertig erscheußt es vns: dann je sollent wir glauben das wirs vermögen/ aber zu beschehen nit begeren/ weder darumb Taufferisch sterben/ noch nichts der gleichen zu beschehen. Dann kan die Artzney/ die zur gesundheit dienet/ auch zum tod gebraucht

^a Under the heading *Divinatio*, the Munich "*Mantischer Entwurf*" cites as its first category prophetic dream: "Somnia. das ist so eim im **traum** etwas fürkomt zukünftig, gegenwertig, vergangnes, oder kunst oder schez oder anders heimlichs. und ist ein kunst, dan sie mag das gestirn im traum fertigen, das durch den traum offenbar wird" (S 10:657). *Divinatio* is the art of fashioning prophetic stars in one's sleep.

^b Sudhoff (284) adds emphasis: "ein."

^c Sudhoff (284): "gesicht."

ture, and thereby disobeys the greatest commandment of the law? Who would want to say that they die a Christian death? For this reason none of you says: “Turn me over and roast me on the other side too.” For the sooner they leave the world, the better it is for the world. This is why God does not indicate such a death to them.

Furthermore, belief also results in the desires that people have. For example, there are some who believe they see the saints and other miraculous things. To these people, it appears as if belief presents them with an image in their sleep or when awake. As a result of this sort of belief, there arose the interpreters of dreams. For in itself what else is a dream other than the flighty nature of belief? That which they believe comes before them; and it is a matter of those same saints which they imagine themselves to be. It is as with the wooden and idolatrous saints. Those are made by the body; and these are made by your belief. In this manner belief compels such image-likenesses, like witching sticks in one’s hands. It puts out candles, turns the key in the lock, knocks the scissors and sieve around. In the same way that those arts are to be assessed: today good, tomorrow bad, one time yes, ten times no, one time true, ten times a lie—so it is also with dreams and visions, the truth and the lie are thoroughly mixed. With respect to their belief, it is as with someone who is an alchemist: He does not know anything and keeps trying and trying. If he is successful once, he fails twenty times. If one time a truth comes out of it, this never happens again. So it is also in the matters of belief. You believe in whatever it is that you do not know; and because you do not know it, neither does your belief know it. For as you are, so is [your belief] too. It may be the case that in belief we are like the spirits | 269 | and all things are known to us. But not all things need to be revealed to the body. Hence, if we believe credulously, it turns out for us just that way: [The truth is that] we should always believe our capability and not [believe] in that which we wish to have happen. [We should believe] neither that we ought to die as Anabaptists, nor that anything else of the kind should happen. For [the same] medicine that serves health can also be

werden: so wissen auch hiebey/ das jhr den Glauben in seinen
wercken dermassen auch verstehen sollen.

used to bring about death. Accordingly, you should keep in mind that you need to understand belief in its works in the above sense.

*LIBER SECVNDVS,
De Impressionibus Coeli occulti,
totus desideratur.^a*

Das dritte Buch/
von den Vnsichtbarn Wercken/
des Hochgelehrten Herrn *THEOPHRASTI
PARACELSI.*^b

Also das eins auff dz ander gang/ vnd hingelegt werden die beschehen arbeit/ so volgt hernach das dritte Buch von den Vnsichtbaren dingen. Vnnd ist hie in diesem Buch mein fürnemmen/ allein zu beschreiben die krefft der Eingebildten wercken/ so allein den Frawen angehörig sein zu der zeit/ so sie schwanger sein/ Item den Kindern anhengig werden/ vnd ersehen: Auch den Mannen/ was jhnen jhr Imagination thut.^c Nun aber wiewol biß hieher im grund der Philosophey keiner hierinn angetast hat: so wird ich mich nicht beschemen/ hierinn auch

^a A possible draft for the missing book is the “Fragmentum de morbis ex incantationibus et **impressionibus** inferioribus, das ist von den unsichtbaren krankheiten” (S 9:353). Sharing themes with the other books, the fragment is also at pains to distinguish between Christ’s eucharistic “Nacht Mahl” (which has been turned into an “elevatio” in the mass) and the magic of incantations or of *mumia* (355, cf. 363ff.). Sleep, dreams, prophecy, suicide, and the magnet *qua* charisma are among its themes. In light of the arsenal of evil magic, P. quotes a proverb he shares with Sebastian Franck: “ie gelerter, ie verkerter” (“the more learned the more perverted”). All this is reflective of a popular mentality that both required and reviled a Dr. Faustus (355). Many of the themes of the fragment are taken up elsewhere in the completed version of the present work. What is only marginally present beyond the fragment, but well represented in other writings of the period, is the theme of the Lord’s Supper (cf. Rudolph¹), a theme possibly too sensitive for this moment of crisis.

^b Sudhoff (285) inserts in square brackets: “Prologus”; as is found in V (303).

^c The operation of the **imagination** upon the body and in its generation is a theme in various writings, most specifically in *De Virtute Imaginativa* (S 14:309-19), a fragment that begins by conceptualizing the human being as existing in two realms, a visible and an invisible one. Their interaction requires an agency which can be conceived macrocosmically. Hence, the imagination is compared to a sun which acts variously upon things: “wie die sonn leiblich werk tut, das und anderst, also tuts auch imaginatio, die gibt das feur” (310). Imagination as agency is thus linked to a variety of other concepts: to that of the magically potent image; to the “impression” as the action of celestial forces on terrestrial objects; to the human being as an image upon which the imagination of the pregnant *matrix* projects forms; to the attractive power of the magnet; and in a mysterious way, to the ignition of a virtue comparable to alchemical fire: “intentio vel imaginatio zündet an virtutem vegetativam, wie ein feur ein holz, als wir de imaginatione sunderlich schreiben” (S 3:98).

*LIBER SECUNDUS,
De Impressionibus Coeli occulti,
totus desideratur.*¹

The Third Book
on the Invisible Works,
by the Highly Learned *THEOPHRASTUS
PARACELSUS*.

In the interest of the one thing following upon the other and in seeing the labor that has been performed laid out, the third book on the invisible things will follow here. In this book, it is my intention to describe the powers of the imagined works which are peculiar only to women in the time of their pregnancy, as well as how these then accrue to their children and become apparent in them.² In addition [I will discuss] men and what is performed by their imagination. Though no one has so far broached this subject in terms of foundational philosophy, I will not be embarrassed to be first to do this, no more than I was

¹ The draft summarized vis-à-vis (presumably for the missing *Liber secundus*) is discussed by Rudolph²: “In the attempt to determine Hohenheim’s place in the denominational spectrum at the time, one can find clues not only in the still largely unpublished theological writings from the beginning of the 1530’s but also in early drafts (from the same period) of ‘Die Bücher von den unsichtbaren Kranheiten,’ a work with immense significance for Paracelsian theology” (2). Rudolph discusses P.’s opposition to the elevation of the Host; his opinion that one does not require learning for faith; and his proximity to the Southwestern Protestants: P. “employs in an unmistakable way the arguments and terminology used in their disputes with Luther by the South Germans and the Swiss (Bucer, Oecolampadius, and Zwingli), noting that God gave his body and blood...to his disciples. There is no transformation, no ‘show’ (‘nichts wird furgemacht’); what is eaten (that is to say the elemental bread and wine) is enclosed by the mouth and digested in a natural way. The body and blood of Christ on the other hand are relished in faith...”

² **Pregnancy and prenatal influence of the imagination** are for P. medical themes, but also intertwined with the ethical-theological issues of marriage. The latter is understood both as a means to procreation and, in conformity with a Reformation discourse, a regimen preventing lasciviousness, fornication, adultery, and “secret sins” (see Susan C. Karant-Nunn, “Marriage,” OER). See also note on *imagination*, H 1:221.

der erste zu sein/ wie in den gemeldten vorgehenden Büchern auch. Dann die zeit der Erndten/ gibt den nottürfftigen dingen/ so zeitlig auff die Erndt erwachsen sind/ sein Schnitter vnd sein | 270 | Fuhrmann/ damit ein jedlichs zu seiner zeit/ an das liecht gebracht werde. Vil haben gemeint vnd gewehnt/ sie haben den Weitzen der Philosophie geschnitten: es war aber ein thummes Korn/ ein hülßen ohn ein kernen/ ein lerer Spreüer/ Kleien da kein mehl in war. Wie lang aber bawet man bey solchem schnitt/ oder wer wirt damit gespeißt? niemandts. Dann zu früh schneiden gibt kein Brott ins hauß. So aber die Erndt da ist/ so werde gehandelt/ wie in der Erndt zeit der brauch ist. Darumb Leser/ dieweil die werck wunderbarlich sind/ der Frawischen einbildung/ auch der Mannen: ist billich den vrsprung zu suchen solcher dingen/ die bey vns der vnsichtbar Cörperl handelt vnd wandelt. Damit das hierinn kein Zauberey/ Gespenst^a vnd Geisterey/ möge erfunden werden/ oder den Abergleubischen Secten zugeleit: will ich den grundt beschreiben dieser ding/ mich nicht behelffen einerley gewalts der alten Scribenten/ sondern/ vnangesehen derselbigen all/ will ich des liechts des Menschen außweisung anzeigen/ darinn jr euch erinnern mögen/ den grundt vnd weiter kein anderer zu sein/ damit Leser/ daß du dich hierinn wissest zu versehen.

Eingang des dritten Buchs.

Dieweil nuhn alles in der ersten Vorred gnugsam entdeckt ist: daß der Mensch in zwen theil gesetzt ist/ sichtig vnd vnsichtig. Von dem sichtigen ist mein fürnemmen nit zu schreiben/ es sey dann sach/ das er gleichnuß müß darzeigen. Dann was ist/ das billicher solle gleichnuß fürhalten/ dann die ding die gleich sind? Aber von dem vnsichtbaren Cörperl wirt ich weiter schreiben/ darinn mercket am aller ersten das Exempel. Der sichtig Cörperl hat sein würckung in allen dingen/ vnnd alle seine bewegung/ vnnd was er thut/ daß sicht der Mensch. Nuhn ist es aber nur die halb arbeit/ das/ das man sicht: die ander halb arbeit sicht niemandts/ die thut der vnsichtbar Cörperl. Als ein Zimmerman/ der bawet ein hauß mit zweyen Cörperl:^b in dem vnsicht-

^a Sudhoff (285): "gespensterei"; V (303): "gespennst."

^b Sudhoff (286): "cörperln"; V (303 *verso*): "Cörpern"

in the preceding books. For the time of harvest yields those essential things which have become ripe for the harvest by the reaper and | 270 | transporter. All things come to light when their time has arrived. There are many who suppose they have already reaped the wheat of philosophy, but it was nothing more than a stale grain, a husk without a kernel, an empty chaff and clover that yields no sort of flour. How long can they go on with that sort of reaping? Who is going to be nourished by it? No one. For to reap too early puts no bread on the table. But when the harvest is ready, you proceed as is the custom in the time of harvest. For this reason, reader, because the works of the female and male imagination are indeed wondrous, it is proper to seek after the origins of the things that pertain to the actions and undertakings of our invisible body. In order that in these matters no sort of sorcery, ghosts, or spirits should be thought of as present and [in order that such powers] should not be attributed to the authority of any superstitious sects, I intend to explain the basis of these phenomena without any appeal to the ancient authors. Quite without any reference to them, I intend to make manifest the instruction of the light of the human being, all of which you ought to take to heart and understand as the true explanation that excludes all others, so that you, reader, should be conversant in such matters.

Beginning of the Third Book

In the first preface all of this has been sufficiently disclosed: the human being is cast in two parts, visible and invisible. It is not my purpose to write of the visible one, except when it is needed to serve as a likeness. For what could possibly better serve as a likeness than things that are alike? However, I will have more to say about the invisible, about which first of all the following example should be heeded. The visible body has an effect on all things; and all of its motions and actions are seen by the human being. But all of this is only half of the action performed; it is only that which we see. The other half is seen by no one. It is performed by the invisible body (**der vnsichtbar Körper**).¹ Imagine that a carpenter were to build a house with [what we will call] two bodies: In respect to the invisible one, he is building

¹ See Grimm, **Körper**: though explained as an archaic form that avoids the double “r,” the use of this form alongside Latin *corpus* in a context that refers to aspects or “halves” of the body also suggests a specialized diminutive.

baren/ da bawet ers in der Bildtnuß/ im sichtbaren/ augenscheinlich. Also sollen jhr auch hierinn verstehn/ wie der leib gewalt hatt zu bawen vnd zu machen/ vnd | 271 | auffzurichten was die Bildtnuß gibt: Also ist auch den vnsichtbaren Cörpern möglich dergleichen auch zu bawen/ vnnd zu handeln/ ein jedlicher Cörper nach dem vnd sein eigenschafft/ sein schöpfung inhalt. Als ich setz/ ein Zimmermann bawet ein hauß: dann darzu ist sein leib in der schöpfung angesehen worden. Zum andern mercket auff das/ ein anders Exempel: Ein schwangere Fraw sehe nun dasselbig hauß an/ vnd brechts in ein solche starcke Imagination/ die sich vergleichen möchte zu solchem willen/ der da gleich wer dem willen des Zimmermans/ den er vollkommen hat/ zu bawen ein hauß: jetzt bawt jr Imagination ein hauß inwendig im vnsichtbaren Cörper/ wie das hauß ist/ so sie ingebildet hat. Dann was die bildtnuß dem leib zuwercken gibt/ dz gibt der leib derselbigen bildtnuß widerumb: vnd was die inbildung den augen gibt zu sehen/^a das treiben die augen hindersich wider in die bildtnuß. Also sehen die augen ein hauß/ vnnd wenn das hauß nimmer vor den augen stehet/ noch sichstus.^b Also zeigt diß Exempel an die eigenschafft eines jedlichen Cörpels nach seiner schöpfung.

Nuhn aber der Leib hatt sein Holtz vnnd sein Instrument/ damit er alle ding auffricht vnd bawet: diese ding sind all auch in dem vnsichtbaren Cörper: da ist kein Handtwerck nicht/ das nicht inn seiner inbildung allen seinen Werckzeug sehe. Vnnd wie eins jedtlichen Bildtnuß die ding sehen kan/ so scharff hat ers in/ in dem vnsichtbaren Cörper: dann der sichtig Cörper lehrt auß dem vnsichtbaren. Darauff so merckent/ dieweil die ding all im vnsichtbaren Cörper liegen/ das auch der vnsichtbar Cörper dieselbigen brauchen kan/ inn aller weiß vnd form/ wie der sichtig. Nuhn kan der sichtig Cörper nicht wercken/ allein jhm helff dann die Kuglen/ das ist/ Himmel vnd Erden. Denn in derselbigen/ vnd auff derselbigen/ werden alle ding vollbracht. Ein Maler der malen will/ der muß ein jrrdische Wand han: ein Steinmetz der bawen will/ der muß ein jrrdischen boden han: ein Schmidt/ sein Amboß von der Erden. Das ist in Summa so viel geredt: was der

^a Sudhoff (286): "gibt den augen zu sehen"; V (304): "die einbiltnus."

^b Sudhoff (287): "sicht dus"; V (304): "sichts dus."

it in the image.¹ With respect to the visible one, he is building that which is manifest. Our understanding of the power of the body to build, craft, and erect that which is given by the image should be comparable to this. Therefore, it can be said that the invisible bodies also build and exert themselves in this same fashion, so that each body acts in accordance with that which lies within its character and creation. Hence, I am implying that the carpenter builds a house because in the creation his body has been provided with what it takes to do this. But now consider a second and contrasting example: [Imagine] that a pregnant woman were to look at this same house and fix her imagination so potently upon it that the action of her will would be comparable to the fully realized determination of the carpenter to build the house. Now consider how her imagination would build the house internally, through [the power of] the invisible body, in accordance with the character of the house she has imagined. For that very task that the image imposes upon the labor of the body, the body renders in turn for that same image. That which the internalization gives to the eyes to see is in turn impelled back into the image. Thus, your eyes see a house, and even when the house no longer stands before your eyes, you still see it. This example gives an indication of each of the bodies in accordance with their creation.

The [visible] body for its part possesses wood and tools of its own for erecting and building things. [Comparable] materials and tools are available to the invisible body: there is no craft labor that does not look to all of its instruments within its imagination. To the extent that the inner image of everyone can see these things, they are possessed every bit as vividly within [the realm of] the invisible body. For the visible body is instructed by the [realm of the] invisible one. You should take note in this regard that, since all things are present in the [realm of the] invisible body, the invisible body can make use of them in every form and manner, just as does the visible body. The visible body cannot effect its works unless it is supported by the spheres, namely, the heavens and the earth. For it is in and upon these that all things are accomplished. A painter who wants to paint must have an earthly wall. A stonemason who wants to make things must have an earthly ground. The smithy needs an anvil of the earth. In sum, all of

¹ This assertion makes sense if **image** is understood as the sphere and medium of imagination or intention: the conscious builder must build in his consciousness even as he reconstructs his images in wood or stone with his hands.

Mensch macht/ das muß er etwa auff machen: dann ohn dz etwas ist all sein kunst nichts. Nun wirt kein kunst geben von Gott/ sie hab dann auch jr notturfft jrer vollendung. Also mercket diß exempel/ | 272 | warauff es diene. Die Imagination ist ein Werckmeister in jr selbst/ vnnnd hatt die Kunst vnnnd allen Werckzeüg/ alles was sie gedencken mag dasselbig zu machen es sey auff Kiefferey/ Malerey/ Schlosserey/ Weberey/ etc.: zu diesen dingen allen ist sie bereit/ vnd kunstreich. Was geht jhr nuhn ab? nichts/ als allein die Kuglen/ darauff sie es mach: das ist/ die Wand darauff sie mahl/ was sie haben wil: weiter hatt sie kein gebresten. So subtil vnnnd gewaltig ist sie/ das jhr möglich ist/ alles das nachzuthun/ das die augen sehen vnd begreifen/ vnd obs schon sein eigner sichtbarer leib nicht kan. So scharff vnd sinnreich ist die kunst/ daß sie ein Fliegen ab einer Wand mahlet/ auff den boden den sie hatt/ vnnnd so scharff die augen absehen/ so scharff ist jr möglich auch ein Spinnenwep so scharff entwerffen/ so scharffs die augen vnnnd die Spinnen ersehen vnd machen mögend.

Damit die ding leichter zuuerstehn sind bey den schwangern Frawen/ vnnnd aber das ich weiter des bodens nit vergeß/ so ist das Kind/ so in der Mutter leitt der boden vnd die kuglen. Darumb es bey den Mannen nicht möglich ist in jhrer Imagination solcher Handwerck Meister stück zuvolbringen.^a Darumb so wirt von Mannen kein meldung weiter geschehen/ sondern allein von den Frawen/ in denen sie am höchsten wohnet. Wiewol das ist/ das im Viech/ alle die farben/ so sie eusserlich tragen/ die Bildtnuß gibt/ vnd nit die natürlich geberung: so lauffen auch jhre *Imaginationes* so dunckel/ gleich dommerig/ wie ein Närrichter traum. Dann die höchst Speculation/ so das Viech fasset/ in der zeit so sie tragen/ geschicht durch den widerschein/ so sie sich selbst im wasser sehen. Dann ein jetliche Imagination geht durchs wasser am krefftigsten/ wiewol sie auch offtmals auß gewonheit geht/ als in den Kropfflanden/ da sie mehr vrsachen nemmen auß

^a Sudhoff (288): "meisterstück zu volbringen."

this means that whatever the human being makes, he has to make on something.¹ For unless there is something like this, then his entire art is in vain. As it happens, however, no art has been given by God without that which is necessary for its completion. Therefore, consider this example | 272 | [and] the purpose which it serves: The imagination is a craftsman in and of itself and possesses both the art and the entire equipment to make everything that it has in mind, whether it be coo-
perage,² painting, metal working, weaving, or what have you. It is prepared and skilled for all these things. What else is needed? Nothing except the spheres in which it works: that is, the wall on which it paints what it chooses. There is nothing else that it lacks. It is so subtle and powerful that it is able to imitate everything that the eyes see and grasp, and indeed it can even accomplish things that the visible body cannot. Art is so keen and ingenious that it can paint a fly off the wall and onto the ground which it possesses. So sharply do the eyes trace [things] that it is possible to sketch a spider's web every bit as finely as the eyes are able to see it and the spider itself can spin it.

In order to make it easier to understand what goes on in the case of the pregnant women—and I certainly do not want to forget to mention this ground any longer—the child that lies within the mother is her soil and sphere. This is why it is not possible for men to use their imagination to bring about such masterpieces in their craftwork of this type. Accordingly, I will say nothing further about men in this respect, but rather speak only of women in whom these [powers] are present in the highest degree. It may be the case that with animals all the colors which are borne [in from] without, rather than by the natural generation, are what result in the image. Yet their *imaginationes* work so darkly, so much as if in a twilight (**dommerig**),³ that it is like a foolish dream. For the highest form of speculation of which a pregnant animal is capable occurs by way of the reflection that they see of themselves in water. Indeed, every instance of imagination is transmitted most powerfully by water, though often it happens from habit (**gewonheit**)⁴ as if it were a matter of getting stuck in their craw (**in den Kropfflan-**

¹ Peuckert is probably correct in rendering **etwa auff** as “auf etwas.” The analogy is to the “foundation.”

² Peuckert has **Küferei**, barrel-making, the cooper's trade.

³ For this word, not found in Grimm, Peuckert convincingly substitutes **dämmerig**.

⁴ See Grimm, **Gewohnheit**: The definition is uncommonly complex, but a proverbial wisdom cited by S. Franck, that “habit is second nature” (I,2,c,α), prevails here over the alternate sense of “custom.”

der gwönlichen einbildung als durch ander sachen der Natur. Nun aber mein fürnemmen nach zufahren/ wie das Kind die Erden ist/ auff welche gebawet wirt das jenig/ daß die bildtnuß macht/ ist die vrsach. Der leib den wir sehen/ ist der Frawen: die bildtnus der Imagination ist auch jhr/ dann die Fraw ist sie beide. Darumb kan sie auff sich selbst nit bawen: dann niemandts bawet auff sich | 273 | selbst/ sonder nur auff ein anders. Dann der da bawet/ der will desselbigen Baws geniessen: niemandt geniest aber sein selbst. Dieweil nun auff die Erden gebawet wirt/ so wirt durch den Baw gewissen/ daß dasselbig die Erden ist. Also beweisen die Gebew der inbildung/ welchs die Erden ist in Mutter Leib: darauff sich befindt/ daß die Werck vnd Gebew auff dem Kind stehe: darumbso ist auchdas Kind die Erden/ vnd das/ darinnen es ligt/ ist die eusser Spher vnd Kuglen/ das wir den Himmel heissen.

Also ist die Fraw in jhrer einbildung der Werckmeister/ vnd das Kind ist die Wand/ da das werck auff vollbracht wirdt. Nun ist zu reden von der Hand der bildunge/ die dz entwerff: die verstand kurtzlich also. Die Hand ist vnsichtig/ auch der Werckzeug/ vnd sind doch für vnd für beyeinander. Nun wie jhr wisset/ daß die Kuh der trencke nachgeheth/ das ist/ das ein jeglicher Meister seiner werckstatt zugeht/ vnd geht zu dem bodem/ darauff er bawen will: also auch geht die Hand in die Zell/ darinn das Kind ligt/ mit sampt dem Werckzeug. Vnd wie der Bawmann jhm ein statt außerwelt/ die durch den geheiß deß Herrn zugehet: Also mercket hie auch/ daß die einbildung mit jhrer hand ein knecht ist/ vnnd das der Leib der Herr nicht ist in der kunst/ sonder im dargeben der statt zum Baw: vnnd weiter als sprech der Leib/ da mach mir das hin/ das ichs stets da vor augen sihe: vnd mit demselbigen geheiß/ gieng die hand in dieselbige statt/ da ers haben wölt/ deutet jhm dieselbigen statt/ da mags sein: als dann so

den),¹ since they [i.e., animals] receive more impulses from their habitual imagination than from other stimuli of nature. But it is my purpose to pursue the way in which the child is the earth upon which things are built which the imagination forms. [The following] is the cause. The body which we see is that of the woman. The image [formation] by the imagination also belongs to her [invisible body]. For the [whole] woman is both of these [bodies]. Since she cannot build upon her own self, for no one can do that, | 273 | she must do so upon something else. For whoever builds does so in order to have for use that which has been built, and one cannot use oneself [in this sense]. So when one builds upon the earth, the building bears the evidence that its ground is the earth. In the same manner, the buildings of the imagination give evidence about what sort of thing is their earth within the mother's womb. The works and constructions are to be found upon the child. In this sense, the child is likewise the earth; and that within which it resides is [equivalent to] the external sphere and globe that we call the heavens.

From this you can see that the woman [operating] within her imagination is the craftsman and that the child is the ground (**Wand**)² upon which the work is carried out. This does not yet include the form-giving hand which sketches that out: this is to be understood as follows. The hand is invisible. So is the instrument. Yet both of them are inextricably linked. You know what is meant when we say that cows know how to find their watering places. This is the same as saying that every master finds his workshop and seeks out the ground on which he will build. In the same way, the hand finds its way into the cell in which the child lies and it has its tools with it. In the same way that the sower seeks out his place to sow in accordance with the instruction of the master, you should be aware that in this case, too, the imagination, with its hand, is [only] a servant; and that the body is not the master in its craft, but only [serves] to provide the place in which to build. It is as if the body were to say, "Right there, set it up, so that I will always have it before my eyes." And upon these instructions that "hand" has intervened in this particular place, where it was desired,

¹ See Wander, **Kropf**: proverbially used in negative expressions for whatever remains inarticulate: "Das wird ihm im Kropf sitzen bleiben." P. is implying that just as animals only imagine obscurely, they cannot express what they see or feel. They have thoughts and feelings but remain creatures of habit or instinct.

² See Grimm, **Wand** (II,3, b): P. uses the term interchangeably with "Grund."

wirts am selbigen orth von der inbildnus gemacht/ wie es die inbildniß^a gefaßt hatt: vnnd das verstand noch lauterer. Ein Fraw/ die also eingefaßt hat ein bildtniß/ ich setz/ sie hett ein Schnecken ersehen/ vnnd den eingebildet: vnnd in derselbigen einbildung greiffit sie mit der Hand auffs Knie/ also das beyde Cörperl mit einander giengen/ schnell auff ein minuten. Nuhn ist die gebildtnuß auff dem Kind vnnd der gebieter der bildtniß greiffit auf das Knie: jetzt wirt der Schneck dem Kind auff dz Knie gebawet/ zugleich weiß/ als zeigt ein Herr dem Mahler/ mahl mir auff jenen Ast ein Schnecken. Also verstanden/ wo der Griff der inbildung hingehet/ da geht der vnsichtbar Cörperl mit seim Werckzeug | 274 | hin/ vnd bawet das/ das jhm in sein gemüt gefallen ist.

Aber das ich von der Farben euch vnderricht/ die vnsichtbar ist vnd doch sichtbar wirt/ darinn mercken ein solch Exempel. Ihr sehet/ das ein jeglicher Same mit den farben begabt ist/ vor dem vnd er faulet in der Erden/ nach der feulunge steigen sie herfür. Also auch der Mensch im leiblichen Cörperl/ der kan nach feulung solcher dingen die farben auch herfür streichen: das ist/ der da feulen kan dz Bley/ der macht Rott daraus/ Geel/ vnd Weiß: der da feulen kan das Silber/ der macht Blaw. Nun sind die ding leiblich vnd sichtbar/ die hatt auch der vnsichtbar Leib vnsichtbar an jhm. Dann alles so in der Welt ist/ das mögen die Augen sehen: vnd was sie sehen/ das hatt auch der vnsichtbar Leib. Als ein Exempel: wie die ding so sie gefeulet sind durch den Menschen/ also feülets auch der vnsichtig leib/ vnd nimbt sie von dem sichtigen in der Welt/ vnd hat sie sichtbar in jhm/ in dem so ers sichtbar macht am Kind. Darauff mercket zwey Exempel/ ein sichtiges/ vnd ein vnsichtiges/ vnd sind doch ein ding. Das erst/ der Magnet zeucht an sich das Eisen ohn Hent vnd Füß: zugleich weiß/ wie also der Magnet das sichtig an sich zeucht/ also werden auch die *Corpora* vnsichtig/ durch die Imagination an sich gezogen. Nicht daß das *Corpus* hinein gang/ sondern das geht hinein/ das die augen sehen/ vnd nicht greifflich ist/ als die form vnnd die farbe/ vnd ohn schaden des Corpus: Zugleicher weiß wie das ander Exempel außweist/ das

^a Sudhoff (289): “inbildnus”; V (306 *verso*) has “inbildnus” but skips a line of the source shared with Huser: “deuthen ann derselbigen stat. da mags sein als dann so wirts am selbigen orth vonn der einbildung gemacht. Wie es die einbildnus gefast hat [13 words are omitted] ein bildnus. Ich setz....”

and when the spot has been pointed out, that is where it shall be. As a result, the interiorization (**inbildnus**) takes place at that particular site, precisely as the imagination (**inbildniß**)¹ has conceived it. Let's put this even more clearly. Think of a woman who has conceived an image—let us suppose that she has glimpsed a snail—and has interiorized it, grasping at her knee in the same instant; what happens is that the two bodies meet in a flash of time. In consequence, there is a formation upon the [body of] the child; and when the master of the image grasps at the knee, the result is that the snail will be constructed upon the knee of the child. It is exactly the same process as if a master were to indicate to a painter: “Paint a snail onto this limb for me.” This must be understood in the sense that wherever the grasp of interiorization touches, the invisible body with its tools goes along | 274 | too, and constructs that which has occurred to its consciousness.

But I should tell you about the color which is invisible yet becomes visible. Consider this example: You can see that every sort of seed is endowed with colors before it rots in the earth, [so that] after this disintegration they emerge. The same thing happens with the physical body of the human being: after the rotting of such things, one can also cause the colors to emerge. By this I mean that, when one causes lead to rot, one can elicit the color red from it, [as well as] yellow, and white. Whoever can cause silver to rot can produce blue. These things are physical and visible; [however] the invisible body also has these invisibly present in it. For everything in the world that we can see with our eyes is also possessed by the invisible body. Here is an example: With those things that the human being has caused to rot, the invisible body likewise has rotted; and it takes them on from that which is visible in the world, and possesses them invisibly, and then makes them visible in the child. Take note of two examples: [there are] an visible thing and an invisible thing, and yet they are the same thing. The first example is that of the magnet which, without hands or feet, draws iron to itself. In the same way that the magnet draws it visibly, the *corpora* are also invisibly attracted by means of the imagination. It is not the case that the *corpus* is drawn in; rather, what goes in is that which the eyes see, though it is not tangible: namely, the form and color. But they do so without causing any harm to the corpus. Similarly, this is

¹ The variant spellings are used interchangeably by P. In the first instance, the word signifies the product (as the interiorized formation), in the second the producer (as the informing imagination).

also ist. Leg auff ein Tefelin von Waldtwißmat^a gemacht/ ein gelben Agtstein/^b vnnnd leg auff drey spannen von jhm ein Vitriol: so verleuret der Vitriol sein farb vnd sein scherrffe/ vnd in der bereitung des Agtsteins wirt sein farben vnd scherrffe gefunden/ vnd bleibt auch der Vitriol für den Augen ein gemeiner Vitriol. Dann also werden viel farben vnnnd kräfft in ander Körper gezogen/ in den dingen/ da die farben des hohen wesens sind.

Also so dem leib möglich ist/ das er mag ein kraut abbrechen vnd essen/ so ist auch möglich/ daß die inbildung mit jhm esse: gleich wie die einbildung hilfft ein Hauß bawen. Dann keiner mag sprechen/ daß der sichtig leib allein gethan habe/ sondern muß den vnsichtigen mit dem sichtigen nemmen. Darumb so | 275 | ist die einbildung mechtig/ daß sie mit einer schwangeren Frawen in solchem lust essen möge. Vnd dieweil die Erden leiblich ist/ vnd die bildtnuß ist auch der Werckmeister am selbigen ort: so mag derselbige lust der speiß mit angezogenen farben/ formen/ vnd figuren/ dasselbig gründtlich abmalen vnd entwerffen: das zugleich weiß zu verstahn ist/ als wenn Oel vnnnd Wasser bey einanderen stehen/ vnnnd es wirt ein Spangrün eingeworffen/ vnd sie empfiengen beyde die farben: oder gleich als

^a Though no further reference is available for **Waldtwißmat**, *Philosophia de Generationibus et Fructibus Quatuor Elementorum* has a brief chapter “Vom zinken und wismat”: the malleable quality ascribed to it is a remnant of the original liquid flow characterizing the birth of metals (S 13:105).

^b If the sense of this demonstration is mysterious, **Agstein** is mentioned in another context of relevance to conception in *Das Buch von der Gebärung der empfindlichen Dinge in der Verunft*. The attractive power within the matrix is like that of the “agstein” or the magnet in attracting the seed: “in der matrix ist ein anziehende kraft, welche gleich eim agstein ist und eim magneten, an sich zu ziehen den samen” (S 1:261).

shown by a second example which is as follows: Place onto a table made of forest bismuth (**Waldwißmat**)¹ a yellow amber stone (**Agstein**)² and place at a distance of three spans a [quantity of] vitriol. The vitriol will lose its color and sharpness; and in processing the amber, its colors and sharpness will again be found. What remains of the vitriol before one's eyes is common vitriol. For in this way, many colors and forces are drawn into other bodies, in things of which colors are of the highest essence.

Therefore, just as it is possible for the body to pluck off an herb and eat it, it is possible as well that the imagination should eat along with it [i.e., the visible body], in the same way that imagination helps to build a house. For no one should assert that only the visible body has done this. Rather, one should take the invisible [body as given] with the visible one. For this reason, | 275 | the imagination is mighty in the way that it craves to eat with such a great desire in the case of a pregnant woman. Since the earth is physical and the [power and will of] formation (**bildtnuß**) is also the craftsman in that particular place, that same desire for food can paint and sketch with the colors, forms, and figures that it attracts to itself.³ This should be understood as indicating the sort of process that happens when oil and water are mixed together and verdigris is thrown into it; and both of those acquire its

¹ See Grimm: **Wismat** is either "aschblei" (*plumbum cinereum*) or "markasit" ("schwefelkies"). Ruland states: "Wismat est leprosum non tractabile, vel malleabile rude stannum." Cf. NCE: "Bismuth is a silver-white, reddish-tinged, brittle metallic element ... recognized as a metal by early observers, including Georg Agricola in the 16th century, but was believed to be a kind of lead or tin." On its kindred metals, see Agricola³ 35; on its industrial and medicinal uses, Agricola⁴ 223-25.

² See Grimm, **Agstein**: amber was often combined in the Middle Ages with *achat*, *gagat*, and *magnet* and called by that name. Just as the magnet attracts iron, amber attracts straw. The NCE states: "When rubbed with a cloth, amber becomes charged with static electricity. When destructively distilled, amber yields acetic, butyric, valeric, and other acids; water; and hydrocarbons... It is connected with many superstitions and believed to be a preventive against disease and bad luck." For further lore of amber, agate, and their attractive powers, see Agricola⁴ 99ff. On the religious connotations of these phenomena, see also RLAC, "Bernstein": the Fathers of the Church noted that if amber and magnet can attract created things, so much more can the Lord of all Creation draw them. For P. such attraction is likewise both physical and spiritual.

³ The **attractive powers**, whereby the "womb attracts the male sperm with all its power" and "the woman after coitus continually wants to have more," were understood as elemental forces at work in conception in the medieval *De Secretis Mulierum* (WS 121). Moreover, a humoral reaction was thought to act upon the woman's "stomach, causing an appetite for unusual foods, because similars seek similars" (WS 122).

wenn Kupffer keh in den Magen *Vulcani*, so gibt es zwen Leib/ vnd ein jeglichen Leib sein farb. Dann da ist kein scheidung in der Frawen/ dann was dem einen Leib zunehmen ist vnd zuthun/ das ist auch dem andern gleichsam möglich: was er darff gedenccken mit verwilligung des Leibs/ das beschicht. Wiewol die Irrdischen Exempel hart vnd schwer zuverstehn sind/ so nemment euch ein gewaltiger^a Exempel/ das ein Mensch mag nach innhalt Himmlisches Lauffs/ sich in das lang leben *Saturni* begeben/ oder mag sich selbst zu ein Sonnen Kind machen: das ist/ so er were ein Kind *Lunae*, vnd lebete mit der kranckheit vnnnd gesundtheit/ wie *Luna* in jhrer Natur were: so mag er sich jhr entsetzen vnnnd Sonnisch werden. Wie also dieselbigen ding geschehen/ geschicht durch anziehende krafft/ so die^b wunderbarlichen wircket. Dann gleichsam möglich ist/ vnsichtigen dingen jhr form vnd natur abzuziehen/ als möglich ist ein Leib mit den Henden zunehmen. Dann wie möglich ist/ daß der Leib kan abbrechen oder in die Hand nemmen ein leiblich ding: in solcher möglichkeit nimpts auch der lust der bildung. Dann ein jeglich eusserlich ding hatt zwen Leib/ sichtbarlich vnd vnsichtbarlich/ also nimpt jetweder Leib den seinen: vnd wie vil genommen wirt durch den Leib/ da die Exaltirte bildung nicht mitlaufft: Also wirt auch viel genommen von der exaltirten bildung/ da der exaltirt Corpus nicht mitlaufft.

Nuhn mercken weiter ein Exempel. Es wirt gesprochen/ Es regnet Fröschen:^c wie aber dasselbig zugang/ das mercket. Die ding die den Regen machen/ sind die vnsichtigen Körper des Menschen. Zugleicher weiß/ wie die Erden ist der sichtbar leib: Nun werden die Frösche Irrdisch/ vnd entspringen auß der Erden/ | 276 | daruon der sichtbar Leib sein vrsprung nimpt. Nuhn das es aber Fröschen regnet/ ist wider die Natur: dann vrsach/ von der Erden wachsen sie/ vnd nit vom

^a Sudhoff (291): “gewaltigers”; V (307 verso): “gewaltigeres.”

^b Sudhoff (291): “die so”; V (307 verso) as in Sudhoff.

^c *De Virtute Imaginativa* recounts the same oddity in a similar context as a parallel to the attractive force of the pregnant woman’s imagination: “der himel leßt **frösche regnen**. nun wachsen sie im himel nit, es wird auch ir sperma nit aufgezogen in den himel, sonder alein also wirts aufgezogen, wie ein frau ein ertber etc. ...” (S 14:313). The exposition breaks off but presumably intends that the star, magnet-like, attracts frogs, as the pregnant imagination craves a strawberry (=origin of a birthmark). *Philosophia de Generationibus et Fructibus Quatuor Elementorum* affirms that some stars eject an “eget” that falls like eggs to earth, hatching out frogs, worms, toads, and vermin (S 13:44). *De Meteoris* reconfirms this precipitation of frogs from the upper firmament, concluding: “die natur ist ein muter in elementen bei den obern und undern” (S 13:194).

color. Or it is like what happens when copper enters the stomach of *vulcanus*: There are two different bodies and to each body its color is given. For there is no distinction within woman. What the one body takes and performs for itself is possible at the same time for the other [body]. Whatever is brought to mind with the will of the body thus happens. Since these earthly examples are hard and onerous to comprehend, let us take this [further] example: Depending on the particulars of the celestial course, the human being may come into the long life of *Saturnus*, or may transform himself into a solar child. Or, to take another example, if one were a child of *Luna* and of her nature with respect to disease and health, one could still counteract that nature and become solar. When these things happen, they happen by virtue of the attractive power which acts wondrously. For it is equally possible to extract the form and nature of the invisible things as it is to seize a body with one's hands. It is within this same realm of possibility, as if the body were breaking or taking up something, that the desire of formation can likewise take effect. For every external thing has two bodies, visible and invisible, and in consequence of this each body accepts what pertains to it. And in the same way that the body receives much that does not involve the exalted formation, so also there is a great deal indeed that is received from this exalted formation without the exalted body being involved.

Consider here one further example. People sometimes say that it is raining frogs. This is how such an event can take place. Those things that cause the rain are [like] the invisible bodies of the human being, just as we can speak of the earth as a visible body. Now the frogs become earthly [when] they originate from the earth, | 276 | from which the visible body also originates.¹ When it rains frogs this happens contrary to nature. I say this because the [frogs] stem from the earth and

¹ **Imagination, magnet, frog rain:** what they have in common is a visible effect of invisible forces; these imprint the child, grasp the iron, or produce something visible in apparent defiance of the elemental order.

Regen: daß sie aber vom Regen kommen/ das ist/ daß sie auß dem vnsichtbarn Leib kommen/ der neben der Erden in gleicher Generation stehet. Darumb so sind die Frösche der Erden sichtbar mit jhrem grund vnd vrsprung/ die andern aber vnsichtbar: das geschicht in dem wege. Der obere Leib hatt die anziehent krafft auß der Erden zunehmen an sich: die Erde hat auch die anziehende krafft von den obern/ auch an sich zu ziehen. Die Erden zeucht ein vnsichtbars an sich/ vnd machts sichtbar: Der Himmel/ zeucht auß der Erden ein sichtbars an sich/ vnnd machts vnsichtbar: vnd wenn ein jeglichs wider kompt in die statt/ darauß es kommen ist/ so ist es vnter den augen wie es vor war. Nun zeucht die Sonn an sich was jhren Magneten befohlen ist: vnd also ein jeglicher Stern nach seiner Magnetischen arth. Also wirt ein Fröschen wesen auch auffgezogen/ durch die schwanger art des Himmels. Vnd zu gleicher weiß/ wie ein Muttermal wirt am Kind: also ist die geberung dieser Fröschen auch. Dann die einbildete krafft ist im Himmel/ vnd die Erden ist dz Kind vnd das auff sie falt vom Himmel/ ist das/ darinn sich derselbig Stern ersehen hat/ vnd nach der eigenschafft des schwangern Magneten angezogen: vnd also/ so legen also solche krafft den schwengerischen krefften zu/ daß sie/ was die augen sehen/ durch ein Magneten an sich ziehen/ vnd gebären das/ daß sie vor augen haben am Kind/ in massen wie gesagt ist.

Das sollen jhr auch weiter verstehn/ das auch dermassen ein gantzer Saam an sich gezogen wirt/ das in den Frawen etwan Würm werden: darinn sich ein jeglicher verwundert/ dz solch vnmenschliche Würm auch getragen sollen werden in dem leib der Frawen/ da die stat der geberung ist der Bildnuß Gottes. Nuhn ist der Wurm nicht nach der Bildnuß Gottes/ so ist er auch nicht auß dem Sahmen des Manns/

not from the rain. The reason why they can come from the rain is that they emerge from the invisible body that exists alongside the earth with the same [power of] generation. Accordingly, the frogs of the earth are visible with respect to their ground and origin. However, the other [frogs] are invisible. This comes about as follows. The upper physical realm has an attractive power to draw things out of the earth to itself. The earth also exerts this attractive power upon the upper things, to draw [them] to itself. The earth [thus] attracts something invisible to itself and [in the process] renders it visible. The heavens attract from the earth something visible and make it invisible. And when each of these returns to the location from which it has arisen, then it appears before our eyes as it was before.¹ Now, the sun draws unto itself as its [inner] magnet directs it to do; and every other star does likewise in accordance with its magnetic nature. Thus, a frog essence is drawn upward by virtue of the pregnant nature of the heavens. Exactly in the same way that a birthmark arises on [the body of] a child, so does the generation of the frogs come about. For the informative (**einbildete**)² force resides in the heavens, and the earth is their child, and that which descends upon it from the heavens is the same as that in which some particular star has recognized itself,³ thereby attracting it in accordance with the quality of the pregnant magnet. In this sense, the forces of this sort augment the impregnating forces, so that whatever the eyes recognize is attracted by virtue of a magnet, with the result that they generate what appears before the eyes upon [the body of] the child, as I have explained.

You should understand something else about this, too. When in this way an entire seed is attracted, what happens is that women may develop worms. Everyone is amazed by the fact that these non-human worms can be carried in the bodies of women, given the fact that the location of giving birth pertains to the image of God. Of course, the worm is not in the image of God, nor does it arise from the seed of the

¹ The descending action of astral (solar) forces might be exemplified by the solar bleaching or altering of colors in cloth: what was invisible in the sun leaves a visible imprint on terrestrial things. The ascending action might be exemplified by evaporation in which the visible water becomes an invisible vapor.

² An equivalent of the past participle of **einbilden** is not available to convey the process of having been self-informed in the manner of an image conceived by the imagination which transforms the being of that in which it occurs (see H 1:221, note).

³ See Grimm, **sich ersehen** (7, 10): to see itself in (though not necessarily in the sense of a consciousness).

so mag er auch nicht durch essen vnd trincken/ in die statt kommen sein. Auff das wissendt/ das die schwanger arth der Frawen/ also meinn ichs/ so die stundt der empfangnuß am schnidt stündt/ vnd der lust vberwündt die Imagination/ vnd die Imagina|277|tion wer der Mann/ vnd stunde auff solche begirdt/ vnd die anziehende krafft gieng in jhr Exaltation: Jetzt so wirdt ein *sperma* eingezogen/ vnsichtbar in die statt der empfangnuß genommen auß dem orth/ do er ligt. Nuhn wechst der Wurm in der natürlichen werme: Also kommen solche geschlecht der würmen in den leib der Frawen: Darinn sich keiner sol verwundern im anziehen des vnsichtbaren Cörpers/ der doch nicht mehr ist/ dann ein abcontraftung auff das Kind. Als ein exempel: Was der leib sieht vnd begert in der schwangern arth/ das wirt im Kindt volbracht. Dann der inwendig leib ist gleich in solcher arbeit zu rechnen/ als ein Mahler gegen ein Vatter: Der Vatter arbeit sein sach leiblich/ vnd was er leiblich geboren hat/ das dasselbig der Mahler abmahlet. Wie die zwey gegen einandern stehndt/ also stehndt auch die Muttermall vnd Ammall gegen denen dingen/ daruon sie kommen seindt. Das aber solche dinge gantz in Mutterleib geboren werden/ das geschicht durch die krafft/ das der anziehent Magnet/ so in den schwangern Frawen ist/ gleich an sich zeucht/ wie der Magnet das eisen mit leib vnnd mit allem: Vnd nicht wie der Augstein die krafft auß dem Vitriol nimpt: Auch nicht wie der Amethyst^a der im Eisen Ertz wechst/ zeucht and sich das Myß von Steinen in seinen vnsichtbarn leib/ vnd wachst an jhm zu gleicher weiß/ wie das mieß ist/ darbey er gelegen ist.

Mann sagt dz die Werme außbrüte die jungen/ als ein Henn jhr jungen auß den Eyern: Dergleichen solle auch verstanden werden von vns Menschen/ dz wir durch ein solche werme auch bereit werden. Nuhn ist es nicht der werme schuldt/ wiewol sie sein muß: Sondern es ist der Frawischen arth schuldt/ vnd ist ein eigenschafft/ die allein jhnen gegeben ist/ vnnd ist nicht der leiblichen werme natur/ sondern der vnsichtigen arth/ von der gesagt ist: dieselbige ist auß den *Astris*, vnd dieselbig Sonn/ nit die im Himmel/ kocht den Menschen. Vnd zu gleicher weiß/ wie die Sonn im Firmament wermbt die gantze Erden/

^a Water is the matrix of metals; *De Gradibus* lists *amethystus* among the *gemmae* “ex aqua tertium gradum [obtinent]”; metals, planets, and gems correspond to one another (S 4:34; cf. 100).

man, nor does it come into this location by way of eating and drinking. What you should learn from this is that the pregnant nature of women—I am convinced of this—[experiences a particular process] as the moment of conception reaches its knife's edge point of fulfillment. Desire overcomes imagination. | 277 | It is as if the man were imagination, directed toward his desire, and the attractive power in the partner enters into its condition of exaltation. Precisely then, a *sperma* is drawn in and carried invisibly from the place in which it lay to the place of conception. From that point on the worm will grow in the natural warmth. That is how such worms enter the bodies of women. No one should be surprised at this attraction of the invisible body. For it is nothing more than a reproducing onto the child. Here is an example of this. Whatever the body sees and craves within the pregnant nature is brought about in the child. For with respect to this work the inner body should be understood as if it were a painter acting with a father. The father performs his work physically. What he has wrought physically is then painted by the painter. The same relationship between these two is represented by the birthmarks or spots compared to those things which give rise to them. They originate by virtue of the attracting magnet that lies within pregnant women and which attracts [things] to itself, just as the magnet attracts iron. And so it is as well with the body and everything [that pertains to it]. It is not [any different than]¹ with the amber stones that draw the force out of the vitriol, nor than with the amethyst that grows in iron ore, [and] attracts to itself the moss from the stones into its invisible body, so that [the moss] grows within it like the moss that lay next to it.

People say that warmth hatches out chicks the way a hen hatches its chicks from the eggs. The same thing applies to human beings. We are processed by a warmth of that sort. It is not the fault of the warmth, since it has to be there. It is the fault of the nature of women. It is a characteristic which only they have. It is not [a matter of] the nature of the physical warmth but rather of the invisible nature about which this can be said: It comes from the *astra*; and the sun that is not in the heavens is the one that cooks in the human being. [But] in the same way that the sun in the firmament warms the entire earth, so does this

¹ Against Huser and Peuckert, I am interpolating a double negative making the comparison positive, since P.'s argument has so far equated the occult attractive powers of other realms with the "magnet" that acts in the pregnant woman. The reader may note that the facing page reads: **Vnd nicht wie...Auch nicht wie...**

also wermbt auch diese den Leib. Darausß volgt nun/ daß die jrrdische art an vns mit dem Kind/ solcher dingen halben/ nichts zuhandlen hat/ vnd daß dz inwendig *Astrum* die ding fertiget. | 278 | Auff das volgt auch/ wie jhr sehent/ das die Sonn anzündt/ bleichet/ schwertzet/ etc. die ding/ so zu solchen farben ein eigenschafft haben: Dergleichen auch/ so geschehen ander ding durch diese *Impressiones*. Nuhn ist dem Kindt in Mutterleib auch nicht anders/ den das es von solcher Sonnen/ Farben nimpt. Darumb das gsagt ist/ wissent/ wie die Gestirn der Frawen solche wirckung zu volbringen haben/ vnnd der Mensch ist mehr/ den das Gestirn vnnd Imagination des Menschen: Dann sie geht auß der Wurtzen des Menschen/ vnd der Mensch regiert das *Astrum*.^a Auff das volgt nuhn/ das der Werckmeister das Gestirn ist/ vnd was also die Imagination heist/ das geschicht. Dann der Mensch hatt zu gebieten denen dingen allen/ die in jhm sindt/ vnd sein lust ist vnnd sein will: [Dann] ein jedlicher lust vnd begirdt/ ist ein verwilligung vnd ein geheiß/ wie es in der Imagination standt/ das also beschehe. Zu gleicher weiß ist der Mensch vber sein Gestirn/ als Gott vber das Firmament/ do er heist/ wirdt du da/ vnd du da/ da stande ein Comet/ da stand ein anders Zeichen. Also wie dieser gewalt ist/ also ist auch die Inbildung der Frawen/ was jhr lust sey zu dem eussern leib/ das es am Kind gezeichnet werde: Dann das Kind ist das Angesicht des Himmels/ vnd der leib die Erden/ vnd der Mensch ein gebierung dieser zeichen/ gleich wie Gott im Firmament. Also schnell geschehen solche zeichen/ als ein Fewrfunck/ der auß einem stahel falt. Vnnd zu gleicher weiß wie ein handt/ die mit gwalt treibt denselben Fewrfuncken auß dem Kißling/ vnd macht ein Fewr auß dem/ da keins ist. Also verstanden auch/ wie die begirdt ist ein Fewr zuhan/ vnd im außschlagen alle gedancken darauff stehndt: Also mag

^a The *Entien-Schrift* related the saying that “a wise man rules over the stars” as proverbial wisdom which P. reinterpreted in his naturalistic sense: “uns wil nicht beküern der spruch, **ein weiser man herschet uber das gestirn**, wie ir in verstehet. aber wie wir in verstehent, also wöllen wir in annemen. sie gewaltigen gar nichts in uns, sie inbilden nichts, sie ergern nichts, sie incliniren nichts, sie sind frei für sich selbs und wir frei für uns selbs. nun merken aber, das wir on das gestirn nicht leben mögen, dan kelte und werme und das digest der dingen, die wir essen und gebrauchen, kompt von inen, alein der mensch nicht” (S 1:180). A plague fragment proclaims the same dominance of human wisdom over the stars: “So groß ist menschliche weisheit das sie unter ir hat alle gestirn, firmament und den ganzen himel” (S 9:596). Wisdom commands the stars by using “characteres” wielded by magicians: “sie heißen magi, dieweil sie den himel gemeistert haben und hat müssen tun was sie wollen, in wachs, in brief, mit wörtern etc. darumb haben sie dise ding und werk zauberei geheißten...magica...das doch nit zauberei ist sonder die höheste weisheit” (597).

[invisible sun] warm the body. From this it follows that the terrestrial nature in us does not have any part in the child with respect to such matters, and that it is the inner *astrum* which processes them to completion. | 278 | From this it follows in addition that, as you can see, the sun ignites, bleaches, blackens, and performs other such operations on things that have a property [disposing them] for such colors. Moreover, other things come about, too, through these *impressiones*. Nothing different happens in the mother's womb. It takes on colors from [that other] sun. This is why people talk, as you should be aware, of how the stars produce effects of that kind in women. Moreover, the human being is more than the stars and a merely human imagination. For the latter proceeds from the very root of the human being; and the human rules over the stars.¹ From this it follows that the craftsman is the stars, and what the imagination commands is effected. For the human being can command all things that are within him and which he desires and wants to have come about. <For> every sort of desire and longing consists of willing and command. Whatever was in the imagination, that is what will happen. In the same way, the human being is above the stars, just as God is above the firmament from whence he commands: "Let this come to pass here, let that come to pass there." And we see a comet here, and some other sign there. As it is with this power, so it is with the imagination of women. Whatever object they desire in the realm of the external body will be marked on [the body of] the child. For the child is the countenance of the heavens and the body is the earth; and the human being is a generation of these signs, just as [it is with] God in the firmament. These signs are made as instantaneously as a flash of fire that flies from steel.² It is exactly like a hand that uses force to drive the fire-flash from the flint and make a fire out of it where there is none. You should also understand from this how desire is like a fire [that acts] instantaneously,³ and how, in its striking, all thoughts bear upon it. In the same way, the invisible

¹ The coincidence of the two thoughts (that imagination stems from the very root of the human being and that human beings are superior to the stars) is premised on man being created in the image of God thereby placing humanity above the stars and on the idea that the imagination is rooted in a production of images.

² See Grimm, *Stahl* (II, 3, f): the reference is to steel used for lighting fires.

³ See Grimm, *zuhand*: adv. immediately.

auch die vnsichtige handt dergleichen außschlagen/ vnd ein Schattenfewr auff das Kindt machen/ wie es derselbigen Frawen im sinn gelegen ist/ zu machen ein Fewr. Dann jhr eigen bildung ist zu gleicher weiß/ als die Augen des Basilißcken/^a derselbige/ welchen er ansicht/ den tödt er/ auß vrsachen/ das sein starcke Imagination des gesichts/ das Gifft mit dem gesicht treibt/ das Gifft vnnd gsicht ein ding ist. Also ists auch in denn Frawen/ was sie ersehen in der schwangern arth/ vnd jhnen jnbrünstig anligt/ so schlecht^b | 279 | dasselbig mit sampt dem gesicht in sich selbst/ auff jhr eigen frucht in leib: Dann jhr ist sonst nichts vnterworffen dann dieselbig frucht. Zu gleicher weiß wie aber ein Basilißk/ so er sich selbst in der Sonnen sicht/ so schlecht sein gifft wieder hindersich/ vnnd vergifft sich selbst damit: Also geben sich die ding in Augen/ vnnd in der Zell der Imaginierung/ vnd die Augen treibens auff die frucht/ die diesem Baum vnterworffen ist/ vnnd deren sie zu gebieten hatt. Dann aussert halb jhrem leib hat jhr Imagination kein gewalt/ darumb wirdt sie volbracht an dem orth/ da sie herschet. Dann wo solches nicht were/ so möchte sie einem anderen solche ding am leib Imaginieren/ wie an das Kindt: wie jhr dann sehen/ das sie durch die krafft jhrer augen ein *Menstruum* in einen Spiegel treiben: Dergleichen mügens auch einem andern zu solchen stunden/ ein Masen in ein Aug sehen/ wie der Basilißck sein gifft durch die Augen in einen andern treibet.

Nuhn wissen von der Imagination weitter/ das gesprochen wirdt/ so die Frawen in solchen stunden einbilden ein gelehrten/ weisen Mann/ *Platonem*, *Aristotelem*/ oder ein Kriegsmann/ *Iulium* oder *Barbarosam*/^c oder ein köstlichen künstler/ als den Hoffhammer auff der

^a *De Virtute Imaginativa* attributes to the poisonous glance of the **basilisk** a “menstrualische imagination” and equates this to the flaw caused in a mirror by the gaze of a menstruating woman: “als ein exempel, ir sehent, das **der spiegel** so vil tut, **wan ein frau etc. darein sicht, in befleckt**” (S 14:316). By looking one in the eye, she can cause “vil maculae, albugines” (317). Throughout his work, the power of the basilisk is cited. It is associated sometimes with human or female imagination and sometimes with celestial powers. In *Zwei Bücher von der Pestilenz und ihren Zufällen* (Nördlingen, 1529 or 1530) both are implicated in the “magical imagination” which breeds its poison unnaturally in the upper or inner heavens (S 8:383).

^b Sudhoff (295): “schlegt.”

^c The sense of history expressed in P.’s *Kärntner Chronik* also touches the high points of biblical history, ancient Rome, and medieval Germany, from Japhet to the “monarchia Iulii” to Barbarossa (S 11:7-9).

hand strikes, [giving off sparks], and causes a shadow-fire to be projected upon the child, making a similar fire in accordance with that which was in the woman's mind. For her own formation acts the same as do the eyes of the basilisk:¹ whomever it glances at is killed by it. The cause is the powerful imagining of its sense of sight which bears poison with it, so that its seeing and the poison are combined into the same thing. The same thing happens with women. What they glimpse in their pregnant nature, if they also covet it intensely, | 279 | flashes inwardly in the moment of seeing and onto the fruit in her own body. For it has nothing else subject to itself but this fruit. But the same thing happens as with the basilisk: If it sees itself by the light of day, then its poison strikes backwards and it thereby poisons itself. This is how it is that things are generated in the eyes and in the cell of imagining, so that the eyes drive this onto the fruit that is subject to this tree, and which is its own to have power over. For outside the body, her imagination has no power. This is why its power is executed in that place which is ruled by it. For if anything else were the case, she might work her physical imagining on something other than the child. As you can see, they [women] drive a *menstruum* into a mirror through the power of their eyes. They can do something similar at such times, causing, by their look, a corn (**Masen**)² in the eye of another in the same way that the basilisk, by virtue of its eyes, drives its poison into another.

Moreover, you should also be aware regarding the imagination that it is said that, if women in their critical hours picture some learned wise man, *Plato* [or] *Aristoteles*; or a man of war such as *Julius* [Caesar] or *Barbarossa*,³ or a fine artist such as Hofhaimer⁴ on the organ,

¹ The **basilisk**, an unnatural bastardization of bird and reptile (Pliny 8:78), has a place in alchemical theory, though it is probably irrelevant here (cf. DAI); on applications in P.'s theory of disease, see Weeks 69-70.

² Peuckert edits this plausibly as **Maser**; cf. Grimm (7).

³ Frederick I (**Barbarossa**), c. 1125-1190, Holy Roman Emperor and German king who restored imperial power and survived in folk memory.

⁴ Paul **Hofhaimer**, an organist and composer (1459-1537) who was court organist to Emperor Maximilian and cathedral organist in Salzburg and a master of polyphonic song.

Orgeln/ den Dürer von Nurnberg^a auff der Malerey: So würden sie solche Kinder geberer/ die jhnen würden gleich werden. Der aber diß auffgebracht hatt/ der ist mit dem Narren groß besessen gewesen: Denn vrsach/ es muß nicht allein der lust da sein/ vnnd die begierdt/ sondern auch erkandtnuß dieser künsten vnd weißheiten: Zu gleicher weiß wie die erkandtnuß da ist/ wan sie ein Fisch sehen/ oder ein Erdbeer/ vnnd dergleichen. So sie solches wissen trügen/ vnnd die Imagination dermassen eintrücket/ so würdt es nicht wiederredet: Es gehört aber so viel darzu/ das noch bißher vmbeschehen ist blieben. So ists nicht minder/ so ein Fraw hört ein künstler/ als ein *Musicum*/ oder auch ein gelehrten Mann/ vnnd hatt ein lust darzu/ vnnd gibt die Impression inns Kindt: Vnnd wiewol sie es nicht versteht/ vnnd nicht kan/ jedoch so regieret sie das/ auß dem volget/ das die Kinder deme nachschlahend: Dennoch aber nicht vollkommen dareinn/ sondern | 280 | vermeint gelehrt/ aber ohne grundt: Wol geschickt darzu/ aber fligent in den dingen. Das ist aber wol müglich/ vnnd bleibt vnd verharret im Kind/ vnd wirdt die Masen eingetruckt/ zu gleicher weiß wie ein Muttermall an der haut/ so ein Frawen zu solchen stunden ein lust ankeme zu stelen/ zu bulen/ vnd dergleichen: Das wirckt im Kindt/ vnd wirdt ihm eingeboren/ vnnd hangt jhm sein lebenslang an. Darumb viel jrung entstanden seindt/ es sey der Planeten schuld/ so es doch einer solchen jmagination schuldt ist. Vnd dergleichen werden viel solcher ding geboren/ vnd in den Kindern zu seinen jaren eröffnet/ das machherley böser Jugend^b also erfunden werden. Auch sonderlich begirdt etliche ding zu essen/ oder zu meiden/ wie sie all genommen werden: So wisset/ das dieses alles kompt auß dem Irdischen lust/ vnd durch das *Astrum* des Menschen eingebildet dem Kindt/ ohn alle zuthuung deren dingen/ die außhalb dem Menschen seindt/ vnd die jmagination ist das gestirn selbst.

Wie vormals angezeigt ist/ dz die Frawen möchten jmaginieren dz ding/ das in jhren lust kompt/ mit Form/ Farben vnd Figuren/ einem andern an seinem leib/ zu gleicher weiß wie jhrem eigenen Kindt/ so die hindernuß nicht da were/ von der gesagt ist. Nuhn nimpt sich der

^a P.'s prognosticatory fragments accord high importance to Alciato, a teacher of jurisprudence and compiler of *Emblemata*, **Dürer**, Erasmus, Frundspereg, a Swiss war hero, and Franz von Sickingen, a feuding knight who championed the causes of Hutten, Reuchlin, and Luther (S 11:276). Sudhoff (295): "Nürnberg."

^b Sudhoff (296): "tugend"; V (310 verso): "boser tugentt."

or Dürer of Nuremberg in painting: then they will give birth to children like [those they picture]. But whoever made this claim was entirely possessed by foolishness. The reason why I say this is that desire and longing are not enough. Knowledge and the wisdom of those arts are needed as well. Similarly, there is a recognition when they see a fish, a strawberry, or whatever it might be. If women have knowledge of it, and if the imagination were to make its impression, then there is nothing to be said against this [happening]. However, so much would have to go into this that, until this time, it has never happened. This means nothing less than that if a woman were to hear an artist, let us say a *musicus* or perhaps a learned man, and [if she] were inspired by longing for this and were to pass the impression into the child, even then, though she might not understand or master [the art], nonetheless she would exercise a guiding force so the children would take after that [which was pictured]. Nonetheless, [such children] would not be perfected in this, but rather | 280 | would be merely thought to be learned but without reason. They would be receptive¹ to it, but flighty² in such things. Yet it is still possible that this would be retained and kept in the child, so that the corn would be impressed onto it, just as a birth mark is on the skin. If a woman in those hours were to be seized by a desire to steal or to whore around or something of this sort: that would act upon the child and become innate in it and adhere to it for its entire life. This is why so many errors have arisen to the effect that it is the fault of the planets, whereas the fault is actually that of this action of the imagination. Many other things of this kind come into being and are disclosed in children when the time comes, so that many kinds of wicked youth are to be discovered. There are also strange cravings to eat various kinds of things, or to avoid eating them, which can be found in all these cases. You should be aware that all of this stems from the earthy desire and that by way of the *astrum* of the human being, it is formed in the child without the addition of things that are outside the human being; [for] the imagination is the star itself.

As I said prior to this, the thing that enters into their desire with its form, colors, and figures can be projected by the imagination of the woman onto the body of another as well, just as it can be onto the body of her own child, unless the sort of hindrance is present of which

¹ See Grimm, *geschickt* (2d): empfänglich.

² See Grimm, *fliegend* (5): as in, “dazu auch den fliegenden liechtern und irrlichtern” (cites Luther 5:168).

Frawen jmagination/ darumb ist das *Menstruum* die materi des wercks/ das allein dem Frawengeist vntterworffen ist/ auß welchem die scharffen gsicht jhren leib nemen. So wissent hierinn ein exempel/ das die jmagination der Frawen so groß ist/ das sie ein solch *menstruum* in den mittel Himmel jmaginiert haben/ vnd durch krafft der jmaginierung darauß gebildet/ was sie vor jhnen gemalt oder entworffen gesehen haben: Vnd nachfolgendt sind dieselbigen Formen vnd Figuren durch solch jmagination wiederumb auff die Menschen gefallen/ vnentpfindlich/ wunderbarlich/ das auß keinem andern grundt beschehen ist/ den das die jmagination sein *Corpus menstruale* dahin geboren hat/ das es zu gleicher weiß wie auff das Kind in jhr/ also auff die Menschen gefallen sindt.^a Wiewol hinzu geschlagen hat ein verzweifelter Aberglaub/ wie der Teuffel solche ding zurichte/ mahle vnd ferbe: Das wider alle warheit ist. So der grund soll solcher | 281 | fallenden zeichen entdeckt werden/ vnd ohn zerspalten eröffnet/ so wissent das die *puerperae*/ so sie in solcher jmagination stehendt/ auß demselbigen werden die Creutzly vnd solche ding geboren: Darinn sich keiner verwundern soll. Dann so es der vernunfft gebürte/ dz *Menstruum* zuentdecken in seinen krefft/ es würden noch viel grössere wunder bewert werden/ die ich hie laß anstehen. Dann viel kommen von den geschlechten der gemeinen Landtsterben^b oder in einer Refier/ die auß denen dingen geursacht werden. Aber so ich würdt der Frawen freyheiten offenbaren/ so sie schwanger seindt vnd in den Kindtbetten ligen/ vnnd zu den zeiten des Monats/ will ich euch in diesen dingen allen zu frieden stellen.

^a Sudhoff (297): “ist.”

^b The sinister report of the power of *menstruum* at work in the imagination at the point of a woman’s death in childbearing in *De Virtute Imaginativa* explains the generation of an epidemic: “ein frau, die in puerperio ligt und sol sterben, ist sie dem tot gram und feint und stirbt in neit und haß uber den tot, und wird dahin gewisen oder fantasirt, ich wolt das alle welt mit mir stürbe. ... nun wird aus der imagination ein geist und das menstruum das corpus der werken und ietzt generirt sich **ein gemeiner lantsterben...**” (S 14:315). The Nördlingen writings on pestilence expressed similar, if somewhat less misogynistic, ideas (S 8:380-81).

I have spoken. The imagination of women directs itself.¹ This is why *menstruum* is the material of the work for which only women are responsible, [and] out of which the incisive glances obtain their body. You should be aware of the following case. Women's imagination is so great that they have [been capable of] imagining a *menstruum* of that sort, [projecting it] into the intermediate heavens. Through the power of their imagining, they have formed out of it the object which they had seen painted or sketched in front of their eyes. In consequence of this, those same forms and figures then descended again onto the human beings through the power of this kind of imagination, [causing something to happen which was] supersensible [and] miraculous, which could have happened for no other reason than that the imagination generated its *corpus menstruale* to this purpose, so that, in the same manner that it could have descended upon the child within, it descended [instead] onto [other] people. Although a diabolical (**verzwefleter**)² superstition was forced into service to the effect that it is the devil who executes, paints, and colors such things, this is entirely contrary to the truth. If we are to disclose the ground | 281 | of these kinds of descending signs and to reveal them without division,³ then you must be aware that it is actually the *puerperae*⁴ who find themselves in this state of imagination [and] from whom those little crosses and phenomena of the kind arise. No one should be amazed about this. For if it were in accordance with reason to disclose more things about the *menstruum* and its powers, then even greater wonders than this would be ascertained, which I will not go into here. There are many things that arise from the types of general pestilence or within some territory which result from the abovementioned causes. But in order to reveal to you the prerogatives (**freyheiten**)⁵ of women pregnant and in the process of giving birth, as well as in those times of the month, I intend to satisfy your interest in the following matters.

¹ See Grimm, **sich nehmen** (B, 3): the reflexive use without another object suggests "to go its own way."

² See H 1:254.

³ See Grimm, **zerspalten** (4c): the term here suggests a religious schism caused by signs and wonders.

⁴ **Puerpera**: a woman who has been delivered or is in the process of delivering a child (OLD).

⁵ See Grimm, **Freiheit** (8): this refers less to liberties taken than to prerogatives of a station (cf. H 2:6).

In den dingen allen so wissent/ dz in der schöpfung des Menschen der vnsichtbar leib wie der sichtbar geschaffen sey/ vnnd jedwederer theil auß dem *limbo* kompt. Dann ein theil ist Irdisch der ander ist Himmlisch: Darumb so hat der Himmlisch als wol sein wirkung/ als der Irdisch. Dem Irdischen aber seind die befehl geben zu bawen/ vnnd die hendt zu gebrauchen/ darumb jhm mehr in der erkantnuß befohlen ist dann dem vnsichtbaren leib. Vnnd was der eusser leib handelt/ dz seindt gantze werck: Was aber der vnsichtbar handelt/ seindt gleich wie die schatten von dem leib. Dann wiewol der Irdisch leib/ seine werck durch die einbildung verbringet/ so ist es doch nur das leiblich: Was aber an dem orth gehandelt wirdt/ das mag auch die bildung durch den vnsichtbaren Körper abreissen. Vnnd zu gleicher weiß/ wie ein schatten mag verstanden werden von einem Menschen: Also seindt die *Impressiones* des Kindts: Vnnd aber gescheiden von dem andern schatten/ in dem/ das dieser schatten bestendig vnnd vnzergänglich ist. Dann kan ein gethön das gehört brechen/ die Sonn das gesicht nemen/ das leibliche krankheit darauß werden: So kan auch die jmagination ein solches dergleichen. Vnnd zu gleicher weiß wie einer mag durch seine augen ansehen einen der vor jhm stahet/ das derselbig/ der vor jhm stahet/ fleucht: Oder einer mag ein andern heissen/ thue das/ vnnd ist nur ein wort/ vnnd das wort zwingt so vil/ das es geschicht/ vnnd das wort geht auß dem leib/ vnnd also | 282 | zwingt der leib einen vber treissig meil. Wie also diß geschicht/ in derselbigen vrsach/ zwingt auch der leib die Imagination/ das er den lust des leibs volbringet/ vnnd wirdt hie an dem orth nicht anders dann wie ein wort verstanden/ das auß dem leib geht/ vnnd ist selbst kein leib nicht/ vnnd zwingt den andern/ das er des leibs lust volbringet/ auß dem das wort geht. Die ding thut der Olimpisch Geist/ der von allen wercken des leibs den schatten reißt. In dem Olimpischen Geist ligt die kunst/ *Gabalistica*^a mit jhren *Annexis*/ welche kunst bewert/ das

^a “Kunst **Gabalistica**” resolves the previous ambivalence of the latter term in its favor. The *Spital-Buch* of 1529 recognized a true “gabalien” which had spun off a decadent continuation: “dieselbige [arznei] erfert er nicht aus seinem kopf sonder aus der gabalien, aus deren die irrung gabalistica kompt, nach welcher die plerrer aufgestanden sind, die da gabalam beschreiben und dergleichen. in dem fundament ist Aesculapius gestanden, auch Hippocrates und Machaon darinnen erzogen” (S 7:398). The elevation of “gabalia” gains from P.’s opposition to the “schul stoicorum und peripateticorum” (S 7:274). In subsequent writings, it is further exalted by the tendency of his thought to embrace the revelation of invisible things: “nun ist ietzt weiter zu wissen, in was weg die verborgen ding gefunden werden, die dem irdischen leib nit sichtbar sind. so folgt nun ... das die ding alle durch magicam offenbar

In all these matters, you should be aware that in the creation of the human being the invisible body has been made in the same that the visible one has been made, and that both come from the *limbus*. The one is earthly and the other is celestial. For the same reason, the celestial operates just as does the terrestrial. However, the terrestrial body has received the commandment to cultivate¹ and use its hands for this purpose; and for this reason more has been assigned to it in terms of knowledge than to the invisible body. The things that the external body carries out are works in the complete sense. However, the things that the invisible body carries out are like the shadows cast by the body. For even when the terrestrial body effects its works by means of the imagination, this is still only done in a physical way. However, that which is effected in this particular instance may serve to trace out the formation by means of the invisible body. In the same way that we assess the shadow cast by a person, we must understand the *impresiones* of the child. They are distinct from that other shadow to the extent that that kind of shadow is permanent and intransient. For just as a thundering can shatter the hearing and the sun can take away the eyesight resulting in a physical affliction, so also can the imagination have the same sort of effect. It is the same as when someone happens to look at someone else standing before his eyes with the result that the other runs away. Or the same as if one were to say to someone else: "Do that." This is only a word, and yet the word forces it to happen. The word passes out of the body and thereby | 282 | compels someone to go more than thirty miles. In the same way this comes about [and] by the same cause, the body compels the imagination to bring about what the body desires; and in this particular context it is understood no differently than the way we would understand a word which departs from the body and does not itself have a body, and yet it forces the other to bring about that which was desired by the body from which the word proceeds.² These things are effected by the Olympian spirit that casts the shadow of all works of the body. In this Olympian spirit there resides the Cabalistic art (**die kunst/ Gabalística**)³ with all of its *annexa*.¹ This art reveals how these things and

¹ See Grimm, **bauen** (4c): to cultivate or till; cf. Gen 2:5, 15.

² The confabulation of causation and authority is typical of P. and of his time, as also in Luther.

³ On P.'s idiosyncratic version of the Cabala ("*gabalia*"), see Hartmut Rudolph, "Die Kabbala im Werk des P.," in Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (ed.), *Christliche Kabbala, Pforzheimer Reuchlinschriften*, 10 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 109-120.

der Inbildung noch viel mehr möglich ist in dem/ so die zusammenfügung der Olimpischen Geister/ sich verfügen mögen. Dann zu gleicher weiß/ wie die sichtbaren *Corpora* können zusammen kommen/ das können auch die Olimpischen Geister der schöpfung/ welche das Gestirn sindt in dem Menschen:^a Die ding werden in die bücher der *Gabalia* geschrieben.

Weiter aber hie von den krankheiten zureden/ die auß solchen *Imaginationibus* geboren werden: Als die da Lahm auß Mutterleib kommen/ vnnd jhr Vatter vnnd Mutter werden ohn vrsach erfunden: Dieselbige Lehme oder Krümme ist nichts anders/ dann das der inner Mensch der Imagination Krum vnnd Lahm ist. Dann mag der leib krumb sein/ so mag auch das Gestirn krumb sein: Dann sie sindt beide ein Mensch/ zwen theil auß eim stuck. Darumb gibt sich viel/ das der leib krumb vnnd lahm ist/ ohn vrsprung vnd vrsach der krankheiten/ vnd der jinner leib gsundt vnd grad ist: Auch offft/ das der jinner leib krumb vnd lahm ist/ vnd der eusser grad ist. Nuhn schlecht eintweder dem leib das Kindt nach/ vnnd empfach das ansehen desselbigen leibs/ damit es dann also geboren wirdt: Vnd wo also ein solliche Mißgburt an tag kompt/ so gedencken dz die Imagination das Kindt gekrümmet/ oder entformet hatt: Es sey durch eigen fürgenommene einbildung/ oder durch ansehen einer eussern form/ die also in der

werden und durch ir species, als durch gaballiam und gabalisticam etc. dieselben sind, die da offenbaren alle heimlicheit in verborgner natur" (S 11:204).

^a P.'s *Olympus* is neither the mountain nor the mythical heavenly home of the gods but a hypostatization of the star(s), their astral operations, and their governance of humans. Used sometimes in combination with the terminologies of astronomy (S 1:18; 13:191, 201), the powers of "olympus" can even be reminiscent of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, possessing a generative power that gives rise to phantastic and sentient creatures: "also gebirt auch der olympus in seim firmament ein art der tieren; nicht alein tracken sonder auch andere ding, die da in inen leben haben und ein vihischen verstant, zu schießen oder fliegen von einem ort zum andern, es sei tag oder nacht. ... und ist der vier wunderwerk eins in den vier elementen und sind vich und tier olympi, sind verstendig wie das vich im wasser und erden und luft..." (S 13:204). According to the Munich "*Mantischer Entwurf*," when the human mind, the animal senses, or the elemental workings are ruled by their star, "Olympus" is evoked as the supreme natural seat of its rule: "es ist ein gestirn das alles regirt, im menschen den tierischen verstant, im vich seine sinn, in den elementen ir wirkung. das selbig gestirn ist das obriste geschöpf der zerstörlicheit und ist im Olympo, das hat die ding al unter im" (S 10:644).

more are possible insofar as the convening of Olympian spirits is mastered. For in the same manner that the visible *corpora* are able to convene themselves, the Olympian spirits of the creation² can do likewise. These are the same as the stars which are within the human being. These things are discussed in the books on *Gabalia*.

I will proceed to discuss further those diseases that are born from *imaginationes* of this kind. For example, there are those who are delivered lame from their mother's womb, whereby the cause is found not to lie with the father and mother. This particular lameness or crippling [indicates] nothing less than that the inner human being of the imagination is crippled or lame. For just as the body can be crippled, the star can also be crippled. For these two things constitute a human being as two things in one. For this reason, it happens often that the body is crippled and lame without any pathogenic source or cause; and yet the inner body is healthy and straight. It likewise often happens that the inner body is crippled and lame, and the external one is straight.³ The child might then take after either body and acquire the appearance of the [one or the other] body, so that it would be born in that form. Whenever a monster of this kind comes to light, it is to be remembered that the imagination has crippled or deformed the child, whether it be by intentional informing or by looking at an external

The link with Jewish Kabbalah is tenuous. Rudolph notes that this term hardly occurs in the theological works of the Goldammer edition and that its use in the Sudhoff edition of medical-philosophical writings is mainly connected with P.'s massive rejection of the traditional medicine of Galen and Avicenna. P.'s understanding of Kabbalah contrasts with that of Pico or Reuchlin: It is identified with the true ancient tradition of medicine, with Apollonius of Tyana, a kind of patriarch of the medical art, whose contribution subsequently degenerated into schisms and sects (Rudolph 110-12; cf. S 10:316). Kabbalah is pristine medical art exalted to the realm of magic. This same legendary realm of nature and supernaturalism, astronomy and magic, encompasses biblical figures and Dionysius Areopagita (see also H 2:18).

¹ See MLW, *adnecto*, *cum suis annexis*: "with all that appertains to it."

² The term "**Olympian spirits of creation**" implicates the classical nature gods. Nominally polytheistic and therefore incompatible with Judaism, P.'s use of the term *gabalia* incorporates whatever pertains to the supernatural realm, especially the realm of the stars positioned between God and terrestrial reality. By the same token, equating "Olympian spirits" to "stars within the human being" associates, if only implicitly, the planets with the classical gods. The human being as a microcosm encompasses all (cf. *vis-à-vis*). Just as an afterlife of the gods and their respective natural forces may be symbolized by "Olympus," the witches and goblins with their natural-supernatural transformations are symbolized by P.'s German "Hö[w]berg."

³ In these cases, a person is lame though the body is sound; or inherited lameness is somehow overcome.

Natur angangen ist. Vnnd solcher wunderbarlicher geburt geschehen viel/ die all auß der bildung kommen/ vngeursachet der leiblichen Natur.

Wiewol das auch war ist/ das die Imagination ein vrsprung ist *Succubi* vnnd *Incubi*/ in der gestalt/ das die Imagination die ding gebieret/ vnnd als dann vertragen wirdt. | 283 | Dises zu verstehn/ muß am aller ersten der *sperma Incubi* vnd *Succubi*^a verstanden werden/ von wannen diser *Sperma* komme/ vnd geboren werde. Er kompt auß der starcken Imagination aller deren/ die in sinnen vnd gedancken bulen. Dieweil sie nuhn auß der Imagination kompt/ so ist es kein rechter natürlicher *Sperma*, sondern wie ein thummes saltz: Dann ein jedlicher *Sperma* der zu kindlichem Sahmen gehn soll/ der mag auß der Imagination nicht geboren werden/ sondern auß den wercken/ so in der schöpffung darzu geordnet sindt. Dann ein exempel mercket/ also: Es sey dann sach das ein Korn in die Erden geworffen werde/ vnd faule darinn/ bringt es kein frucht: Also soll auch dieser Sahn/ in sein Erden/ dahin er verordnet ist/ gelegt werden/ vnnd am selbigen ort durch sein Erden gefeulet/ sonst wirdt kein Kindt darauß. Zu gleicher weiß wie ein Sahn des Kornes/ das in ein Lachen oder Pfützen vnnd dergleichen geworffen wirdt/ darauß würde nun ein gleichnus eines thummen Kornes/ aber kein Korn nicht. Vnd zu gleicher weiß/ wie der Sahn des zukünfftigen Jars/ der geseet soll werden auff zukünfftige frucht/ der muß biß^b Jar mit arbeit herfür bracht werden/ vnnd wie ohn arbeit der Sahn in Acker nicht mag gebracht werden: Also mag auch kein natürlicher Sahn ohn die natürlich ordnung der empfangnuß geboren werden. Darumb so verstanden hie an dem orth/ das *Incubus* vnnd *Succubus* ein *sperma* ist eins thummen Saltz/ geboren auß der Imagination/ ohn natürliche ordnung: Darumb es kein natürlicher *sperma* ist/ sondern ein thummes ding. Darauff *Thomas*

^a A rare and lurid account of *succubus* and *incubus* is given in P.'s *De Sagis et Earum Operibus*. It is a matter of operations enacted on the boundary between the natural and supernatural, diabolical, yet pertinent to a certain wisdom ("weisheit") the actions of which are "werk, die mein vaterland hexerei heißt" (S 14:5). When the devil in the orgies of nocturnal "hexenbulschaft" sets about to craft a humanoid "cörpel," he does so in the manner of the night spirits that confiscate a human sperm: "also conficirt er im auch ein materiam zusammen, gleich als succubus und incubus" (24). P.'s account of the processing of the confiscated material is alchemical in referring to processes of coagulation or crystalization of "salniter" in water (24).

^b Sudhoff (300): "dis."

form that has proceeded from nature in this form. There are many miraculous births of this kind, all of which arise from the formation that takes place uncaused by physical nature.

To be sure, it is also the case that the imagination is a source of the *succubus* and *incubus* in the sense that the imagination generates the things that are borne to term.¹ | 283 | If we are to understand this, we must understand first of all the *sperma incubi* and *succubi*.² whence does this *sperma* come and from what is it born. It comes from the powerful imagination of all those who whore around in their senses and thoughts. Since it does indeed arise from the imagination, it is not a proper natural *sperma* but rather like a stale salt.³ For every *sperma* that should make up the seed of an infant cannot be born out of the imagination, but rather from the works as they have been ordained in the creation. For take note of this example: unless a grain of seed is cast into the earth to rot there, it bears no fruit. Therefore, it is the same with this seed: It is assigned to go and be placed into its earth, and to be rotted in that place by its [own] earth. Otherwise, it could give rise to no child. In the same way, a grain of seed that is cast into a pool or puddle or something of the kind would offer a likeness of a stale seed, but would not be a [real] seed. Likewise, next year's seed which is to be sown for its future fruit must [first] be brought forth [now] with labor, since without this labor that seed cannot be gotten into the field. Precisely in this same way no natural seed can give birth without the natural order of conception. In this context, it should be clear that *incubus* and *succubus* are a *sperma* of a stale salt, born from the imagination, outside the natural order. For this reason, it is not a

¹ See Grimm, *vertragen* (I, 5): cf. "wenn ein kind nicht vertragen wird, das es neun monate hat, so ist es ein unzeitige geburt" (Agricola).

² See HDA, *incubus*: Originally a designation for the male spirit that causes nightmares by accosting women with lascivious intent. The corresponding female spirit is the *succubus*. From St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei* to the papal bull of Innocent VIII in 1484, their existence was generally accepted in the Middle Ages. Witches were thought to have sexual intercourse with such spirits. According to folklore, the spirits were not capable of insemination unless a demon made use of the seed lost by a man at night.

³ Mt 5:13, "You are the salt of the earth, but if the salt has lost its taste ... [it] is thrown out and trampled under foot."

von *Aquino*^a sich zu viel hatt lassen mercken/ der ein thumms ding für ein vollkommens genommen hatt.

Nun ist aber diser *sperma*, der also kompt/ auß der Imagination geboren *in amore Hereos*:^b Was ist aber dieselbige liebe? nichts anders/ als allein der da im sinn jhm selbst ein frauwe fantasirt/ vnd also dieselbige bulschafft auff ein end für. Darauß dann entspringt eines thummen/ tauben *spermatis* außgang der da nicht vollkommen ist zu geberen Kinder: derselbig *sperma* ist aber der/ der hie *Incubum* vnd *Succubum* gebirt. Aber noch eins sollet jhr hierinnen verstehen/ das solche Imaginierung ein Mutter ist der vppigen vnkeuscheit/ darauß dann | 284 | entspringt/ so solche Buler oder bulerin durch jhr grosse jmagination zusammen kommen/ nicht fruchtbar sindt. Dann die jmagination Regirt diesen *sperma*/ das die Natur mit dem jrigen zerbrechen wirdt: Das die merist vrsach ist in vielen der vnfruchtbarkeit/ vnnd ein vrsach der *molae*.^c Das ich aber weiter rede von derselbigen geberung *Incubi* vnnd *Succubi*/ so wissent/ das dieselbig

^a Often named together with Albertus Magnus (S 4:94, 96), “**Thomas von Aquin**” loomed as large as Plato for P., and was at least not regarded any worse. Thomistic titles are not given and might have included the pseudepigraphic *Aurora Consurgens* (cf. S 3:277; 4:94, 96; 14:489). A work of 1528 denounces equally the followers of Aristotle, Plato, Scotus, and Albertus, as well as those who have made out of “arznei ein Thomistere” (S 6:366-67; 7:391; 8:118, 138). As usual for P., calumny did not exclude influence.

^b *Amor hereos* evokes the traditional conflict between Christian or biblical love and classical love (cf. vis-à-vis). P.’s extensive writings on marriage (G 2:167-325) are so overwhelmingly biblical that classical love loses its distinctness and (like “hurerei,” whorishness) blurs the spectrum of the forbidden. As is evident in the present work, “ehebruch” (adultery) can blur into a metaphor for all sorts of wickedness (G 2:230, 231); and even the unspeakable sin of sodomy extends to two or more men who sleep with one woman: “das ist nun ein sodomische sund, daß eine soll sovil beschlafen, und ist sodomische in mannen und in weiben, daß zwen mann oder mehr sollen eine beschlafen” (310). Under these circumstances, I am inclined to regard it as unclear whether P. intends *amor hereos* to refer only to nocturnal pollution or whether, as with what he designates with the *double entendre* “amor hernios” in his treatise *Von der Ehe Ordnung und Eigenschaft*, this is an affliction resulting from any illicit or unnatural eroticism (G 2:256; cf. note m).

^c ““De **Mola** matricis, vulgo brant oder ein gewechs” in the Basel student notes (S 4:348-50): “So sag ich aber das mola an ime selbs nichts anderst sei dan menstruum”... “vita molae ist in spermate, dan weils sperma hat, so geschwilt der bauch und gehet imer auf”... “Signa. So einer frauen der bauch aufliet nach gewonheit der schwangeren art und so menstruum mitluf und etwan sich der bauch verlür, ietzt ist er groß darnach klein ... es sei mit wehetagen oder on wehetagen” (348). *Mola* is accordingly the swollen belly of a woman who appears to be pregnant; this is conditioned by “sperma” and “menstruum.”

natural *sperma* but rather a stale entity. In this regard, *Thomas* of *Aquinas* went too far in accepting a stale thing for one that is whole.¹

As it happens though, the *sperma* which thus arises is born from the imagination in *amore Hereos*.² What exactly is this kind of love? It is nothing other than the kind that someone fantasizes for himself in his own mind and which he then brings, as his lasciviousness, to its conclusion. Out of this there occurs the release of a stale and mute *sperma* which is not sufficient for the generation of children. This particular *sperma*, however, is the one that in this case gives birth to the *incubus* and *succubus*. But there is one more thing that you should understand in this context: it is the fact that this kind of imagining is a mother of unchaste lasciviousness. From this it |284| arises that, when the whoring male and female are brought together through their intense imagination, [they] are infertile. For the imagination rules this *sperma* with the result that nature and whatever pertains to it is broken [in its power]. In many cases of infertility, this is the most important cause; and it is a cause of the *mola*.³ But in order that I should stay on the subject of this particular generation of the *incubus* and the *succubus*, you should be aware that this particular *sperma* is carried by the

¹ The reference is unclear. In discussing the Incarnation, **Aquinas** had occasion to distinguish between the divine *conceptio miraculosa* and the soul-engendering modalities of a human *conceptio naturalis* (see TL). Note that the miraculous conception is not unrelated to P.'s occasional discussion of human reproduction.

² See RLAC, "**Eros I**": The Christian tradition not only distinguished between the philosophical *eros* and the Christian *agape*, but was also of two minds about *amor* or *eros*. One strand embraced these classical embodiments of love as identical with Christian love (as the highest and oldest of "gods" who holds power over all other gods), while the other tradition identified *Cupido* and *Eros* with the devil. P. here embraces the latter view. P. was following a tradition. Medieval "physicians included passionate love (*amor hereos*) among the physical diseases and enumerated the languishing lover's physical symptoms" (Siraisi 131). Arnald of Villanova wrote a *Tractatus de amore heroico*, included in vol. 3 of his *Opera medica*.

³ See TLL, **mola** (2): "*massa carnea in mulieris utero ex imperfecta conceptione loco fetus concrescens*." It was regarded in the Middle Ages as the issuance of pollution "into a large mass of flesh, so that [women's] abdomen begins to swell and they believe mistakenly that they are pregnant. This type of tumor, called by doctors the mole of the womb (*mala matricis*), can be cured only by medical regimen" (WS 68; cf. H 1:154).

sperma vertragen wirdt durch die Geist/ die zu Nacht wandeln: Die tragen jhn an end vnnd an örter/ da er außgebrütet mag werden: Als vnter die Würm/ Krötten/ vnnd dergleichen vnreine thier. Dann do geschicht ein *actus* von den Nachtgeistern mit dieser *sperma*/ an solchen thieren: Auch mit Hexen: Darauß den viel seltzamer *monstra* geboren werden/^a deren kein zall seindt: Aber doch erschreckenlich im angesicht vnserer augen. Darauff manchmal geredt wirt/ was ist das für ein thier? Ich habs vor nie gesehen. Fürwar so es ein mensch in jhm selbst betrachtete/ mehr dann ich hieher schreib/ von dieser *sperma*/ wer wolt ein eyd schweren/ nicht ehlich zu werden?

Nuhn mercket auch auff die arth solcher *monstrorum*. Dieweil sie auß der starcken jmagination jhren vrsprung nemen/ so hangt solche jmagination auch eingebilt denselbigen *monstris*. Darauff jhr wissen sollen/ dz gar nahend hie der vrsprung des Basilischken ist/ des form vnd gestalt niemand gründlich wissen mag. Dann wer ist der/ der jn so eben gesehen hat? so doch niemand vnter seinen augen darff bleiben. Dann so schnell fogt der todt durch sein gesicht/ das niemand der weile hatt/ jhn zubeschreiben. Dann die hefftig jmagination/ die er so hefftig mit vollem giffit in seinen augen hatt/ nimpt sich auß der geburt *Incubi* vnd *Succubi*/ mit einer anhangenden arth des Nachtgeists/ vnd werden an heimlichen orten geboren: Wie dann mit mehren wörtern von seiner Natur in andern büchern gesagt wirdt. Darauff wissent/ das ein jedlicher vppiger solch geborner *sperma* den Nachtgeistern erlaubt ist/ darauß sie etwas machen/ nach dem vnd sie mügen ein Bauch darzu finden: Aber nichts menschlichs mit der Seele. Wiewol etlich Risen^b

^a On the **monstrous offspring** of the witches that copulate with night spirits or the devil in animal form, see *De Sagis*: “das ist aber wol war, das animalische spermaten hie mit genomen werden, dardurch schantlich generationes fürkomen. wiewol auch oftmals sich solcher ascendens in ein geiß oder hunt verwandelt, das is er schleust in ein solch tier und aus kraft des selben tiers volbringt er den actum, darumb bei den jungen unholden tierförmige kinder geben und erschrecklich figuren und formen” (S 14:23).

^b See H 1:105. P. writes most extensively *De Gigantibus, von Risen*, in a tract of that title (S 14:143-48): With some human exceptions such as St. Christopher, the giants are not descended from Adam (143); hence they no more possess a soul than do the animals (145). They are in the same category as dwarfs, sirenes, nymphs, and elemental spirits (144). Descended from wild men or “forest people” (“waltleut”), their race is extinct (144-45). They apparently possessed human intelligence and could interbreed with women, in which case the woman “gives the soul” (148). The giants have a meaning in the divine order; for the same sceptics who doubt their existence also reject Christ (143-44). The giants demonstate the power of God to

spirits which are abroad at night. They carry it to its destination and to [such] places where it can be hatched out, for example among the worms and toads and other unclean creatures of the sort. What happens there is an *actus* of the night spirits with this *sperma* involving animals of that kind. It may also be done by witches. Out of this [union] many strange *monstra* are born, which are too manifold to be enumerated. But they are in any case frightful in our eyes. As a result, people sometimes ask, “what sort of animal is that? I have never seen the like.” Truly, if anyone were to reflect on this sort of thing in himself, including other things that I will not write regarding this *sperma*, who then would not swear an oath not to embark upon matrimony?

You should also know something else with respect to these kinds of *monstra*. Because they originate through the potent imagination, this same imagination informs them and accrues to them. You should realize that in consequence this is something very close to the source of the basilisk about whose form and figure you should be thoroughly knowledgeable. For who is it that could have had a glimpse of it when no one can abide beneath its gaze? Death results so quickly through its glance that no one would ever have a chance to describe [the basilisk]. For the violent imagination in its eyes is so fierce and has such a lethal poison that it corresponds to the birth of the *incubus* and *succubus* and to the nature that is associated with the night spirit. [They] are born in secret places, the nature of which will be explained more thoroughly in other writings. Notice that every sort of lasciviously generated *sperma* is fair game for the night spirits. They can make something out of it, if only they can find a womb to serve their purpose; [but what they make is] nothing human with a soul. Although a number of

solten sein dergleichen geboren worden: Dieweil sie aber mit einer Seel erkent werden zu sein/ so mag jhr geburt nicht daher kommen. | 285 | Wiewols dem Glauben nicht vngmes were: Allein es wer dann ein sonders Menschlichs werck Gottes/ dz zuhalten were/ das in etlichen kein Seel gesein sey. Weil sie mir aber nicht bekannt sind/ vnd warhafftig gründtlich nicht in wissen ist/ so bleibens in seim werdt/ wie es sey. Die Welt wirt offft erneuert vnd mit viel selzamer erneuerung vberladen: ob solches auch geschehe/ so muß mans lassen ein wunderwerck Gottes sein.

Was ist aber *Amor Hereos*, von der hie geredt ist worden? Es ist gesagt vom sichtbaren leib/ derselb ist deß ein vrsprung. Zu gleicherweiß/ wie der natürlich Mensch auff natürlich ordnung zu diesem werck gericht ist/ nicht allein/ sonder selb ander ein vollkommener Mensch sein soll/ das ist Mann vnd Weib/ ist ein Leib: vnd wie ein Bawr ohn den Acker nichts soll/ vnd der Acker nichts ohn den Bawren/ sondern beyde seins nuhr ein ding: Also ist auch der Mensch/ nit ein Mann allein/ nicht ein Fraw allein/ sondern sie beyde/ ist ein ding/ auß dem nuh der Mensch weiter geboren wirt. So aber der Mann nit will ein gantzer Mensch sein/ oder die Fraw/ so hatt ein jeglichs in jm selbst zwen Leib/ den Irrdischen sichtbar/ vnd den Himmlischen vnsichtbar. Nuhn hatt jeglicher theil ein arth zu natürlichem Samen/ dz doch in der Ackerung nur ein Same ist: Nun sind die zwen Leib in jren wercken gespalten/ dz ein jeglichs schneller oder langsamer/ also oder also sich entpören mag: Auß dem folgt nun/ dz der Leib für sich selbst ohn all Imagination sein *Pollutiones* last lauffen: aber diese Pollution wirt nicht gefunden in erlaubnuß der Nachtgeistern. Also zu gleicher weiß/ wie der Himmel sein Lauff hatt/ dermassen hatt jhn

make humanoids as he pleases, or in the words of John the Baptist cited by P., to awaken human beings from the stones (147).

giants (**Risen**)¹ are said to have been born in this way, they were recognized as having a soul. Therefore, their birth could not have occurred in this manner. | 285 | Even though it would not be unworthy of faith [to believe such a thing], it would be an exceptional work in the realm of the human, should God see to it that some of the [giants] did not have a soul. Still, since I have no knowledge of such a thing, and since nothing of the kind has been absolutely established as true, we will regard it as a matter for conjecture. The world is often renewed and made replete with all sorts of novel things. If something of the kind should come about, we can assume this it is a miraculous work of God.

But again what is *amor hereos* about which we have spoken? It has been said of the visible body that it is the source. Similarly, [it has been said that] the natural human being has been equipped for this work in accordance with the natural order; [but] not alone, only in a pair, for there to be a complete human being. This means that man and woman is a single body. Similarly, the peasant is good for nothing without the field, and the field is good for nothing without the peasant. It is rather the case that both of them form a unity: so it is as well with the human being. Not a man by himself [and] not a woman by herself, but the two of them together make up a unity from which the human being is procreated. Should it come about, however, that the man does not want to be a complete human being, or the woman [does not], then each of them has in himself or herself two bodies: the earthly one [which is] visible, and the celestial one [which is] invisible. As it happens, each part has a nature for [producing] natural seed in such a way that in the cultivation there is only a single seed. Furthermore, these two bodies are divided in their action so that each one rises to the occasion either in this way or that, either more rapidly or more slowly. From this it follows that the body by itself without any sort of imagination may give free reign to its *pollutiones*. However, this pollution will not be determined to be something over which the night spirits have free reign. Just as the heavens run their course, so also does the

¹ Here P. is apparently referring to an unnamed but authoritative source. One possible context to unite his discussion of *incubi* with the question whether giants were men with souls is Augustine's, *De civitate Dei* 15:25 (on whether Gen 6:1-4, with its reference to "giants in the earth," should be understood to imply that angels bore offspring with human women). Unusual for P. but in conformity with Augustine, the "giants" are here said to have possessed souls, though God could still always make miraculous exceptions.

auch der Himmlisch Leib/ der all sein werck in der einbildung volbringt in massen wie angezeigt ist. Nuhn wirt *amor Hereos* geboren in dem vnsichtbarn leib: so er zu wercken gehet/ so ist es nicht *amor Hereos*: Wo aber nicht/ so ist es dieselbig. Also ist der *amor Hereos* der Vatter vnd die Mutter selbst/ ein außwerffen der Sperma/ darauß dann *Incubus & Succubus* jhre wirckungen nemmen: das ist/ der ein ist der Nachtgeist der Frauen/ das ander der Nachtgeist der Mannen.

Also ist auch weiter zu wissen/ das solche geberung mannigmal in der Mutter selbst bleibt vnd nicht für außfalt. Darinn | 286 | solt jhr wissen/ das ohn die werck der Sperma solche ding auch wunderbarlich geboren werden/ das man spricht: die Fraw ist groß schwanger lange zeit gesein/ vnd tregt etwz seltzams/ als sich dann rüret vnd gemerckt wirt. Darauff wissent/ das solche gewechs/ sie seyen wie sie wöllen/ so sie lebendig vnnd dergleichen eine form vberkommet/ auß einer solchen verhaltner thummen Sperma da ist/ vnd niemants mag wissen den außgang diser geburt/ vnd das mehrer theil zum todt. Dann so sich die zwen Leib vereinigen/ der sichtbar vnd vnsichtbar/ vnd gehen in die Natur durch einbildung oder lust wider die natürliche ordnung: So wissent/ dieweil es sich selbst in der statt der empfangnis erhalt/ so muß es in ein gewechs gehen/ es werd dann darauß was wölle/ nach art oder formierung derselbigen Imagination. Nuhn aber/ wiewol grob/ ist mehr zuwissen von denen dingen/ in der gestalt/ das auch die alten Weiber so der fruchtbarkeit entgangen/ vnnd vber den natürlichen Lauff kommen/ daß sie sich auch etwan anreitzen vnd vnkeusch erfunden werden/ vnd mit jn selbst dermassen speculieren/ anreitzen sich selbst/ treiben die Imagination also/ daß sie auch ein thummen *Sperma* herfür bringen: darinn auch möglich/ wie gemelt ist/ solche dinge zugeberen. Aber darumb ichs hab angefangen/ von jhnen ein meldung zu thun/ ist die: So die Imagination bey jhn angeht/ vnd der mag jhn nit werden/ mit dem sie in gedancken spielen: so wirt jn doch der *Incubus* vnd *Succubus*, die ein freud haben/ dermassen die statt zu erfüllen. Also werden die Buler der Hexen erfunden/ auch die Nachtgeistin bey solchen Mannen/ die denn auch Hexen sindt.

celestial body run its course in bringing about all of its works in the imagination. Now, it happens that *amor hereos* is born in the invisible body. When it enters into operation, it is no longer *amor hereos*. Only when it does not operate, does it remain [*amor hereos*]. The *amor hereos* is nothing less than the father and mother, [it is] an ejaculation of the sperma from which the *incubus* and the *succubus* acquire their operation. That is to say, the one is the night spirit of the women and the other the night spirit of the men.

Furthermore, you should be aware that this sort of generation frequently remains in the mother herself and does not emerge externally. In this respect | 286 | you should be aware that even without the works of the sperm, things of this kind are wondrously born so that people [sometimes] say, “this woman has been great with child for a long time, and she is bearing something strange,” when they touch and observe [her]. You should therefore be aware that creatures of this sort, of whatever character, if they are living and have been vested in a form of this sort, arise from a stale sperm which is carried to term; and no one can know what the result of this birth is likely to be. Most often it [leads to] death. For whenever the two bodies are united, that is, the visible and the invisible ones, and the two invade nature by way of imagination or desire, contrary to the natural order, then you should expect that, if it persists in the place of conception, it will surely begin to grow, and there is no knowing what it will turn into in accordance with the character or formation of the imagination. Moreover, though our speculations may be crude, we need to know more about these things, for example about the matter whereby the old women who are no longer fertile, having gotten beyond that natural course, stimulate themselves and show themselves to be unchaste, and speculate internally in such a way, arousing themselves and firing the imagination in such a way that they also produce a stale *sperma*. This makes it possible to generate the kind of things about which I have been speaking. Furthermore, since I have already begun with this subject, I will also report the following regarding those women: Once they have begun with their imagining, but are unable to have the one with whom they are playing in their thoughts, what does come out of it is that the *incubus* and the *succubus* are delighted to fill the vacancy. This is how we arrive at the lovers of the witches, as well as the female night spirits in the case of similar men who are therefore witches as well.

In solchen dingen/ die alle fürzukommen/ ist gut/ ein guter ernstlicher redlicher wandel: der sein selbst nicht gewaltig kan sein/ der bleib nicht allein. Wiewol keüschheit ein rein Hertz macht/ zu lernen Göttliche ding: der aber befehl gibt die ding zu lernen/ der gibt auch die keüschheit/ damit/ der sich selbst ziehen wil ohn den befehl vnd verleihung solchs Ampts/ der folg nach dem grossen Propheten Daudid/ do er spricht: dein Haußfraw wirt wie ein Weinstock tragen/ vnd deine Kinder werden vmb dein Tisch stehn/ wie die jungen Oelzweig vmb den stammen jhrs Baums: mit denselbigem iß die arbeit deiner Hend/ | 287 | so wirt dir wol/ vnnd bist selig vnnd förchtst Gott. Es ist ein herts vmb die Imagination: dann so jhr betrachten ein ander nach/ wie in diesem Buch erzelt ist nach dem kürztisten vnnd scheinigsten/ was krafft vnnd seltsame werck durch die Imagination werden/ beide Mannen vnd Frawen: so würd ein jedliche Obrigkeit die müssiggenger zu der arbeit treiben/ vnd die so nicht möchten herschen vber die Imagination/ versorgen/ damit fürkommen würden/ solche arge vnd böse ding. Dann der leib der vergraben wirt/ wirt verführt durch dieselbigen: soll er auffstohn am Jüngsten tag/ so hütt ein jedlicher Hirt seiner Schafen wol/ dann darumb sind sie gesetzt. Vnnd will also damit jetz mein dritt Buch beschlossn haben von den Vnsichtigen dingen/ welchs auß grosser erfahrungheit vnd auff die experientz gegründet ist/ vnnd also starck genommen auß der Facultet/ da die ding [alle] sichtlich gehandelt werden: vnd so scharff auß dem Liecht der Natur gezogen/ daß der wenigst Buchstab falsch nit mag erfunden werden. Vnd so nit nachfolgen würden mehr Bücher/ so Gott verhengen würd/ so wer vil zu wenig hie entdeckt. Darumb so verstanden bey kleinen vorhalten ein grosse außlegung/ vnd ein weitbegriffnen Text in kurtzen Versalen.

In order to avoid¹ everything of the sort in these matters, it is a good thing to cultivate a virtuous, serious, [and] upright conduct of life: Whoever is not master of himself should not remain by himself. Although chastity makes the heart pure for the learning of godly things, he who commands that we learn such things is also the one who dispenses the chastity.² This happens so that whoever would prefer to go his own way, not having received the commandment and conferral of an obligation of that kind, should follow after the words of the great prophet David, who says: “Your mistress of the house will bear fruit like a vine and your children will sit around your table like young olive branches around the trunk of their tree; with them you should eat the labor of your hands, | 287 | and all will be well for you and you will be blessed and fear God.”³ It is a hard thing with the imagination. For if you were to consider point by point those things of which only the briefest and most obvious have been recounted in this book, regarding those powers and strange works that come into being through the imagination, both in men and women, if one were to consider all this, then all the authorities would force the idle to work and see to those who do not want to become master of their imagination, so that such foul and wicked things would not occur. The body which is to be laid to rest is seduced by those things. If it is to be resurrected on Judgment Day, then every shepherd should tend to his sheep. For that is what they are there for. On this note, I am disposed to declare as completed my *Third Book on the Invisible Things*. It is based on extensive experience and first-hand knowledge and quite unlike the [work of the medical] faculty, where <only> the visible things are treated. [My book] draws so precisely upon the light of nature, that not the least small letter within it might be discovered to be false. And if no more books [on this subject] should follow, God willing, then still much too little would have been revealed. Therefore, regard it as a major explication from a small presentation and a broadly conceived text in short articles.

¹ See Grimm, **vorkommen** (4c): “verhüten,” prevent.

² Peuckert turns “disease” into “chastity,” depriving the sentence of its meaning.

³ Ps 128:1-4, “Happy is everyone who **fears the Lord**, who walks in his ways. You shall eat the fruit of the labor of your hands; you shall be happy, and it shall go well with you. Your wife will be like a fruitful vine within your house; your children will be like olive shoots around your table. Thus shall the man be blessed who fears the Lord.”

Vnnd wiewol viel seltzamer Kinder geboren werden/ die auch auß solchem vrsprung etlichs theil ein anhang haben/ die ich doch von minderer schreckung willens vnterwegen laß/ die da wol mögen auß vorgehenden geschriffthen sich selbst erkennen. So wissent hierinn/ daß die Kinder/ so rechtgeschaffen sind/ vnd doch mit einem anhang beladen mit volkommen geschehnen zeichen/ wie gemelt ist/ so wissent deren zweyen zusammenfügung ein solchen grund. Zu gleicher weiß/ wie ein Gold oder Silber in einen Ertz geboren wirt: vnd wiewol es ein Mißgewechs ist/ jedoch aber so lebt das recht Gold da. Darumb so sind solche Mißgewechs nichts dester minder Menschen/ wie vnlustig sie sehen. Dann in der stund jhrer entpfengnuß ist die Mischung durch einander gestanden/ vnd aber nicht gescheiden in der Natur. Dann so subtil ist die Natur in der formirung des Kindts/ dz kein Scheider so kunstreich auff dem Goldtscheiden sein mag. Dann zu gleicher weiß scheidt dz Kind auß den *Liquoribus* der Sperma/ als ein wolgeleuteter | 288 | Salpeter^a der da auffschiest wie die Crystallen/ vnnd sündert sich vom vnflat darinn er ligt/ hindan: Auch wie ein Perlein daß sich auß seiner Sperma hindan scheidt. So aber ein mißgewechs darein falt/ so wachsen sie beyde mit einander/ vnd niemandt weiß was eins oder dz ander ist/ wie Silber vnd Gold/ wie Silber vnd Kupffer/ vnd noch mehr/ wie Silber vnd Zinn/ wie Gold vnd Zinn/ etc. Also vnscheidbar bleibens bey einander. So befihl ichs weiter meinen Büchern/ die von dem geben des Menschen die ding weiter fürhalten/ damit ichs hie beschließ.

^a “Salpeter,” taken here as a paradigm of human conception, indicates the similarities of opposite realms. In *Elf Traktat* (“Vom schlag”) its explosive quality (“das der alchimist bombardam heißt”), linked to its use in gunpowder, is comparable to the effect of thunder, thus implicating the “himlischen kreften” (S 1:94-95; cf. S 13:37-40). *Von den Natürlichen Dingen* discusses the art of processing “salz niter und salt peter” and the medicinal application (S 2:109). P. refers in Basel student lecture notes to its generation from urine as a paradigm for tartarus illness: “et sicut ex urina foris der büchsenmeister seut salt peter, ita in corpore quoque fit, ideo cum sal urinae venit ad renes, henkt es sich an sicut tartarus in vase” (S 5:104; cf. S 10:304f.). P.’s comparison with conception has to do more with the crystallization and the implicit conjunction of celestial and terrestrial forces than with the material nature of this centrally paradigmatic substance.

And [to make one more point], even though there are born many strange children that have something accruing to them from a source of this kind, which I have decided to omit for the sake of diminishing the fright, they can nonetheless recognize themselves on the basis of the preceding writings. You should be aware in this respect that the children who are well made, and who nonetheless bear some appendage of the kind, involving the fully realized signs that I have spoken of—these represent a merging of the two different things, and indeed for the following reason. It is the same thing as when gold or silver emerges in an ore: though this is something abortive, the true gold still lives in it. For this reason, these abortive creatures are not less human, as unpleasing as they might look. In the moment of their conception, the mixture stood in a state of contamination which was then not separated in the realm of nature. For nature acts so subtly in the formation of the child that no separator could be as artful in refining gold. For the child crystallizes¹ from the *liquores* of the sperma, as does a well purified | 288 | saltpeter² which freezes into crystals, separating itself again from the filth in which it is embedded. It is also the same as when a tiny pearl separates itself from its sperma. However, if a malformation enters into it, then both of them grow along with one another and no one knows which one is which, like silver and gold, like silver and copper, and indeed even more like silver and tin, [or] like gold and tin, etc. Thus do they remain inseparable. Anything else about this I will defer to my [other] books, which address the further circumstances of the generation of the human being, so that I can now close this one.

¹ See Grimm, **schieszen** (4): this verb that generally designates a precipitous action (“to shoot”) is used by P. for the instantaneous action or abrupt onset of crystallization.

² Ruland: “*Sal petrae est, quod in testudinibus cellarum nascitur in conos oblongos ex calce resolute vel ex spuma salis*, Vnnd wenn er praeparirt ist/ heist er alsdenn Salnitri.” See NCE, “potassium nitrate” on the chemical properties of KNO₃ as soluble colorless prismatic crystals or white powder and on its manufacture and use as a diuretic, fertilizer, food preservative, or, since medieval times, ingredient of gunpowder.

Das vierte Buch/
von den Vnsichtbaren Dingen/
des Hochgelehrten Herrn
THEOPHRASTI von Hohenheim *Doctoris*.

Vorred zum Leser.

Diß vierdte Buch meins fürnemmens/ erfahrner Leser/ das durchliß:
dann hierinn werden die vnsichtbaren ding eröffnet/ die durch jhre
werck leiblich sich erzeugen: nicht allein/ daß du die natürlichen ding
erfahrest/ sondern daß du mehr ein auffmercken habest/ wie betrüglich
sie gebraucht sind worden. Dann durch diese vnsichtbaren natürlichen
krefft ist *Mahomet*^a erstanden/ vnnd der groß Abgott *Apollo*, vnd
haben ein Einbruch gemacht in das Heidnische volck zur Abgötterey/
angebetten den Leib/ der in der Erden faulet/ oder Balsamirt lag:
Dieselbigen Sect vnd Breüche seind eingewurtzlet in das New
Testament^b vnd ein mechtige Secten erhebt/ daß nit allein in ein
Aberglauben gebracht ist worden/ sondern auch zu viel argem vnd
grossem Laster/ daß alles auß der Secten Tempeldienern erhalten vnd
auffgericht ist worden. Mir aber gebürt natürliche ding zube| 289 |
schreiben: vnnd so sie in die geschriftt sollen gebracht werden/ so
werden viel erkennt/ die sich bißher verborgen behalten haben/ vnd
nicht recht erkennt sind worden. Dann mag der Artzt das Gold in das
fünfft wesen bringen/ vnd mag den Sophisten *Auicennam*, vnd sein
Anhenger/ in allen jhren geschriftten schenden: So mag auch auff-
stehen ein betrieger in der Artzney/ vnd mit solcher Artzney sagen/

^a *De Vita Longa* spoke of “**Mahumet**” as a magician capable of astonishing the people with promises of a long life (S 3:258). The *Auslegung uber Liechtenbergers Figuren* (1529 or 30) warns all who overestimate astrological prophecy against a paganism that honors “Mahomet”: “darumb ich euch warn, das ir nicht den jovem eren, den die heiden eren und das euer ere nit Apollini (Mahometi) beschehe” (S 7:521). The later *Auslegung der Papstbilder* compares him to popes who covet earthly power and wealth: “sie machen sich dem Mahomet gleich, der selbig hat sein glauben gericht auf reichthumb und pracht und macht” (S 12:534).

^b *Liber de Sanctorum Auctoritate Beneficiis, Signis et Blasphemiis* treats of the proper authority for actions impinging on the supernatural, an authority reserved for “saints” or those sanctified to do so, and excluding **Simon Magus**, who was guilty both of sorcery and simony: “als wenig mag ein meß gehalten werden von einem andern, als alein von einem heiligen, als wenig Simon der Simonier und zauberer vermocht die toten lebendig zu machen, wie die ausseizigen reinigen, wie ers dan von Petro kaufen wolt, die gnad des heiligen geistes” (S 14:344).

The Fourth Book
on the Invisible Things,
by the Highly Learned Herr
THEOPRASTUS von Hohenheim, *Doctor*.

Preface to the Reader.¹

This fourth book of my project, oh, experienced reader: read it carefully. For in it, the invisible things are disclosed which manifest themselves physically through their works. The purpose is not only that you should get to know the natural things but indeed that you should also be made aware of how deceitfully they have been utilized.² For it is through the invisible, natural forces that *Mahomet* arose, as well as the great idol *Apollo*, and [that] they led to the adultery of idolatry among the heathen people, [to their having] worshipped the body that rots in the ground or that is preserved in balsam. These same sects and customs were rooted in the New Testament³ and gave rise to a powerful sect that did not embark upon one superstition only but rather erected many evil and mighty vices: all of this has survived as the [legacy of] the sect of Knights Templars. However, my obligation is to account for natural things | 289 | and if these matters are brought into a written form, many things will be found out, which up until this time kept themselves hidden without being properly recognized. For if the physician can translate gold into the fifth essence, and if he can disgrace the sophist *Avicenna* and his adherents [and] all their writings, then it may well be the case that a swindler will be resurrected in medicine who will [then] say of this [new] medicine that it is not

¹ The reader of this Book comparing the holy healing powers of saints and their relics with the supernatural or magical-natural powers of *mumia* should reflect that this was a territorial dispute over medical authority, close to home for the son of a physician, born at the prominent pilgrimage site Einsiedeln, visited by the ailing.

² Just as the Third Book treated medical and religious themes (prenatal influence and chastity) together, the **Fourth Book** treats the medical powers of *mumia* and the theological problem of the status of saints and holy relics. Affirming the Lutheran tenets of *sola gratia* and *sola scriptura*, the Reformation rejected the intercession of saints. As a medical theorist, P. makes an idiosyncratic contribution to these controversies.

³ “**Rooted in the New Testament**” alludes to the magician Simon (Acts 8:9-24), the first under Christianity who “deceitfully” used the natural things. **Mohammed** and the followers of **Apollo** are merely those who like him employed magic for deceptive purposes, causing formerly heathen peoples to break their marriage vow with Christianity and go over to Islam or the heretical “sect” of the Templars (see below).

die Natur thuts nit/ es thuts der *Asmatheus*: vnd er mags wol erhalten vnnnd beschirmen/ dann die Sophistischen Artzet geben das auß jhrem vnuerstandt nach. Darumb/ Leser/ groß sind die tugendt der Natur/ wer ist so durstig/ der jhrer krefftten so vil darff annutten/ so vil vnd in jhr ist? dann dise krefft gohnd all auß Göttlicher weißheit: wer kan der weißheit an ein end kommen/ dieweil die Geschriff sagt/ sie sey ohn zahl/ vnd sagt von der grossen höhe vnnnd vnbegreiffligkeit seiner weißheit. Was soll dann der Mensch in der tieffe der Erden/ was soll er jhm fürnemmen vnd gedenccken/ so er am höchsten beschawet im Liecht der Natur/ wie er stande gegen der weißheit Gottes? Nicht anders/ dann so weit er hatt vom boden der Erden/ biß durch die Sonn hinauß/ vnd noch durch die neue Sonn hinauß/ die sibem mal klerer sein wirt/ noch ist er^a der Göttlichen weißheit kein anfang. Dieweil aber das Liecht der Natur gleich ist wie die brosmen von dem Tisch deß Herrn/ allen Heiden anzunemen/ vnd dz Liecht der Natur ist gewichen von *Iuda*, so gebürt sich nit nach zulassen/ sonder auffklauben von der weißheit/ so lang ein brosymlin falt. Wiewol vns dasselbig zu hoch inn der ergründung ist: darumb sey Preiß/ Lob/ vnnnd Ehr gesagt dem gütigen ewigen Gott/ der vns das Liecht der Natur scheinen last/ daß wir in natürlichen krefftten gründtlich wissen zu wandlen.

^a Sudhoff (307) omits “er”; V (312 *verso*) corresponds to Huser.

something performed by nature, but rather by *Asmatheus*;¹ and he would do well to preserve and protect it, for the sophisticated physicians will yield because of their lack of understanding. For this reason, reader, great are the virtues of nature. Who is so thirsty [for these] that he might be ready to expect so much from their forces, as much indeed as resides within them? For all of these forces proceed from the Divine Wisdom. Who can possibly reach the end of this wisdom when Scripture calls it without number and speaks of the great height and incomprehensibility of his wisdom?² What should the human being [amount to] in the depths of the earth? What should he propose and reflect when in the highest he contemplates in the light of nature how he relates to the wisdom of God? [That relation] is no less than the distance from the surface of the earth to beyond the sun, and indeed beyond that new sun which will be seven times brighter.³ Even this does not begin [to measure] the divine wisdom. Yet inasmuch as the light of nature is like the crumbs from the table of the Lord, to be received by all the heathens, and since the light of nature has abandoned *Juda*,⁴ there can be no desisting. Rather, we must collect [the crumbs] of wisdom as long as a single little crumb still falls. And even though it is too exalted for us in its reasons, this is why praise and adulation and honor are to be accorded to the eternal God who lets the light of nature shine for us so that we can learn to know and proceed in [accordance with] natural forces.

¹ See MLW, *Asmodaeus: daemon malus, diabolus*, an evil spirit or devil. (In Tb 3:8, the demon known by this name killed seven successive husbands of Sarah during their wedding nights. Raphael was sent to free her.) P. must anticipate and deflect suspicions that he himself is a diabolist. Fatalistically, he suggests that triumph over evil medical authority may only elicit his condemnation as an adherent of the diabolical arts.

² The wording follows biblical perorations on wisdom as in Job 11. See note on H 1:69.

³ Evokes various apocalyptic references: thus 2 Pet 3:12-13 anticipates that “the heavens will be set ablaze and dissolved, and the elements will melt with fire. But in accordance with his promise, we wait for new heavens and a new earth...”; this is echoed by Rev 21:1, “I saw a new heaven and new earth”; Rev 21-22 augments the vision of the coming **heavens with multiples of seven and unsurpassable radiance** (Rev 22:5).

⁴ P. evokes Mt 21:43 in which “the kingdom of God will be taken away [from the chief priests and Pharisees] and given to a people that produces the fruits of the kingdom.”

Ingang deß vierdten Buchs.

Ein jedtlich ding daß da soll dem Liecht der Natur gemeß außgelegt werden/ daß soll genommen werden auß der anzeignuß der ersten schöpfung.^a Dann ein jetlicher Anfang ist ein vrsprung seins nachfolgendes: ist auch die eigenschafft vnnd natur desselbigen: dann gleichs macht jhm kein | 290 | vngleichs.^b Also ist die erste schöpffunge Himmel vnnd Erden/ vnnd da sie beschaffen ist worden/ nicht allein in der form vnnd figuren/ sonder auch in natürlichen krefftten vnnd eigenschafften/ vnd nach schöpffung diser dingen allen/ ist auß jnen der Mensch worden/ gemacht durch die Hand Gottes/ nach seiner bildung. Was thut hie dise red? allein das jhr verstandent/ daß der Mensch die klein Welt ist/ nit in der form vnnd leiblichen Substantz/ sondern in allen krefftten vnd tugenden/ wie die groß Welt ist. Auß dem Menschen nuhn/ folget der Edel namm *Microcosmus*: das ist so viel/ das all Himmlische Leuff/ Irrdische natur/ Wässerische eigenschafft/ vnd Lufftische wesen/ in jhm sind: in jm ist die natur aller fruchten der Erden/ vnd aller Ertz/ natur der Wasser/ darbey auch alle *Constellationes*, vnd die vier Wind der Welt. Was ist auff Erden/ deß natur vnd krafft nit im Menschen sey? also Edel/ also subtil/ also scharff/ ist der *Limbus* gesein/ darauß Gott den Menschen nach seiner bildtnus gemacht hat. Denn das soll ein jeglicher natürlicher betrachten/ das Gott den Menschen/ den er nach seiner bildung geformiert hatt/ auß dem Edelsten *Composito* gemacht hat/ welches gleichen keins nimmermehr wirt: das weisen auß die grossen werck/ die das offenbar machen/ das der Himmel in seinen krefftten so Edel nit sein kan/ der Menschlich leib ist jhm gleich: noch die Erden/ noch kein Element. Diese grosse wunderbarliche ding sind alle im Menschen:

^a Sudhoff (308): “schöpfung”; V (312 *verso*): “scepffung.”

^b Considering the apparent non-sequiturs of P.’s argumentation, it is worth observing that this sentence not only recapitulates the reasoning of the opening sentence of *Opus Paramirum*: “Dieweil ohn erkandtnuß der **Anfäng**/ vnd der dingen/ so befohlen sind/ nichts kan gründtlich erkandt werden”; it also resonates with the central premises of his theory: that only like heals like and knows like; and that the healing art accords with the mercy of the Creator and Redeemer.

Beginning of the fourth book.

Everything that is to be interpreted in accordance with the light of nature must be taken up in accordance with the way it has been revealed in the first creation. For every beginning is the origin of what follows from it; [and indeed] it [constitutes] the property and nature of what follows. For like does not give rise to | 290 | unlike.¹ Thus it was with the first creation [of] the heavens and the earth: When they were created, it came about not only in form and figures but also in natural forces and properties [of things].² Following the creation of all these things, the human being was fashioned out of them by the hand of God, after [God's own] formation. What does it mean when we say this? Nothing other than that you should understand that the human being is the small world, not in form and physical substance, but rather in all the forces and virtues, like the great world. From the [nature of the] human being there follows the noble name *microcosm*. What the name implies is that all the celestial courses, the terrestrial nature, the aqueous properties, [and the] aerial essences are found within him. In him is found the nature of all fruits of the earth and all ores, [the] nature of the waters, as well as all *constellationes*, and the four winds of the world. What upon the earth is there of which its nature and power are not found within the human being? That is how noble, how subtle, [and] how sensitive the *limbus* was out of which the human being has been fashioned—from which God created the human being after his own image.³ For every natural [thinker or human being] should contemplate how God who created the human being after his own image, made him out of the noblest *compositum*, which will always lack for any equal. This is proven by those great works which have shown conclusively that the heavens in their powers cannot be so noble that the human body would not be equal, nor the earth, nor any of the elements. For all of these great and wondrous

¹ Here P.'s dictum of *similia à similibus* is equated with the biblical-medieval generalization that creation is the **likeness** of its Creator, in conformity with what Ohly (7) called the "Grundurkunde": Rom 1:20.

² The principle of *similia à similibus* evidently finds here a *nec plus ultra* root of authority in the similarity of the good virtues of nature with their good Creator.

⁸ Though every word here is consonant with P.'s similar pronouncements, this is an especially resounding formulation of a Christian Humanism shared with Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494), whose *De Hominis Dignitate* (1496), *Disputationes Adversus Astrologiam Divinatricem* (1496) or *Heptaplus de Septiformi Sex Dierum Geneseos Enarratione* (1489) might offer a fertile basis for comparison and contrast.

alle die krafft der Kreutter/ der Beumen/ werden im *Mumia* gefunden: nit allein der Erden gewachsen kreffft/ sondern des Wassers/ alle eigenschafft der Metall/ alle natur der Marcasiten/ alle wesen der Edelen steinen. Was soll ich die ding all erzelen/ vnd nennen? sie sind alle im Menschen/ nit weniger/ nit minder/ als starck vnd als kreffftig/ im *Mumia*. Allein wz die Augen fassen/betreffend die form/ vnd wz die Hende greiffen/ betreffend den leib/ wz gehet aber sonst ab? Es were aber lachens werdt/ so man durch lesen soll die Geschriffen/ die man nennet der natürlichen Meister/ die da also lauten/ das gemerckt in jhn/ vnd gespürt wird/ daß das Liecht der natur nie erkennt ist worden: sonder haben jhrn grund gesetzt auff die Fragmenten/ so von den Geistern geben sind worden. Das ist zubeklagen/ daß die Geist haben den | 291 | grund gesetzt/ auff den die *Philosophi* gebawen haben in natürlichen dingen. Jetzt furhin aber nimmer also/ sonder auff den grund soll gebawen vnd geschrieben werden/ auß dem alle ding wachsent/ vnnd entspringen. Wiewol das ist/ das die Geist möchten noch mehr viel Particularien lernen/ wir aber sollen nicht der Schul/ sonder dem natürlichen liecht nach.

^aVnnd in der summa von denen dingen allen zu reden/ welcher wil ein *Opoponacum* suchen/ der findt jhn in disem *Mumia*, vnd also andere ding all. Welcher kan den Menschen außlegen vnd zertheilen/ das ist scheiden von einandern das/ so von einanderen zu scheiden gehört/ der findt all sein begeren/ vnnd bringt das auß jm/ das durch den *Vulcanum* schwerlich durch die eusseren ding herfür gebracht mag werden. Dann welcher will *Melissam* haben/ der findt jn da/ welcher will *Antimonium* haben/ der findt jn da: In diesem *Mumia* sind sie all/ vnd diese ding sind all natürlich/ aber bißher nit in erkandtnuß gestanden. Darumb so gebürt sich nun fürhin von den Microcosmischen krefften zu reden/ die ding zuerkleren/ die durch die

^a Sudhoff (309-24) corresponds to V (313 verso-323) in the enumeration of points of argumentation from “Second” (“zum andern”) at the beginning of this paragraph to “Thirteenth” (“zum dreizehnten”) at the head of the paragraph that begins on the bottom of H 1:304 (cf. Anmerkung, S 9:679).

things are in the human being: all the powers of the herbs [and] trees are found in the *mumia*:¹ not merely the powers of what grows on the earth but also those of the water, all properties of the metals, the entire nature of the marcasites, [and] all essences of the gems. How can I possibly recount all the things and name them? They are all in the human being—no less and no weaker—as strong and forcefully as in the *mumia*. Except for what the eyes take in, in terms of form, or what the hands touch in the human body—what else is missing? It would be a matter for amusement were one to read through all those writings that are reputedly by masters of natural things and are called by that name. For one would notice and realize in them that they never understood what the light of nature is. Instead they based their writings on those fragments that had been given to the spirits. It is indeed deplorable that it was the spirits who laid the | 291 | foundation upon which the *philosophia* of natural things would be erected. From now on, it is to be different.² Everything is to be founded and derived from the foundation from which all things grow and arise. Even if it is the case that the spirits might teach quite a few particulars, we should not follow their school but rather adhere to the natural light.

In sum, it must be said with regard to all these things that whoever would seek an *opoponacum*³ shall find it in this *mumia*, and [find] all other things as well. Whoever is capable of interpreting and dividing up the human being, by which I mean of separating those things from one another which are appropriately separated, will find everything he seeks [therein] and extract from it that which it would be difficult for the *vulcanus* to elicit from external things. For whoever desires *melissa* would find it. Whoever desires *antimonium* would find it too. In this *mumia* all things are to be found; and all these things are natural. Yet up until this time no one has recognized them. Therefore, from now on it will be fitting to invoke the microcosmic forces in or-

¹ On the ambiguity of *mumia*, see H 2:68; here the context is too exalted and general to allow for *mumia* to refer to nothing more than a bituminous product. The human being, and perhaps the body of Christ as well, with its powers of resurrection in combination with faith, are implicated here.

² Like a manifesto of Paracelsism as “reform movement” (cf. CP² 2-3), this characteristic summation will find its fullest and most resounding echo in Jacob Boehme’s *Aurora* (1612).

³ A “panacea”; in an article on *Gummi oppopanax* or *Panacis lacryma*, Zedler observes that *Panax* refers to that which heals all diseases. The sap in question is extracted from a cut in the trunk or the root of a tree of a species of *sphondylius* which had many medicinal uses; here the panacea is equated to the human *mumia*.

vnsichtbare arth gewircket werden/ die Zauberisch/ Hexisch/ Teüffelisch zusein/ das gemeine volck vermeinet: so sie doch all natürlich sind/ vnnd in natürlichem grund erfunden werden. Dann jhr sollen in des Menschen Gliedern ein zwyfache Natur erkennen: Ein greiffliche wirkende krafft/ vnd ein vngreiffliche wirkende krafft: dann der sichtig Leib hatt sein natürliche wirkung/ der vnsichtig dieselben auch. All die Bresten so der sichtige Leib tregt/ dieselbigen Artzney hatt er auch an derselben statt/ vnnd was jhm mag für schaden zugestellt werden/ den mag er auch wenden. Also wissen von den vnsichtbaren krefftten/ das nit ein kleine vnachtbare krafft sein muß/ die solche grosse Imagination macht. Wo solche gründ ligen/ da ligt auch mehr. Vnd zu gleicher weiß/ wie ein krafft der Gilgen sich herfür streicht/ also streicht auch der vnsichtig Cörper sein tugent herauß. Ist nuhn im Leib solch wunderbarlich ding/ wie herauß bricht/ wie die Augen beweisen/ sein Zung vnd sein Ohren/ so ligt auch etwas Fix im Microcosmischen Leib von denen dingen/ also das auß dem *Mumia* grosse ding mögent gebracht werden. Dann zu gleicher weiß/ | 292 | wie jhr sehen die Negelin auff seim beumlin stehn/ vnnd das

der to explain the things that are effected by the invisible nature. These are things that the common people regard as magical, witchcraft-related, [or] diabolical. All things of this kind are only natural and can be demonstrated to have a natural basis. For you should be aware that in the parts and organs of the human being there is a two-fold nature: a tangibly operating power and an intangibly operating power. For the visible body has its natural operation and so does the invisible one have its. As to all those frailties borne by the visible body: the body has a medicine equal to them in the same location; and whatever sort of harm might be done to it, it is capable of deflecting it. Therefore, you should be aware that when it comes to the invisible powers no minor power is created by such a powerful imagination. Where causes of such a kind reside there is much else besides. In the same way that the power of the lily is expressed, so does the invisible body express its virtue.¹ If there is such a wondrous thing in the body as that which is thereby exuded—as the eyes prove and the tongue and ears can testify²—then there resides in the microcosmic body something in fixed form from all those things so that great things can also be elicited from the *mumia*. For [it is] the same as | 292 | when you see how the cloves (**Negelin**)³ stand on their tree and celandine⁴ in the

¹ *Von den natürlichen Wassern* (S 2:300ff.) mentions the **lily** as among the vegetation sprouting forth from black earth and thereby revealing in the light of nature its immanent “virtues,” disclosing the “mysteria dei” and “heimlichkeit der natur.” By an association difficult to recapture but apposite to the present context, the pivotal point of florescence is an emergence of the visible from prior invisibility. This in turn betokens the process of transmutation (300) and our ability to conceive something invisibly or mentally before effecting it visibly (301). Such an association connects our themes of alchemy, natural process, and spiritual agency.

² P. deviates from empiricism by according a wondrous agency to **sight, hearing, and speech**, a reasoning similar to Luther’s contemporary rationalization of the real divine presence in the Eucharist in his *Sermon von dem Sacrament des leibs und bluts Christi, widder die Schwarmgeister* (WA 19:478-79, 492-93).

³ See Grimm, **Nägelein, Nägeleinbaum**: In combination with “tree,” this may allude to the clove, used in cooking and medicine. Though known since Roman times, it was an import from the Spice Islands (NCE). A gloss that conforms to P.’s allusions to blindness and sight is “Nagelkraut, *Hieracium pilosella*.” It was associated in antiquity (Pliny 20:60) and the Middle Ages (Albertus Magnus) with the restoration of sight or medication of ailing eyes by sympathetic magic (see HDA, “Habichtkraut”). In addition, “Negelyn krut oder Benedicta” (Med³ ccv) is “Benediktenkraut” (Grimm), *Cnicus benedictus*, “Heildistel” (Wahrig).

⁴ See H 2:41; 1:251. Like the references to eyebright, the hoopoe bird, or *hieracium pilosella*, the renewed reference to **Schöllkraut** (celandine) reinforces the allusion to physical or spiritual blindness and its cure.

Schölkraut im Garten: vnnnd wenn sie lebendig sein/ so seind sie schön vnnnd lieblich: wenn sie dürr sind vnd tod/ so sind sie vnlieblich: aber noch sind jhr krefft da. Vnd ob schon den *Mumia* niemandt gesicht/ noch ist die krafft nicht gestorben: dann das leben nimpt nuhr mit jhm hinweg das/ so die Menschen mit einander bekannt machen: darauß aber dasselbige gehet/ das bleibt im *Mumia*. Also wissent/ das die zwo Natur deß Menschen sichtig vnnnd vnsichtig/ mit wunderbarlichen krefftten begabet sind: das ist/ was der sichtig Leib handelt in der Artzney/ vnnnd was der vnsichtig in der Artzney handelt. Dann zugleich weiß wie der sichtbar Leib redet/ vnd niemandt sieht das ding/ das die red ist: vnd wie die Augen sehen/ vnnnd niemandt sihet das/ daß das gsicht ist: Also versteht auch/ daß der sichtbar Leib/ so er ein *Mumia* ist/ noch bey jhm hat den vnsichtigen Leib/ darumb er wunderbarliche ding noch wircken mag/ zu gleicher weiß als wenn er lebte. Vnnnd aber das ist *Mumia*, so der Mensch das leben nimmer hatt/ so gehendt sein blüest an/ in den natürlichen krefftten vnd Arcanen.

Vnnnd die ding zuverstehen/ mercken mich also/ das zweyerley wirkung hie im *Mumia* außbrechen mögen: die ein ist/ das die *Mumia* das mag thun/ das der lebendig Mann hett mögen thun: zum andern/ daß die theil des *Mumia* ein gantze Artzney sein. Nuhn aber das jhr die ding recht verstanden/ so verstehets also. Ihr wissent/ wie der lebendig leib kan vnd mag durch krafft der Artzney die krancken gesund machen: Also sollet jhr auch wissen/ das in einem todten *mumia* dergleichen solchs auch beschehen mag. In was weg aber/ ist groß zu mercken: dann hierauß sind entstanden vil *Mumia*, die zeichen gethan haben. Also auch dergleichen/ so ist auff ein andern weg durch solche *Mumia*, der außgetheilt ist worden/ dergleichen Kirchfart vnd zulauffen auffgericht worden: vnd die Natur ist hie nit betracht worden/ allein ein Zauberische weiß fürgenommen/ dem Glauben zugelegt: vnd also im nammen der Heiligen die ding für zeichen

garden. When they are alive they are beautiful and lovely, but when desiccated and dead, they are no longer: and yet their powers are still present. And even if no one is truly cognizant (**gesicht**)¹ of the *mumia*, its strength has not perished. For life only extracts from it that which makes human beings recognizable to one another. That from which this has departed is retained in the *mumia*. Hence, you should be aware that the two natures of the human being, visible and invisible, are endowed with marvelous powers. It is with these that the visible body works in medicine; and they are [also] what the invisible body operates with in medicine. For in the same way that the visible body speaks and [yet] no one can see the thing that is speech; and just as the eyes can see, and yet no one can see the thing that is sight: in this same way you should be aware that the visible body, being a *mumia*, retains within it the invisible body, for which reason it can still effect things that are just as miraculous as when it was alive. For this is precisely what *mumia* is: When the human being no longer has life, then its blossoming [i.e., that of *mumia*] begins in the natural and arcane powers.

Moreover, in order to comprehend these things, take note that I am asserting that two kinds of effect may be exuded from the *mumia*: the one is when the *mumia* happens to exert the sort of action the living man might have done. The other is when the parts of the *mumia* are [in themselves] a complete medication. To get a proper understanding of such things, think of them this way. You know that the living body is able to make the sick well again by the power of medication. You should consider that the same sort of action can happen with a dead *mumia*. The way in which this happens is the matter of essential importance. For from this [way of exerting itself] many sorts of *mumia* have originated and these have performed signs.² Similarly, [but] by a different avenue, [it happens] by virtue of the sort of *mumia* which are divided into pieces and that result in pilgrimages and people flocking to churches. However, in these cases, nature has not been taken into account. Instead a magical *modus* was proposed, [and] ascribed to faith, so that in consequence, these things were taken to be signs [ef-

¹ See Grimm, **gesehen** (B1): to “see” something as the opposite of being spiritually blind to it.

² In performing signs, the *mumia* recalls the miracles attributed to the holy relics of the saints’ bodies, which were often sawed into pieces and distributed among churches to be venerated by pilgrims.

geacht worden/ als ob ein Heilig vber die natur solchs thue/ so es aber alles allein natürliche ding gesein sindt. Vnd aber darumb/ das nichts daruon beschrieben ist worden/ vnd vn| 293 |sichtbar ding wunderbareliche wirkung erzeugt hatt: Vnd haben nicht das natürliche exempel betracht/ das der Magnet an sich zeucht ein grossen hauffen Eisen/ vnd dz der Mensch auch ein Magnet ist/ vnd zeucht/ wie ein Magnet das Eisen/ also auch die Menschen an sich. Dann das exempel nachuolgend mercket/ wie ein natürliche arth ist vnter dem volck/ wo etwan ein frembder seltzamer Mann kompt/ so lauffen sie all hinzu/ vnd wollen jhn sehen/ oder ein frembder Hund oder Vogel/ diesem oder jenem geschrey nach/ dem Herrn oder dem Meister nach. Also wie das auff Erden ist/ das die Natur eim so viel gibt/ das jhm solcher zulauff geschehe/ die gibt sie fürwar auch dem todten körper: Also das ein jedlicher das mag ermessen/ was die Natur lebendig gibt/ das sies auch todt mag geben. Darauff dann volgt/ so ein *Mumia* vergraben ist/ vnd die Natur treibt ein so[l]chen^a zulauff mit zeichen der gsundmachung/ der in dieser krackheit/ vnd der ander in dieser: So laß dir gleich vnd eben sein/ als lege ein Hauptmann zu Leon/ vnd was da kem/ bezalt er mit Kronen/ vnd leg einer zu Trient/ der soldet mit Reinischem Goldt/ vnd einer in Sachsen/ der bezalte mit Schwertgroschen/ vnd einer lieff jehm zu/ vnd der ander diesem zu: Das sindt alles Natürliche vnd Menschliche hendel/ Abgötter bey lebendigem leib. Vnnd also mit gleicher weiß vnnd geberden handelt auch der *Mumia*: Der zalt mit Kaltemwee/ der ander mit Pestilentz: Vnd ist auch doch gleich die eine weiß/ vnd die eine arth.^b Vnd wie nicht ein jedlicher kan ein Hauptmann sein vnd geldt außgeben: Also kan auch nicht ein jedlicher *Mumia* zeichen thun. Was ich aber euch von diesem

^a Huser: "sochen."

^b Three aspects of P.'s understanding of **economic exchange** and division of labor are relevant to this odd and elliptical observation: 1. Not only the craftsman and, in the case of metals, the smelter are included in P.'s scheme of the production process and social division of labor but also the seller, buyer, and consumer ("schmelzer, kauer, verkauffer, verbraucher"—S 3:47). 2. Much that pertains to monetary exchange and mercantilism is regarded as pernicious in the extreme (see *De Ordine Doni*). 3. In the broadest sense, the human division of labor encompasses not only the physician but even Christ's assignments, as it were, of offices or professions to the disciples and saints: St. Peter as a fisherman and St. Eustachius among others as a hunter (cf. *De Ordine Doni*).

fected] in the name of the saints—as if a saint were performing such things above nature, although in reality all of this was nothing but natural phenomena. It is because no one ever wrote anything [to the contrary] about it, [that] | 293 | invisible things manifested a miraculous operation. Yet they did not consider the natural example of the manner in which the magnet can attract a great amount of iron to itself, nor the fact that the human being is also a magnet which attracts many people just as the magnet attracts the iron. You can see this in the natural effect among the people whenever a foreign [and] strange man arrives: everyone comes running up to see him. The same is true of a strange dog or bird, the way it follows this or that call of its owner or master. Just as nature on earth gives us so much [attractive power] that this sort of flocking occurs: the same power is truly given to the dead body. Thus can everyone assess how what nature gives to the living [body] will likewise be given by nature to the dead. From this it follows that if a *mumia* is buried and nature impels a [popular] flocking together of this sort by signs of healing provided for this disease or for that, then you may regard the situation just as if there were one captain in [the Spanish] Leon who pays for services with crown currency, and another [captain] in [the Italian] Trent who pays his troops in Rhineland gold, and another in Saxony with the crossed-sword coins¹ of that realm; and the one gets this and the other one that. All these affairs would be natural human exchanges, idolatry involving the living body.² It is the same with the *mumia*: the one pays with cold chills and the other with pestilence; yet here we again have the same mode [of action] and nature. And just as not everyone can be a captain and dispense money for services, neither can every *mumia* perform signs. The understanding I convey to you of this sort of *mumia*, which

¹ See Grimm, **Schwertgroschen**: a coin adorned with swords introduced in Electoral Saxony in the 15th century as legal tender. Distinct currencies, like the different medications or *mumia*, can have the same payoff or power to fulfill (medical) needs. The comparison of *mumia*(s) to currencies acknowledges the supernatural even while relegating it, very oddly, to the level of a worldly exchange.

² Does this odd conceit reject venality in the veneration of saints? Does it stress the unitary value behind all such “transactions” or does it elevate cash payment to a paradigm of faith-based healing? P. included the buyer or consumer in his notion of the social division of labor and use in *De Mineralibus* (S 3:46-47, cf. vis-à-vis). The exchange of coins for services must have been the most mysterious link of the division. The power of diverse coins and the credit vested in them is akin to the invisible works of bodies no longer alive.

Mumia zuersth gib/ vnd ich das natürlich fürhalt/ das sollen jhr weiter fleissig erkennen/ vnd durchlesen/ was ich daruon schreib.

Also auff das nimb ich weiter für mich zu erkleren den *Mumia*/ vnnd nemlich diesen *Mumia*/ der auß der Erden seine werck fliesen last: Welche *Mumia* von vielen für Heiligen geachtet werden/ dieweil vnd sie ein solchen zulauff machen/ vnd auch nach jhren krefft vnd tugenden natürlich gegen jhren krancken handeln. Vor dem aber vnd ich dasselbig außlege/ so sind solche *Mumia* mit vielerley fürgeben geprediget wor| 294 |den/ für Heiligen dargestellt vnnd für Heiligen angeruffet: ohn betracht/ wie wunderbarlich der Heiligen werck vber diese werck sindt. Dann keinem Heiligen wirdt nachgelauffen/ so wunderbarlich sindt jhre werck/ das sie dir an der statt helfen: Sie kommen zu dir/ du darffst nicht zu jhnen/ so anders von Gott das angesehen ist: Du darffst nichts verheissen/ schencken/ noch geben. Dann Christo wardt auch nie nichts bezalt.

Darumb so betrachtendt dasselbig wol: So die statt gesucht muß werden/ so ist es zu gleicher weiß als rufftestu ein Artzt an/ vnnd er schickt dir Artzney vnnd hilfft dir/ vnnd so du geniesses^a so hieß er dich in die Apotecken gohn/ vnnd die Büchsen bezahlen/ ist das nicht Natürlich? Ja: Also ists auch mit solchen Cörpern. Dann das erfindt sich im Liecht der Natur/ das nicht allein *Doctores* auff Erden seindt/ sondern auch in der Erden: Das nicht allein die krafft in der Natur ist/ den lebendigen nach zu lauffen/ sondern eben als wol den todten.

Also haben die Heyden vnter jhnen Götter vberkommen/ also auch die Christen/ also auch die Türcken/ vnnd den rechten Gott vnnd

^a Sudhoff (313): “genesest,” as in V (315 verso).

I am explaining as something natural, [is a lesson] you should continue applying, perusing what I write on the subject.

Hence I am proposing to offer further explanation of the *mumia*, more precisely, that particular *mumia* which permits its works to flow out of the earth:¹ the *mumia* which many have regarded as something holy when they flock to the place where it is located and employ its powers and virtues in a natural manner to deal with their diseases. Yet before I undertake to interpret this kind, [I should add] that for these *mumia* many sorts of special gifts (**fürgeben**)² | 294 | have been preached, and [they have been] presented as holy and venerated as saints—all without taking into account how miraculously exalted are the works of [the true] saints above these works. For no one has to chase after any [real] saint. Their works are so miraculous that they perform their help in whichever place you are. They come to you; you need not go to them. That is how much differently this is regarded by God. You may not promise, nor regale, nor give anything. For Christ never got paid in any way whatsoever.

Therefore, attend to this carefully. If the place does have to be sought out, it is no different than if you had summoned a physician who sent you medication that helped. If you then recovered, he would bid you pay a visit to the apothecary and pay the tab for the container used. Is this not [within the realm of] the natural? Why, of course it is. And so it is, too, with the [other medicinal] bodies.³ For it is a fact readily confirmed in the light of nature: the *doctores* are not only upon the earth, but also within the earth. Therefore, such power is not only present in nature to be sought out by the living, but equally much so in the dead.

Therefore, this is why, among the heathens, [people] came under the sway of the [false] gods, as did the Christians, as well as the

¹ P. may be thinking not merely of buried saints but of *mumia* as a petroleum product (cf. HDA, “Asphalt”) associated with religious embalming and therefore with the supernatural or natural preservation of corpses.

² See Grimm, **Vorgabe, Fürgabe**: a gift or endowment associated with some sort of privilege.

³ Is P. unwilling to abandon the role of saints’ pilgrimage sites altogether? Visiting them is not a cause but a payback for healing. The physician or true author of healing is analogous to God. The pilgrimage site or source of medication as “apothecary” is only where the *mumia* or natural healing powers are accounted for.

erlöser auß dem sinn geschlagen/ vnnd also mit diesen Cörpern vmbgangen: Vnd wiewol natürlich/ so ist es doch nicht gebürlich. Dann Gott hat den Artzet beschaffen/ auff der Erden zu sein/ vnnd nicht in der Erden: Vnnd die artzney von der Erden/ vnnd nicht in der Erden: Vnnd den lebendigen soll gewichen werden ab der statt/ vnnd denn toden nicht.

Das sie aber also lauffen/ ist der leichtfertigkeit schuldt/ vnnd der verführung/ zu der der Sathan hilfft vnnd reizet. Aber da solch Cörper vnnd *Mumia* jhr krafft haben lassen herfür gehn/ da hatt der Satan sein weiß auch herzu gebracht. Dieweil die Menschen nicht verstanden haben/ das das natürliche werck gsein seindt/ da hatt ers jhnen für Heiligen angezeigt/ vnnd Priester darauff gesetzt/ vnnd also sein laster auch hiebey gezylet.^a Aber wie der Natur arth ist/ die hatt ein Herbst/ hörtt auff ein weil/ hatt ein Erndt/ vnnd wirdt abgeschnitten: Also seindt solcher Heiligen viel | 295 | mit der Natur in die Schewren kommen/ vnd weder zeichen noch werck weitter beschehen/ dann worumb? Die Natur nimpt ein endt/ sie weret nicht Ewig/ so die Heiligen Ewig bleiben. Zu gleicher weiß wie ein Rosen/ die herfür bricht mit der zeit/ vnnd mit derselben zeit gehts wieder vnter: Also geschicht auch den *Corporibus*/ heut blüen sie/ morgen so dörrens auß: Dann es seindt alles Natürliche ding/ darumb gehn sie mit der Natur auff vnnd ab. Darumb will ich ein jedlichen sonderlich ermahnet haben auff diß Buch gut achtung zu haben/ vnd sehen/ was die Natur in jhren krefften vermüge/ etc.

Wollen wir zeichen haben von Heiligen/ vnnd sie sollen beschehen rechtschaffen/ vnnd ohn betrug/ so sollen wir nicht achtung auff jhre Cörper haben/ noch den Cörperlichen dingen nachgehen. Dann der Cörper ist nichts/ als ein Irdische Natur/ vnnd was er thut/ ist natürlich jhm angeboren/ wie einem Senff das riechen in die Nasen/ wie den Goldtblumen/^b die Blaterziehung: Da ist kein Heiligen werck nicht.

^a Sudhoff (313): “gezilet”; V (316) “gezüglet.”

^b P.’s *De Gradibus* classed “Centaurea,” one root of which means “gold,” among the “frigidae” (S 4:12, 23), applicable to the kidneys (38f.). If this is what “Goldtblumen” denotes, P. is once again showing his contempt for the medicine of degrees. V (316 *verso*) has “Goldbluemen.”

Turks,¹ [and why they all in so doing] put the true God and Savior out of mind and instead operated with these bodies. Even though this is natural, it is not proper. For God created the physician to be on the earth, not [to be buried in a grave] in the earth; and the medication to come out of the earth, not to be [buried] in the earth. And one should make the journey from where one is to the living [physicians], and not to the dead ones.

The fact that they all flock to such things is due to their frivolity and to that seduction in which Satan gives assistance and encouragement. Since bodies of the kind like the *mumia* have exuded their powers, Satan has added his influence to it. Because the human beings never understood that these were natural works, he [Satan] was able to make it seem as if saints were at work. He instituted priests upon this authority, thereby pursuing his vices in the process. Yet given the character of nature, it has its autumnal season. It gives out after a time. The time of harvest arrives and there is a reaping. This is why it happens that many of these saints | 295 | have come by nature into the storage barn, so that neither [their] signs nor their works continue happening. Why is that? [It is because] nature comes to an end. It does not last forever in the way that the saints last forever. It is the same with a rose. It emerges in its time and passes on in its time. So it is with the *corpora* as well. Today they blossom. Tomorrow they wither. All of these things are natural so they can only rise and fall in accordance with nature. Therefore, it is my intention to admonish every reader to pay particularly close attention to this book and recognize what nature in its powers is capable of bringing about, etc.

If we want to receive signs [of favor or help] from the saints, and if these [signs] are to be of a proper kind and without deception, then we should not think about their bodies, nor should we be attentive to corporeal matters. For the body is nothing more than terrestrial nature. What it does is naturally innate to it, the way it is natural for mustard to smell to the nose, [or] like treating the bladder with gold flowers (**Goldt blumen**):² there is no saintly work in that.

¹ “Turks” signifies Muslims.

² **Gold blumen**: Marzell writes that “Goldblume” is “arnika montana” (English “arnica”) but he adds that 16th-century sources knew nothing of it. The reference may be to some other flower with a diuretic effect (perhaps *centaurea*, cf. vis-à-vis). Of possible relevance, Ruland mentions: “*Flos cheiri est auri essentia*.”

Wiewol auß einfalt vnnd vnuerstandt/ so in den natürlichen krefft bey vns gewesen ist/ darumb solche ding vbernatürlich geacht seindt worden: Darzu vns geursacht haben/ die natürlichen Meister/ *Philosophi* vnnd *Medici*/ die den nammen ohn die kunst gehabt haben. Darumb so scheid voneinander das natürlich vnnd das Heilig/ so wirdt der Körper ein natürlich Körper bleiben/ vnnd der Heylig als ein Heiligen zustehet. Soll der Heilig ein zeichen thun an vnser eim/ so thut ers ohn sein Körper/ er thuts im nammen Jesu.

Nuhn sihe/ was der Körper hierinnen zu handeln habe/ er so gestorben ist/ vnnd ist bey Gott/ vnnd du rüffest jhn an: Vnnd ich setz/ er hülffe dir/ so legt er darumb sein Körper nicht wieder ahn/ sondern er last jhn ligen bey den Würmen vnnd thuts im nammen Jhesu.

Thut ers nun ohn den Körper/ was suchstu dann im Körper? laß die todten mit den todten vmbgehn/ handel du mit den le| 296 |bendigen: Die Natur halt sich zusammen/ also halten sich auch die Heiligen zusammen. Will dich ein Heilig erhören/ vnd gesundt machen: Ich setz/ es müg also sein: So zielt^a er dich nicht auff sein grab/ sondern das ziehl steht in deim hertzen: Wie kanstu dann den Heiligen neherer finden/ dann standt grad still? Wir können zu keim Heiligen kommen/ sie müssen nur zu vns. So haben sie sich auch gescheiden^b von jhren Körpern/ darumb können sie vns daselbst hin nicht tragen. Dann müste der Körper beim Heiligen sein/ so were er nicht auff Erden/ er müst mit sambt dem Heiligen zum Kammerfenster außfahren gen Himmel. Es haben aber die Todtenvergraber die natürlichen werck des Körpers/ Heilig geheissen: Warumb sie es gethan haben/ sicht mann an jhren Stiffen vnd Klöstern wol. Sie haben vom Heiligen geprediget/ vnd nur auff den Körper gewisen/ darzu sie der Satan gebracht hat/ auff das es sie erhalte: Vnd das Liecht der Natur zuerforschen gewehret/ auff das nicht erfunden würdt/ das nicht Heilige/ sondern Natürliche werck werend/ vnd nicht erfüren/ das ein Körper vnd Nessel.^c So nuhn die Körper sollen Heilig sein/ so verwundere sich niemand/ das auch die Türcken so wol versorgt seien/ als die Christen. Es wirdt aber bey den Christen gar grob vergessen/ das

^a Sudhoff (314): “zilt,” “zil” in the next line; likewise V (317), where the second word was omitted, then added.

^b Sudhoff (314): “geschiden”; V (317): “geschieden.”

^c See H 1:298, note on the effect of lavender on the **nettle**.

Nonetheless, through simple-mindedness and a lack of comprehension of the natural forces that are within us, such things have been regarded as supernatural. We have been induced to see it this way by the natural masters, by the *philosophi* and *medici*, who have laid claim to these titles without possessing any art. In consequence, if you separate the natural and the holy from one another, the body will remain a natural body and the holy will remain that which accrues to the saint. If a saint happens to perform a sign on our kind, then he will do so without his body: he will do it in the name of Jesus.

Do take heed what it is that the body contributes in these affairs when it has died and is in the presence of God and you call out to it. For I would surmise that [the dead saint] would help. But in order to do so [the dead soul] would not don its body again but would let it lie instead with the worms and help in the name of Jesus.

If he can do so without the body, why then would you seek [help] from the body? Let the dead take care of the dead.¹ Instead you should see to the | 296 | living. Nature preserves its own order; and the saints preserve theirs as well. If a saint is going to hear your supplications and restore your health, I expect the saint would do it in this way: He would not direct you to his grave as a chosen place. The place of choice would rather lie in your heart. How could you have the saint any nearer to you than by standing perfectly still? We cannot go to any saint: They can only come to us. Since they have separated themselves from their bodies, they cannot betake their bodies to us. If the body were with the saint, it would not be on earth. It would have to ascend together with the saint out of the window of our chamber and journey to heaven. It is the gravediggers who have declared the natural effects of the body to be saintly. Their reason for doing so is apparent from their foundations and monasteries. They have preached about the saint and pointed only to the body. They were incited to do so by Satan, who kept them under his sway by such means. And they also forbade any further exploration of the light of nature so no one would find out that it was not a matter of holy works but of natural ones, and so no one would learn that a body can be understood the way nettles can be understood. For the body is also a kind of nettle. If we assume that bodies are holy, no one would need to be amazed if Turks were as well off [spiritually] as Christians. Christians have forgotten that even

¹ Mt 8:22, [Jesus said]: “let the dead bury their own dead.”

Iohannes Baptista/ welcher der Heiligest geboren auß Mutterleib/ so gar nichts thut in seinem Körper/ der do billich/ so der Körper ein Heilig were/ solcher Stigelheuser viel vberzeichnete. Gedencken aber all an das wunderbarliche *Compositum*, darauß der Mensch gemacht ist/ der Natur/ desselbigen Leimklotzen legens alles zu.

Das ich aber euch ein klein vnterricht weiter geb/ vnnd ein mehrer erkantnuß/ von dem Körper vnnd den Heiligen: So verstehet/ wie sie von einander gescheiden sindt. Ein mal ist der Körper in der Erden/ vnd der Heilig im Himmel. Darumb/ was in der Erden ligt/ was es würckt/ das ist natürlich: Also was im Himmel ist/ was es würckt/ das ist vbernatürlich. Nuhn verstanden hierinn/ soll der Heilig am Jüngsten Tag wieder aufferstehen/ vnd in seinem Körper rechnung geben sei| 297 |nes lebens: So wissen/ das derselbig leib muß glorificiert werden. Was ist die Glorificierung des leibs/ als allein hinnemen die natürlichen krefft? Was ist ein Heilig gescheiden von mir oder andern/ als allein in dem/ das er Glorificiert ist?^a das ist/ er hat nichts natürlichs mehr an jhm/ so ich der Natur aller voll steck. Dann solt ein Heilig ein Heilig sein/ vnd soll die natürliche krefft in jhm haben/ wer möcht sich auß dem Heiligen verrichten? Dann so wunderbarlich ist die krafft der Natur/ das sie wol mag von dem volck Heilig erkannt werden. Es ist hart zu reden/ vnd rauch anzusehen/ ein Heilig der auff Erden geht/ vnd ist nicht gescheiden von den natürlichen krefftten/ vnd er thut zeichen/ obs die Natur thue/ oder dz Heiligthumb: Es wer dann sach/ das er im namen Jesu seine werck bestettigte: Welcher will sonst

^a *Liber de Resurrectione et Corporum Glorificatione* (G 10:299ff.) elucidates the doctrine of **the glorified celestial body**, recapitulating many themes and motifs of the writings of 1530-31. The “seed” that dies to bring forth “neue frucht” becomes “die neue kreatur” (305, 306, 307), a transformation effected by Christ in fulfillment of an alternative true “philosophia” (309, 310) that also recognizes that the powers (“kraft”) ascribed to medicinal herbs or flowers (“rose,” “gilgen,” “lavendel!”—310) are not their own, but divine (310). Not only herbal medicine, alchemy elucidates the glorification: “dan das ist allein glorifizirt, das allein nichts anderst ist, als allein aus Christo, und weiter nichts mer. zu gleicherweis: nichts ist golt, als allein, das von allen schlacken gereinigt ist, und durch das feur in plei gangen ist und durch das spießglas gossen und gefirmirt im aquafort ... also ist die glorifizierung dermaßen zu verston in der uferstehung. dan die uferstehung wird sein, nachdem und alle körper rein und superfein ist, das ist, glorifizirt, von allem wust geschiden und unflat, ietzt steigt er uf zu den himeln, zu dem tisch, den uns got, der himmelische vatter bereit hat bei seinem son zuessen” (310).

Johannes Baptista, the holiest ever born from [a] mother's womb, brings about nothing in his body which, if bodies were holy, would surpass [those of] all the reliquary houses (**Stigelheuser**).¹ Consider instead only the marvelous *compositum* from which the human being was made. Ascribe all such effects to the nature of its clumps of glue.

To summarize the matter for you once more in brief and to give you an additional lesson about the body and the saints: you should keep in mind how these two are distinct from one another. The first point is that the body is in the earth and the saint is in heaven. The rationale in this is that whatever lies in the earth operates in a natural way. And thus too, what is in heaven operates in a supernatural way. In this context, you must also bear in mind that on the Day of Judgment, the saint will be resurrected, and in his body render his account | 297 | for his life. You must be aware that that body will be glorified. What can this glorification of the body consist of if not the departure of natural forces? In what way is the saint distinct from me or from others except in being glorified?² This means that he no longer possesses anything that is natural, while I am replete with that which is no more than natural. If a saint is truly a saint, but he happens to be informed by natural forces, who could hope to be aided by this sort of holiness? For the powers of nature are so wondrous [in themselves] that they may indeed be regarded as holy by the people. It is a difficult thing to speak of and an awful thing to contemplate—a saint who walks the earth and is not distinct from the natural forces. If he were to perform signs, would these then be performed by nature or by his holiness?³ If he were not to confirm his works in the name of Jesus,

¹ See Grimm, **Stiegelhaus**: derogatory for a monastery with relics (citation is only to this passage).

² P.'s reference to the **glorified** Christ merits comparison with the views of a fugitive dissenter with whom he might have crossed paths. Caspar von Schwenckfeld made "glorification" a controversial criterion of divinity: see Horst Weigelt, "Schwenckfeld," in *Radikale Reformatoren* (Munich: Beck, 1978). Though no meeting is known, both men were active in the same interval and region. In May 1527, Schwenckfeld's *De Cursu Verbi Dei* was published by Oecolampadius in Basel; in May 1529, he began an extended residence in Strasbourg (TRE). Schwenckfeld taught that, "Fallen humans are saved when a particle of [glorified] heavenly flesh is engrafted, a process which brings about a rebirth" (McLaughlin, "Schwenckfeld," OER).

³ P. is struggling with the ambiguity of the miracle: given the acknowledgment of natural magic, how can one distinguish the divine miracles and authority of Christ or the saints?

sein Wasser treten für eins Heiligen werck achten? Die Bawren seind leicht zu vberreden: Bey mir aber ist es vast schwer/ aber auff Erden. Welcher wirdt Glorificiert/ dem der Todt vbersehe/ vnd der Glorificiret kein anfenger were? vnd was nit glorificiret ist/ dz bekennen als ein natürlich geschöpff. Was auß dem Leimenklotzen anhangt/ dz muß anweg: Darumb werden die Elementen zergohn/ vnd alles was auß jhnen wachst. So die ding zergohn werden/ was wolt dann die Natur des Cörpers thun/ die auß den Elementen kompt? Es werden alle ding glorificiert werden: Wo werden dann die Cörper hinkommen vnd jhr anhang? betreffend natürliche *Arcana*/ die dann in der Glorificierung hinweg gendt: Vnd vor der Glorificierung weiß niemants/ wer ein jedlicher ist/ allein es sey dann die zeugnuß Christi bey handen. Dann das Fewr wirdt sie verzeren/ aber die Heiligen nit. Darumb so wissent dz die Cörper/ was sie würckend mit krancken leuten/ gleich ein natürliche arbeit ist/ als thets ein Artzet/ oder du zögest gen Pfeffers in das warm Bad.^a Wie also dz Bad sein natürliche würckung in dir volbringt/ als badest auch auff dem Grab desselbigen Cörpers. Dann Gott hatt die natürlichen werck wunderbarlichen beschaffen/ darumb wir sollen an sein weißheit für vnd für denken/ wie sie so gar nit zuergründen sey. Dann endlich ist dz also/ dz wir in vns haben so viel natürlicher krefft/ als Himmel vnd Erden vermögen. Kann der Magnet das Eisen an sich | 298 | ziehen/ vnd scheint do wie ein todt ding: So kan auch der todt Mensch den lebendigen an sich ziehen. Gehnd die Bettler der Sonnen zu/ so mag auch wol ein Mensch dermassen ein zugang haben. Können die Planeten einen ziehen nach jhrem gefallen/ so kan auch der todt Cörper dasselb. Das seind alles

^a P. wrote a number of works on natural bath waters including *Von des Bades Pfäfers Tugenden, Kräften und Wirkung, Ursprung und Herkommen, Regiment und Ordnung* (August 31, 1535), in which he took it upon himself to describe for the benefit of the local regent, “dises bads krefti und tugent... wie die großen magnalia gottes wunderbarlich öfnet,” doing so by “gnad und himelischer impression” (S 9:642).

how could one regard [even his] walking on water as a saintly work? The peasants are easy to persuade. In my case this is quite difficult, that is, here on earth: Where is the one who could be glorified. For to whom would death grant a reprieve?¹ And [who] is not the initiator² of his own glorification? Whatever is not glorified can [only] be recognized as a creature of nature. Everything that adheres from the clump of glue must depart. This is why the elements will pass away along with everything that has grown out of them. When all things pass away, what should become of the nature of the body that comes from the elements? All things will be glorified. Whither will the bodies go with everything that pertains to them? What about the natural *arcana*: will they pass away in the glorification, too? Prior to the glorification, no one knows who each one will be, unless the testimony of Christ should be given. For the fire will consume them, but not the saints. For this reason, be aware that what those bodies bring about in the sick is a natural work, just as if a physician had done it. Or as if you had visited the warm baths at Pfäfers.³ In the same way that the bath brings about its natural effect in you, you also bathe, as it were, upon the grave of that particular body. God has wondrously created the natural works. Therefore, we should contemplate his wisdom through and through, for it cannot be fathomed. In the end we have as many natural powers within us as the heavens and the earth can muster. If a magnet can draw the iron to itself | 298 | though it appears to be a thing that is dead [and inert], then the dead human being can also draw the living unto itself. If beggars follow the sun,⁴ the human being can indeed also have a following. If planets can draw us after themselves as they please, certainly the dead body can do the same. These things are invisible works, yet natural ones. For in the same way that nature

¹ See Grimm, **übersehen** (4e, α - γ): as in “Sünde übersehen.” Note that the construction and subjunctive make sense insofar as the condition of the glorified Christ is implausible for the human being: awkward phrasing corresponds to the wondrousness of attributing Christ’s state to the human being in this life.

² See Grimm, **Anfänger**: *inceptor, auctor, machinator, Urheber*. The point is that he is not faking it.

³ **Pfäfers**, a village in the Canton of St. Gall, known from the 14th century for its thermal baths that cured rheumatic and nervous ailments.

⁴ See Wander, **Bettler**: This statement corresponds to proverbs alluding to the beggar’s alleged instinct for comfort and material advantage. (“Bettler sind Sommervögel.” “Dem Bettler braucht man den Weg nicht zu zeigen.” “Ein Bettler geht nicht in die Irre.” “Es seind vil reicher betler auff erden.”)

vnsichtbare werck/ vnd doch natürlich: Dann wie die Natur die Kreutter außtheilet/ also wirdt auch hie ein außtheilung sein.

Dieweil nun allein dz glorifizierte der Heilig ist/ vnd der Körper im Grab ist nit glorifiziert: Das beweisen die Würm/ vnd sein feulung. Dann was glorifiziert ist/ ist den dingen nit vnderworffen. Dorumb so behalt der Körper im grab die Natur der Planeten/ der Sternen aller/ welcher Natur vnd krefften kein end ist bey vns zuerlangen: Vnd je mehr wir darinn suchen/ je mehr wunderbarlicher werck darinn erfunden werden. Also behalt auch diser Körper alle eigenschafft des Elements wasser/ auß welchem Element alle Berckwerck entspringen. Darumb so hatt der leib den Magneten/ vnd der leib ist auch dz Eisen: dann ein jedlicher Magnet ist in der natur des Eisens/ vnd frist das/ zu gleicher weiß/ wie solch körper einandern auch fressen. Es bleiben auch alle kräfte des Elements der Erden in jhm: Darumb so ist die krafft *Lauendulae*^a in jhm/ vnd aller gwechsen der Erden. Also bleibt auch in jhm die eigenschafft des Luffts: Darumb ist er auch *manna*. Nun ermessen die ding all/ wie wunderbarlich dz Firmament sey vnd die anderen Elementen darmit: Solten auch nit wunderbarlich die Körper sein? Seindt nit dz genug vrsachen/ mir zubeschreiben/ das Corporisch wesen/ dieweil es ein solcher *Mumia* ist? in dem der vndern vnd obern Sphær krafft verborgen ligt? vnd also die Natur des leibs für mich zu nemen vnd dieselbigen zu entdecken. Dann so ichs thun/ so hab ich kein Heiligen angriffen/ allein die Natur: Vnd verhoff mich auch den Heiligen vnd dem liecht der natur gedient zu haben. Dann so hoch ist ein Heilig/ so schemen möglich wer bey jhnen/ dz sie vor Gottes angesicht nit dörrften bleiben/ wan sie mit solcher bossel arbeit wölten vmbgon vnd die natur höher setzen dans Heiligthumb. Mir sols auch keiner dermassen auffwerffen/ als ob ich ein verachter der Heiligen sey/ vnd der Heiligen werck vnd zeichen. Dann so viel bin ich wol erfahren in der natur/ vnd auch bey den Heiligen/ dz ich die natürlichen werck wol kan erkennen/ vnd was der natur möglich ist | 299 | zu thun. So kan ich auch wol wissen/ so ich durchließ die zeichen der Heiligen im Alten vnd Newen Testament/

^a P. may have in mind what he called the “parable” of a procedure in *Archidoxis* of injecting the extracted quintessence of the seed of lavender into the root of a nettle to prolong its freshness and life for a year: “hie in parabeln zu merken ist, das seminis **lavendulae** quinta essentia, wan sie in die wurzen urticae gossen wird, also das die wurz mit ir tingirt wird, das ander jar stehet wie das erst und nicht verfaulet, bis das ander jarzeit aus ist (S 3:143). P. has just asserted that the human being is also a nettle or *urtica* (see H 1:296).

distributes herbs, there will certainly be a natural distribution [of forces] in this as well.

Inasmuch as nothing but that which is glorified can be holy, the body in the grave is not glorified. This is proven by the worms and its decay. For whatever is glorified is no longer subject to things [of this sort]. This is why the body in the grave retains the nature of the planets and stars, with their nature and powers that never come to an end [in acting] upon us. The more we look into this, the more wondrous works do we find in it. Thus does this body retain all the properties of the element of water out of which all the [lodes of] mines have originated. For the same reason the body possesses the magnet, and the body is also the iron. For every magnet is in the nature of the iron that eats at things in the same way that such bodies also eat away at one another. The powers of the element of earth are also retained within it. This is why the power of *lavandula*¹ is in it, along with all [other] vegetation on the earth. The property of air remains in it as well. This is why it is no less a *manna*.² All these things give a measure of how wondrous the firmament and the other elements together with it are. Therefore, should not the bodies also be wondrous? Are these not reasons enough for me to describe the corporeal being, particularly since it is a *mumia* of this kind, in which the powers of the lower and upper spheres lie concealed, and for me to preoccupy myself with and expose the nature of the body? For in doing so, I have not touched upon any saint, only nature. I hope [in doing so] to have served both the saints and the light of nature. For a saint is so exalted that if there were such a thing as shame for them, they would not be permitted to abide before the countenance of God if they were to occupy themselves with that sort of menial labor,³ and [thereby] were to elevate nature above their own sanctity. No one should accuse me in this respect of despising the saints or their works and signs. For I surely have enough experience in nature as well as with the saints, in order to be able to recognize the natural works and what it is possible for nature | 299 | to do. Therefore, I can also recognize very readily, when I peruse the signs of the saints in the Old and New Testaments, which ones are holy

¹ See Marzell, *Lavandula officinalis*: lavender; used for scent and medicinal properties (NCE; cf. LMA, “Lavendel”); magic powers were ascribed to it (HDA).

² On *Manna*, see H 2:29; 1:115. Like “mumia,” “manna” is here extended to the whole of arcane nature.

³ See Grimm, *Bosselarbeit*: *opera vilissima*, work done by lower-order servants.

welche Heiligen zeichen seindt/ welche nit. Darumb ich Gott bey seinen Heiligen lob vnd preiß/ dz in der glorificierung solche groß wunderbarliche ding sind/ die todten lebendig machen/ die blinden gesehend machen/ die aussetztigen rein machen/ vnd dz im namen *Christi*, dz ist/ vber alle Firmament vnd Element: Da weiß ich wol dz ich hierinn nit antasten sol. Vnd wiewol ein klag möcht gohn/ ich zerstörte die greber der Heiligen: So wirt solche klag nur auß der Küchen^a gohn/ do Christus selbst nie ein beystand gethan hatt: Was wolt ich dann thun mögen? Aber von den Heiligen wil ich sein Buch auch erfüllen.

Es ist hierinn groß achtung zu haben auff die red *Christi*/ der do sagt/ sie werden grosse zeichen geben: welche meint er/ als allein die/ so der todten hüten/ vnd von jnen predigen? Sind dz nit zeichen geben/ so sie sprechen: secht an den grossen zulauff/ der hieher kompt wie kans dann nix sein? Secht an die grossen Opffer die sie hertragen/ ist dz nit ein Christlich gut ding? Vnd vergessen/ dz auch die Heiden thun/ die nit Christen sind: Secht an den grossen hauffen der Krucken vnd stecken: secht an die wechsinen Bilder mit spießen vnd pfeilen: secht an die kertzen vnd ampeln/ lesen die zeichen ab^b den Tafeln herab/ die beschehen sind. Vnd wen es schon alles war wer/ ist der vrsprung ein körper/ so halts für ein Badenart: dann zu beiden seiten gerats wol vnd vbel/ werden vil alter krücken verlassen/ vnd nur ein weg tregt gerade vnd lahme/ hin vnd wider. Solts ein Heiligthumb sein/ so wer es doch ein kleine ehr/ dz er newe krucken vmb die alten geb/ vnd so vil lahme ließ wider hinweg gon/ denen er nit hülffe/ die jn so getrewlich suchen mit müden ellenden beinen. Soll es je des Heiligen werck sein so muß er nur in *Christum* glauben/ oder/ er muß ein sonderliche eigenschafft an jm han/ dann der Heiligen brauch were. Aber so weit der glaub außweist/ den wir in *Christum* tragen vnd zu seinen Heiligen versehen/ so werden sie sich des dings nit annemmen. Solt ein Heiligthumb im Körper sein/ so weren wir keins körpers nottürfftiger vff erden/ dann *Christi*/ so er sein solt als vil todt/ als lebendig: Aber nein: Darumb ist er erstanden/ vnd auffgefaren zu den Himmeln/ da die Apostel zeugnuß geben. Also wenig der Körper

^a Sudhoff (318): "küchin"; as in V (319).

^b Sudhoff (318): "an"; as in V (319 *verso*).

signs and which ones are not. This is why I praise and exalt God together with his saints, because in the [state of] glorification such great and wondrous things happen, such as bringing the dead back to life, making the blind see, the leprous clean—and all of this in the name of *Christus*, which means: beyond all firmaments and elements. I know well indeed what I should avoid contesting in such matters. Even if there should be a hue and cry that I am defiling the saints' graves, the uproar will only come from the kitchen,¹ where Christ never lent any support. What should I do under such circumstances? When it comes to the saints, I intend to help fulfill his Book.

In these matters, profound attention must be given to the words of *Christus*, who said that there are to be prodigious signs.² Whom else could he have meant by this, but those who watch over the dead and who preach about them? Are they not giving [such] signs when they speak: "Look at the great assembly that has come hither. How can that be of no account? Look at the great offerings which they bring hither. Is that not a fine and Christian thing to do?" But they forget that the heathens do likewise without even being Christian. "Look at the great mass of crutches and walking sticks. Look at the waxen images with spears and arrows. Look at the candles and lamps. Read the signs from the boards about what has happened." Yet even if it all were true, the source of it is a body. Regard it as the same as a trip to the baths. For either way it works out well or ill. If many old crutches are abandoned, only one path carries the healthy and the lame back and forth. If it were a matter of something holy, then it would amount to nothing more than a small honor to pass out new crutches in place of the old ones when so many of the lame are sent off again without having been helped, even though they sought help so faithfully on their tired and wretched legs. If any holy work is ever to come about, one need only believe in *Christus*, or else one would have to have some special property other than that which is customary for saints. However, the faith which we have in *Christus* and which we extend to his saints instructs us that they would not accept such a thing. If sanctification were indeed in the body, then we would no longer have any need of a body on earth—except for that of *Christus*, who is the same in death or in life. But no, it is not so. For that was the reason why he arose and went up to the heavens, as the apostles have testified. As little as the

¹ See Grimm, *Küche* (2f): the devil's kitchen.

² Mt 16:3, [Jesus says]: "you cannot interpret the **signs** of the times."

Christi auff Erden im grab zeichen gethan hatt: Noch viel vnmüglicher ist es in | 300 | einem anderen. Darumb sol keiner weichen auß dem vorgeher der dingen/ dann in demselbigen sollen die fußstapffen bleiben.^a So es aber nuhn dahin gebracht ist worden/ das die natürlichen werck vber den leib *Christi* werden auffgeworffen/ vnnd für zeichen geachtet: So wirdt bestätt das wort Christi/ das er spricht/ sie werden grosse zeichen geben. Vnd sindt nit anders von vns anzunehmen/ dann wie die ersten erfinder der artzney auff jhre Artzneyischen zeichen vnnd werck von gemeinem volck für Götter geachtet worden/ ehe dann mann wuste/ was *Rhabarbara*^b war: Also geschicht hie mit diesen Cörpern auch/ dieweil man nicht gewißt hatt/ dz *Species Bertholdi*^c hie vergraben lagen. Gedencken aber an den vnglorificierten leib/ der nichts ist als natürlich ding: Vnd darumb/ was Irdisch ist/ was es handelt/ muß Irdisch sein: Darumb so dient es glaubigen vnd vnglaubigen/ gutten vnd bösen/ frommen vnd schälcken/ sie seyen wie sie wollen: Wer die Coloquint frißt/ der muß zum stuhl. Dann also ist jedliche natürliche wirckung von Gott verordnet/ kein person anzusehen/ vnd nit jnbinden/ weder Glaub oder nit/ weder im namen *Iesu*/ noch im namen *Christi*/ sonder das die Natur jhrem beuelch nachgang: Darauff erforsche die Geschriff/ die euch weiter vnderrichten wirt.

Das ich aber die Natur des Cörpers weiter außleg: Es sey der gantz Cörper/ oder ein stück von jhm/ so wissent zwen weg/ der hiemit gebraucht wirdt. Der ein ist/ das man sagt/ hie ligt ein solcher Cörper vergraben: Oder man sagt/ es ist ein haupt/ oder ein ander glid von einem solchen Cörper hie. Hat nun diser Cörper ein Magneten an jhm/ so zeucht er an sich dz völckly/ was er artzneyen kan/ dz macht er

^a Sudhoff (319) introduces a paragraph break here.

^b P. usually cites this noun in the singular form, *rhabarbarum*.

^c Elsewhere he cites its presence in “Alba urina, et in se habet *species Bertoldi* quasi phlegma” (S 4:589). In his work on *Franzosen (von den Imposturen)*, immediately following a condemnation of the false belief that saints inflict their revenge or penance on sufferers, P. satirizes the confused apothecaries who presume that their smattering of Latin tells them something about ingredients; moreover: “wiewol sie mit langer zeit die species Bertoldi lernen kennen und farent gen Venedig, klauben das alt für neu aus” (S 7:134).

body of Christ performed signs from the grave on earth, so much the less is it possible for | 300 | anyone else [to do so]. Therefore, no one should depart from the leader¹ of things, for our footsteps should remain in him [i.e., in his path]. But if it should come to a state of affairs in which the natural works are raised above the body of *Christus* and regarded as signs, the word of Christ will be confirmed that there are to be prodigious signs.² This is to be taken by us in the same way that the earliest inventors of medicine were regarded by the common people as gods with respect to their medical signs and works, until someone finally understood what *rhabarbara*³ is. And so it went with these bodies as well, until someone finally realized that it was the *species Bertholdi*⁴ which were buried there. But you should remember: the unglorified body is nothing but a natural entity; and in consequence, whatever earthly effect an earthly body brings about is also earthly. This is why it can serve believers and unbelievers, the good and the wicked, the pious and the scoundrels, come what may. Whoever eats colocynth will have to run to the stool. For in this manner every natural action is ordained by God without regard for, or without being bound by, the person, or by whether he or she has faith, [for what is done is thereby done] neither in the name of *Jesu* nor in the name of *Christus*. Instead, nature follows its [own] commandment. To learn about that, study the Scripture which will give you further instruction.

I must continue with my explication of the body: whether we are talking about the entire body or a part of it, you should be aware of two modes in which it is made use of in this regard. The one occurs when someone says that a body lies buried here; or when one says there is a head or some other part of a body of such a kind here. If the said body has a magnet in it, it attracts the people to it. Whatever it

¹ See Grimm, *Vorgeher* (1): used by P. in the religious sense of guide and teacher, namely Christ.

² Here P. seems to have negative or apocalyptic signs in mind, as in Mt 24:3-8.

³ This is a pun. Rhubarb was a common medicinal herb (HDA), also known as “Barbara Kraut” according to Marzell; Barbara was a saint: *Rhabarbara* thus equivocates between the two.

⁴ *Species Bertholdi* might also be a play on words, referring not to *species* as medication but rather to the supernatural vision or appearance (*species* as in the Vulgate, Lk 3:22, “*descendit Spiritus Sanctus corporali specie sicut columba*”) granted to **Berthold** of Mount Carmel, a 13th-century Carmelite prior who was reputed to have had a vision of monks killed by the Saracens receiving their martyr’s crowns in heaven (LMA). Thus, not the divine power of the envisioned martyrs up above, but natural magic, that of their *munia* down below, is what has the effect.

gesundt: Was nit/ dz last er hin streichen. Der ander ist/ das solch Magneten still vnd heimlich verborgen werden/ vergraben vnd verdußlet/ vnd darnach mit einem geschrey angefangen/ hie ist ein wunderbarlich Heiling statt/ etc. Nun geht dieser Magnet an/ vnd zeucht die leut vom Pflug hinweg als schnell vnd bhend/ dz ein Compaßzungen schneller kaum möcht gehen. Das sind vrsprung Heidnischer abgötterey/ vnd also wirdt ein verborgen Kirchfart durch natürlich *Impressiones*. Darumb aber heimlich/ dz derselbig Körper etwann ein schelm gesein ist/ dörrffen jhn nit offenbar für ein | 301 | Heiligen auffwerffen/ vnd wissendt doch/ das er ein Magnet ist/ vnnd viel Quecksilber in jhm hatt/ die leut zu schmirben. Also werden die leuth auff ein solchen todten Cörper gelockt/ zu gleicherweiß wie ein Geyr vom aß: derselbige vnd sein aß/ wie sie zusammen stimmen in der Natur/ das lahd euch ohn zerbrüchlich ingebildet sein. Dann wie daß aß vnd der Geyr auff einander acht handt/ vnd vber Meer zusammen kommen: gleich in solchen krefften vnnd natur ist auch zuverstahn von Menschen/ die da lauffen zum Cörper. Dann Gott gibt vns hie in der Natur ein Exempel/ das wir die Natur in solchen dingen sollen erkennen/ also dz wir gleich in der natur der Geyren/ nachlauffen dem aß/ das also dergleichen genaturt ist. Vnd das Exempel in der Natur mag nit verworffen werden: dann *Christus* meldet selbst/ vnd spricht: An welchem orth der Leib ligt/ am selbigen orth samlen sich auch die Adler. Ist das nicht so vil gesprochen/ als sprech er: Kein Vogel fliegt höher dann der Adler: also fliegt vnter allen Menschen niemandts höher/ dann die ich erlöst habe mit meim Todt/ dann dieselbigen fliegen biß in Himmel. Nuhn wirt es aber darzu kommen/ daß sie von oben herab fliegen werden/ von mir/ zu dem Leib/ das ist/ zu dem aß in der Erden. Also verstanden/ so wir fallen von *Christo*, vnd lauffen also eim Cörper nach/ ob die Red

can medicate, it restores to health. What it cannot heal it sends on its way. The other mode is when a magnet of this kind is concealed in secret and lies buried and covered up (*verduβlet*).¹ Thereafter a great hue and cry is initiated to the effect that this is a miraculous site of healing. At this point the magnet goes into operation and draws the people away from their plows so quickly and smoothly that the needle of a compass could hardly move faster. Those things represent the sources of heathen idolatry. This is how a covert pilgrimage comes into being by virtue of natural *impressiones*. But it must be covert because that same body might have been a scoundrel [in life]; therefore, no one should be allowed to publicly | 301 | pass him off as a saint;² and of course they know he is a magnet and possesses much quicksilver within him for lubricating people. Hence, people are attracted to this sort of dead body in the same way a vulture is drawn to carrion. It and its carrion: the way they fit together in nature is something you should let sink into your imagination unflinchingly. For in the same way as carrion and vulture are responsive to one another and find one another even from across the sea,³ it is a matter of those same powers and that same nature with those people who run to the body in that way. For in this God is giving us an example in order that we should recognize nature in such things. By this I mean that we should recognize in the nature of vultures to pursue carrion a principle of nature that causes such things. Nor can we reject such an example from nature; for Christ himself reports it in speaking thus: “In whichever place the body lies, that is where the eagles will gather.” Is this not tantamount to his saying that no bird flies higher than the eagle? And by the same token among all human beings none flies higher than those whom I have saved from death. For they fly clear up to heaven. However, now it happens that they fly down from up there, away from me, to the body—by which I mean to that carrion in the earth. You should understand from this that if we fall away from *Christus* and run

¹ See Grimm, *vertuschen*: earlier German denotations also included “poisoned,” “ruined” or “damned.”

² The vexing possibility that someone thoroughly wicked could be venerated as a *saint* with the same good and supernatural results as with a holy saint was posed by the death and sanctification of the unrepentant hypocrite Ser Cepparello in the First Tale of Day One of Boccaccio’s *Decameron*, a question later revived in new and more general terms by the controversies over sainthood during the Reformation.

³ As is soon made evident, the true authority of this natural phenomenon stems from Jesus’ words in Mt 24:28 (cf. Lk 17:37), “Wherever the *corpse* is, there the *vultures* [Vulgate: *aquilae*, *eagles*] will gather.”

Christi hie nicht gründtlich mit der Warheit erfunden werd? Dann wir sind Adler/ als wol als *Iohannes* der Euangelist: Wer fleugt höher zum Reich der Himmel dann wir? was ist der Leib anders/ dann der Cörper/ was wolt sonst *Christus* mit dem Adler gemeinet haben/ als dises/ wie gemelt ist. Nun machen auß dem Cörper ein Heiligen oder ein Aaß/ etc.

Wiewol das stinckende aas sind/ darumb nimm ich vor mich zu beschreiben hierinn die natürlichen ding. Mich vrsacht solchs hie in ein sonderlich Buch zu setzen/ darumb dz die ding erzellt mögen werden/ die ich bißher fürgehalten hab/ vrsachen mich mehr/ als die Philosophiey. Wiewol mich diß auch getrieben hatt/ daß die Philosophiey noch nie recht erfunden ist: die ding werend sonst langest bey den Heiden verstanden worden/ auch bey den Artzetzen. Es erfind sich aber hie/ daß sie auß dem liecht der Natur nie gelehrnet haben: dann sie hettens nicht mügen | 302 | vbersehen. Aber wie jhr Lermeister gsein ist/ also sind auch jre werck: auff den Geist haben sie gebawen jhren grundt/ vnnnd also wie die Schuler partecken samlen/ hin vnnnd her von den Geistern erbettlet/ da ein Rocken/ da ein Weitzen/ da Haberns/ da Gerstens/ da Suppen/ da Brey/ vnd also zusammen in den Schüsselkorb geschütt/ vnd ein Philosophiey darauß gemacht/ die sich eben zusammen reimpt/ wie gleyen vnd saltzmesen. Also hatt der *Aristoteles* sein Philosophiey lassen mercken: also ist *Plinius* ein *Herbarius* worden: *Galenus* vnd *Auicenna* sind auch von den partecken auff geschwollen. Hetten die Nigromantischen Geist nit geschwetz/ wo wolten die Narren mit jhrer Philosophiey hinkommen sein? Das sind Philosophiey vnd Artzney/ auff die *visiones* gegründet: ist eben ein ding als die Artzet/ die den Seich in der Prillen sehen. Ist ein groß ding/ so er weiß/ ob der Rock blaw oder grün sicht/ vnd sucht den Raht seins krancken auff dem gesalbten Daumen nagel. Wenn Andorn erscheint/ so weiß er nit/ ists Neßlen oder Hertzentrost/ vnd

after a body—will not the words of *Christus* then be found to be fundamentally true? For we are the eagles, no less than is *Johannes* the Evangelist:¹ who then can fly higher to the kingdom of heaven than we? What else is the body but that corpse? And what else might *Christus* have intended by “eagle” than what I have said. Now you can make of the body a saint or a carrion, etc.

Because they are a stinking carrion, I have taken it upon myself to describe the natural things in this work. I have been compelled to compose these matters in a book devoted to them for the reason that the things that I have already demonstrated need to be recounted. To me this is more urgent than philosophy. However, I was also moved by the fact that no proper philosophy had ever been found, for otherwise these things would long since have been understood by the heathens as well as by the physicians. But it can be seen in this context that they were never learned from the light of nature; for otherwise they could not have | 302 | overlooked them. But as with their teacher, so it is also with their works. They erected their foundation upon that spirit in the same way that pupils gather up particles (**partecken**)² which they have begged from spirits this way and that. Here some rye, there some wheat. Here oats, there barley. Now some soup, now some porridge. And all mixed together in the straw bowl, making it all into a philosophy that matches like chaff (**gleyen**)³ and salt container. This is certainly what you can find in the philosophy of *Aristoteles*. It is also how *Plinius* made himself a *Herbarius*. *Galenus* and *Avicenna* are also swollen up from those same breadcrumbs. If the necromantic spirits had not gossiped, how far would these fools have ever gotten with their philosophy? There you have the philosophy and the medicine that are founded on *visions*.⁴ It is the same as with those physicians who regard the sick patient through their glasses. What an important business it is whether the coat looks blue or green. He seeks advice from his patient upon his anointed thumbnail. When “Andorn” is cited, he hardly knows whether it means “Nesseln” or “Herzen-

¹ In medieval church iconography, the eagle is the symbol of John the Evangelist as the lion is of Mark.

² See Grimm, **Parteke**: a pejorative introduced by Luther for crumbs, alms, and insubstantial things, it can also refer to the crusts of bread for which mendicant students begged.

³ **Kleien** in Peuckert.

⁴ It should be noted that Pliny, no less than Christian miracle healers, was credulous in this regard.

wens Biberneln würtzel ist/ so weiß er nit/ sindts Rapünzele/ oder Mängelwurtzen.^a Also auch hatt *Aristoteles* den Donner beschrieben: weren die Ohren nit gesein/ er hett nicht gwist/ ob es knallt oder nit. Das ist der Irrsal der in disen dingen die vrsach hatt: dann die Geist haben je nit wöllen anzeigen den grund. Darumb dieweil die vermeinten Weisen hierinn erstocket stunden/ da gieng der Geyr zum Aaß.^b

Ihr sollet auch wissen/ dz die gutheit der Menschen nit sind anzusehen/ als man spricht: der hat vil guts auff Erden gethan/ ist billich/ daß jhn Gott laß geniessen/ solche zeichen zuvolbringen. Dann wer weiß/ was vor Gott gut oder böß ist? darumb wir auff solche fürnemen nichts mögen probiren. Vnd ob Gott schon ein zeichen durch ein Körper thet/ so langt es nit dahin/ dz drumb der Körper anzubeten sey. Als ein Exempel: es wird einer ermordt/ vnd es gebe sich lang darnach/ so der Mörder bey disem Körper stünd/ vnd er blutet/ so folget hierauß nit/ dz diser Körper ein Heilig sol sein: sondern/ es ist ein anzeigung/ dz vnser Blut rach schreyet zu Gott vnd der Oberkeit. Auch/ es hette einer vil guts gethan in das gemein

^a Müller offers several listings for “marrubium” but none for “**Andorn**” (S 3:277). *De Gradibus* cites the former among the herbs “calidae naturae.... “Quae ex terra proveniunt, primum gradum caloris occupant” (S 4:19). We cannot know the original word when the Basel *tartarus* notes state: “prassium et marrubium non sunt unum” (S 5:178; cf. 195). **Nesseln**, though well known in common medicine for their stinging or burning quality (cf. H 1:94, 252), are frequently referred to by P. as “*urtica*.” A whole class of presumably German herbs has “wie es in *urtica* ein brennende art” (S 6:280). Similarly, Müller lists a number of citations of *mentha* but none of **Herzenstrost**; of *pimpinella* (S 11:289) and *saxifragium* (S 2:386; 5:174, 182), but none of **Bibernelle**, and one each for **rapunzli** (S 6:46) and **mangelwurzel** (S 10:203). Müller is neither complete nor invariably reliable, but it seems that P.’s criticism of those who rely on the authority of Pliny and his Latin designations was in part self-criticism. Sudhoff (322) “biberneln wurzel...mangelwurzel”; V (322): “behieltest.”

^b To P. it is a point of considerable pride to have correctly assessed the nature of thunder and lightning. *De Meteoris* dismisses **Aristotle** from the ranks of the true naturalists (“ich mein die rechten naturales, nicht Aristotelem”—S 13:196). A chapter “De **fulgure**” affirms both the role of the *tria prima* as the ingredients of gunpowder, and the inherent significance of thunder as an allusion to Christ’s second coming (S 13:189).

trost,” and when he reads of the root of “Bibernelle,” he has no idea whether it means “Rapunzel” or “Mängelwurtzen.”¹ Similarly *Aristoteles* described thunder: if he had not had ears, he would not even have known whether it was booming.² That is the error in seeking the cause in such things. For the spirits did not deign to indicate the [real] reason. In consequence, while the reputed wise men were stumped in this matter, the vulture went straight to the carrion.³

You should also be aware that the benevolence of human beings is of no account, as when people say: “That person has done a lot of good on earth; hence, it is appropriate that God should let him recover in order to bring about a certain kind of sign.” For who knows what is good or evil in God’s eyes. This is why we make no attempt to test such a proposition. And even if God were to make a sign by means of a body, this would still not be sufficient for us to worship the body. Here is an example: Let us say that someone is murdered. Much later it comes about that the murderer is standing near this body and it bleeds. It does not follow from this that the body has to be that of a saint. It is only an indication that our blood cries out to God and to the authorities for vengeance. Or let us say, as another example, that

¹ Since P. is cognizant of the problem of his age of discerning the true referents of ancient herbal terms, his point would be weakened by offering an unequivocal translation which might in fact be difficult. Grimm notes that **Andorn** was applied to various herbs but offers *marrubium* and *prasium* as synonyms. Pliny cites both the former (26:93; 20:244) and the latter (as *prasion*), treating it either as Greek for *marrubium* (20:241), or as a kind of marjoram (20:175). Wahrig defines “Andorn” as *Marrubium vulgare* and notes its medicinal uses. Marzell instead has *anthyllis vulneraria* or “Wundklee” (English horehound according to Nikolov). **Nesseln** are nettles and should have been familiar to anyone. Grimm defines **Herzenstrost** as *mentha sylvestris*. Nikolov offers no English equivalent. **Bibe(r)nelle** is *pimpinella saxifraga*. **Rapunzel** is common *valerianella locusta*, “Feldsalat” (Marzell); English lamb’s lettuce or corn salad (Nikolov). **Mängelwurtz** is *beta altissima* (Grimm); *beta vulgaris* (Marzell), or beet (Nikolov). Many of these herbs had been designated both in German and Latin already in Brunshwig (1500), Med¹ (1505), and Med³ (1507).

² Based on observations, **Aristotle’s Meteorology** (2:9,369^{a-b}) had deduced an explanation of thunder as the effect of air that cools and contracts, resulting in “exhalation.” In ridiculing him for requiring his “ears” to know that thunder booms, while repeating his extended allusion to the vulture and corpse in Mt 24:28—thereby suggesting that the true rationale for all natural phenomena lies in the Bible—P. brings to mind the remainder of the biblical reference, namely Jesus’ word about lightning, “For as the lightning comes from the east and flashes as far as the west, so will be the coming of the Son of Man” (Mt 24:27).

³ This refrain implies that confronted with the failure of ancient philosophy, the ancients embraced Christ.

Frauenhauß/ das dieselbigen Frawen am Sambstag nit solten arges thun/ | 303 | vnd er stürb/ vnd jhn möchte niemandt gehn Kirchen tragen/ dann die gemeinen Frawen: solt drumb der Leib desto besser sein? Nicht anders solt jhr die ding verstehen/ dann als wenn einer hette ein guten gsellen/ vnnd er wer gestorben/ aber sein abcontrafeitung/ bildnuß wer bey dir/ vnd behieltest^a für ander auß: was gehts den an/ der verstorben ist? oder was ist er desto besser/ daß du sein bildtnuß so hoch hast/ vnnd so viel darauß machst? geschicht ein solches/ wirt er vergraben/ so laß jhn ligen/ dann es ist ein zeichen das jhn die Erden verzeren will. Wer will da ein vrtheil sprechen/ so einer mit trockenem Fuß vber ein Wasser gieng/ von wannen es so eben kem/ vnnd es gieng recht zu/ was gehts den Cörper an? der Cörper hats nit than: was gilt/ wann er gesterbe/ ob ers mehr thue? thut ers nimmer/ so hatt ers vor auch nicht gethan. Das/ das im Menschen ist/ das hats than: der Geist deß Menschen/ der auß Gott ist. Darumb wenn der leib stirbt/ so fart er zu dem/ von dem er kommen ist/ auß Gott/ vnd wider in Gott: vnnd der Leib kompt von der Erden/ vnd kompt auch wider drein: Also gehet ein jeglich ding widerumb in sein *primam materiam*. Nun was wöllen wir dann im Leib suchen/ so der Mensch nit gar da ist? wer isset ein Suppen die nit gesaltzen ist? oder wer sicht beim liecht das nit brennt? Es werden vil Heiligen geachtet/ deren gutthat klein ist: vnd es sind auch vil nachbawren/ die sie weit vbertreffen/ sie haben aber disen Magneten nit/ vnd jhnen gebrist diese natur. Wer die natur hat/ vnd ob er schon ein hund were/ er thete zeichen/ vnd gute zeichen/ dann also laufft die Constellation.

Nun secht/ die ding werden vns egeboren in Mutterleib. Vnd wie die Rosen jhren geschmack auß der Erden mit jhnen bringen: Also bringen wir die eigenschafften auch mit vns: Also werden die Hexen vnd Schwartzkünstler geboren/ nicht auß der kunst: Also mögen auch die Todten dergleichen sein wie die Lebendigen. So nuhn solche arth in die Welt geboren wirdt/ so bleibt da ein sondere krafft in Cörperen: ob schon der Geist von den Cörpern kompt/ so bleibt doch das im Cörper/ das sein angeborne Natur vnnd Eigenschafft ist/ vnnd ligt in

^a Sudhoff (322): "behieltets."

someone had performed charitable deeds for the common women's house (**das gemein Frauenhauß**),¹ so that the women might not commit any wrong on Saturdays. | 303 | And let us say that he died, and then no one deigned to carry him to the church except for the common women. Should his body be any better for this reason? What is involved here must be understood no differently than in a case where someone has a good companion who dies but you keep his portrait image with you and if you then were to display it to other people, what would that have to do with the one who died? How would that make him any better, just because you happen to exalt and make so much of his portrait? If this sort of thing happens and he is buried, then let him lie: that is a sign that the earth wants to consume him. Who would want to pronounce a judgment, even if someone were to claim to walk across water with dry feet, whence this comes, and what difference would it make for the body? The body did not do it. What is it worth when he has become deceased: would he still do it then? If he does not do it any more, then it is as good as if he had not done it before. That which is within the human being is what did it: the spirit of the human being that comes from God. For this reason when the body dies, [the spirit] ascends to him from whom it came: out of God and back into God. And the body comes from the earth, and passes back into it. In this way each thing returns to its *prima materia*. What, then, should we seek after in the body, given that the human being is not entirely there? Who would eat a soup that is not salted? Or who would want to see by a candle that is not burning? Many are esteemed to be saints whose benevolent act was small. Moreover, they have many neighbors who surpass them by far but do not have that magnet within them, so they lack this sort of nature. Whoever does have the nature, even if he were a dog, performs signs, and [indeed] good signs, for that is the course of the constellation.

Now consider how the things are innate to us from our mother's womb. In the same way that the roses bring their taste with them out of the earth, we also bring these qualities with us. This is how the witches and black magicians are born, not from art. Thus also may the dead be like the living in such ways. When such a nature is born into the world, there abides a special power in the body. Even if the spirit departs from the body, its innate nature and property remains within

¹ See Grimm, **Frauenhaus**: glossed as "whorehouse" but used by Luther in reference to convents.

der Erden bedeckt/ wie ein Saffran in einer | 304 | Büchsen:^a vnd die Erde ist gleich mit solchen Cörpern versorgt/ wie ein Apotek mit Büchsen. Vnnd so *Christus* von solchen zeichen nit geredt hett/ wer wolt so durstig sein/ der die Natur so tieff wolte anzäpffen? dieweil aber die zeichen geschehen/ vnd geben damit *prodigia* mit Fasten/^b vnd Betten/ vnnd dergleichen: vnd die wunderwerck der zeichen im Himmel^c lauffen mit/ vnd die trübsal der Erden ist auch da/ Thewre/ Hunger/ vnd Durst/ Pestilenz/ Sterben/ der Vatter wider den Sohn/ der Sohn wider den Vatter/ vnd die ding kommen alle zusammen: Wer wolt dann nicht der Natur in die Hauben greiffen/ von wannen die zeichen jhren vrsprung nemmen/ das kundtlich ist/ das nit alles von dem Teuffel geht: auch nit auß den Geistern: so kommens auch in dem nammen *Christi* nit. So jhn nun *Christus* nicht helffen will/ so kommen jhnen solche natürliche werck wol/ zu blenden das gemein volck. Dann kemen die ding auß *Christo*, so würden die Blinden gesehend/ die Todten lebendig: Aber der Sohn Gottes will nicht helffen. Darumb nemmen sie deß Vatters werck für sich/ das ist/ die natürlichen kreffft/ vertreibens vnter des Sohns schein. Darumb daß sie mit des Vatters wercken vmbgehen/ darumb so thund sie ein Sommer-

^a See H 1:294, where P. referred to nature as an apothecary that encompasses the *mumia* of the buried dead.

^b **Fasten**, fasting, a theme akin to that of the *regimen sanitatis*, is developed in *Von Fasten und Casteven* (G 2:423-42): While moderation is commended by self-respect and love of one's fellows, the ascetic practices of fasting are objectionable to P. for many reasons. Such practices incite the hypocrisy of false moderation followed by overindulgence: "ob ir gleich auf dem tisch vor andern leuten wenig essent und euch mäßig halten, so sitzent ir hernach zuesamben, fressen euch voll ein, daß ir euch etwan gespeien und bescheußen" (429-30). Such practices not only raise health issues: "da sollt ir wissen, daß aus disem fasten und hunger vil krankheiten iren ursprung nemben" (436-37, cf. 439); they invite comparison with ascetic monks (438), ritualistic magicians ("ceremonischen nigromantisten"—437), and with the thievish ambience of dishonest pilgrims which is a haven for scoundrels and sorcerers: "das sicht man und erfährts an den Jacobsprüdern und Jacobsschwestern: wo findt man größer hurn und bubn, dieb und schelmen, rauber und landsverräter weder [als] undter ihnen? deßgleichen zauberer, warsager, schwartzkünstner, die alle welt bescheußen und betrügen mit falschen waren, mit falschem erznei und andern falschen künsten" (433).

^c Reference to **signs in the heavens** calls to mind P.'s writings of prognostication (*practica*) of this period: in *Weiteres zur Praktika, gemacht auf Europen auf vier Jahr, 1530-34* (Regensburg 1530), P. addressed the eclipses of the sun and moon in the year 1530, recalled Christ's warning of "falsche propheten" (S 8:250), and rejected the view of the many regarding the end of the world and Judgment Day: "Vil meinen es treff die zerstörung der welt an...das nicht ist. der jüngst tag kompt nicht mit den zeichen sondern so schnell als der stral vom himel herab falt" (252).

the body; and it [only] lies covered over with earth, like saffron in a | 304 | container. Moreover, the earth is as thoroughly equipped with such bodies as an apothecary with containers. Hence, if *Christus* had not spoken about such signs, who might have been thirsty enough [for the truth] to delve so deeply into nature? But since such signs do occur and cause *prodigia* with fasting and praying and more things of that kind; since the wondrous works of the celestial signs do run in accompaniment, and the tribulations of the earth will come to pass too—inflation, hunger and thirst, pestilence, death,¹ the father against the son and the son against the father—since all these things are coming together, who can desist from forcing nature to divest its secrets?² Whence these signs of which it is known that not all proceed from the devil or the spirits? Nor do they all come in the name of *Christus*. If *Christus* is not disposed to help the [common people], natural works of this same kind may come about to awe them. If it were from *Christus*, the blind would become seeing and the dead come alive. But the Son of God is not disposed to help them. This is why they appropriate the Father's work unto themselves, by which I mean that they push natural forces as if these were works of the Son. Because they only operate with the works of the Father, they can only perform their signs

¹ Signaling the end of one age and coming of another, P. evokes the **apocalyptic discourse** of Mt 24:3ff., Mk 13:1ff., Lk 21:5ff., as well as dire prophecies of inflation, famine, pestilence, and death in Revelation 6:5-7. Grafton cites the fear of cosmic catastrophe in the early 16th century and the popular and theoretical reactions to it (54ff.). P. and those he addressed experienced the natural signs of a comet and earthquake.

² See Grimm, **Haube** (2a), **auf die Haube greifen**: used for male-worn headgear (a helmet), this implies constraining force. Here the female gender of “Natur” implies a bonnet from which something is wrested.

lenge zeichen/ vnnd wann der Herbst kompt/ so falt es alles ab/ vnd dorret auß: dann sie behalten den natürlichen Lauff/ auß dem sie dann sind/ wann die zeit deß Lauffs auß ist/ so ist der Heiligen gnad auch auß. Es wer je vnd je leichtlich zuerstehn gsein/ dz ein rechtgeschaffne Göttliche arbeit ohn ein solchen Herbst sein solt/ vnd Christenlich: nicht das auß der Natur die ding giengen/ sonder stand auff im nammen Jesu/ nimb dein Bett auff den Rucken/ vnd streich hin. Das heist gesund gemacht von Krücken/ vnd Gefangnen ledig gemacht/ die er nit gebunden hat. Dann alle krankheiten kommen durch Gott deß Vatters geschöpff/ durch sein geschöpff muß es wider geheilt werden: Es sey dann/ das Gott der Sohn ledige/ der braucht kein geschöpff darzu/ allein sein Göttliche gwalt.

So sind nun die ding also genugsam fürgehalten: Aber zu dem Beschluß zueröffnen/ in was gestalt die ding beschehen/ also das wir sehen die Leuth gesund werden/ auß natürlichen | 305 | krefften/ vnnd trincken kein Syrupen/ schlucken kein *Bolum*, fressen kein Trisenet/ schmirben kein Glider: vmb so viel sind sie besser als *Hippocrates*, der kondt ohn eingeben nichts außrichten. Also machen sies vnsichtbar gesund/ vnd ist kein vnterscheid da/ als allein/ das Eingeben/ vnnd nicht Eingeben/ nuhn aber am ingeben ligt nichts: dann das die Zän ketüwen/ ist die Artzney nit/ niemandt sicht die Artzney: Dieweils niemandts sicht/ so ist der Leib der Artzney nicht vonnöten. Darumb ist sie aber/ dz vnser Augen dieselbig sehen/ leiblich. Dann vnleiblich wehrs vns nit möglich: Kan der Todt einher schleichen/ vnd vns erwürgen vnd tödten/ so kans auch die Artzney. Es ligt nit am leib/ sonder an der krafft. Darumb das fünfft wesen erfunden ist/ auß zwentzig Pfunden ein Loht zumachen/ vnnd das Loht vbertrifft die xx. pfund. Darumb je weniger Leibs/ je höher die Artzney in Tugenden ist. Kan der Mensch die zwentzig Pfund machen/ zu eim Loht/ so könnens die vnsichtbaren noch baß: kan die Sonn durch ein glaß scheinen/ vnd das feür durch den Ofen gehen/ vnnd beyder Leib bleibt daussen: So kan auch der Leib sein krafft in die weitte gehen

for the duration of a summer. When autumn arrives, everything falls away and wilts. For they are bound by the natural course of things, from which they too have arisen. When their time has run its course, the grace of the saints is finished as well. One would have been obvious that a just divine labor would have gone on without any such autumn. This would have been the Christian state of affairs. Things would not have resulted from nature. Rather, [one would say:] “Arise in the name of Jesus—take your bed upon your back and be gone.”¹ That is what it means to heal from crutches and set prisoners free whom one had not bound. All diseases come by virtue of the creation of God the Father. Through his creation they must be made well again, unless God the Son sets [them] free. To do so he has no need of what has been created, only his divine power.

These things have been explicated sufficiently in this manner. But in conclusion it must be disclosed how it comes about that we see that people become healthy as a result of natural | 305 | forces when they do not drink syrups or swallow *bola* nor eat medicinal powders nor smear any of their body parts—they are much better off than they would be with *Hippocrates*, who could accomplish nothing without administering [such] things. They can be made well invisibly regardless of whether anything is administered, which is thus of no consequence. What the teeth chew is not medication. The [true] medication is not visible. Since no one can see it, [its] body is of no consequence for medicine. If our eyes can see it, it is corporeal. If it were incorporeal, we could not. If death can sneak in [invisibly] to strangle and kill us, medication can do so no less. It is not a matter of body but of strength. This is why the fifth essence² had to be discovered, so that out of twenty pounds half an ounce can be made and yet that half ounce surpasses the twenty pounds in strength. Thus, the less there is of the physical, the more exalted is the medication in [its] virtues.³ If the human being is capable of making twenty pounds into a half ounce, those invisible [powers] can do so all the more. If the sun can shine through glass and fire pass [with its heat] through the oven [into the outside] while the body of either remains on the other side, then

¹ In Lk 5:24, Jesus heals a paralytic and tells him, “stand up and **take your bed and go** to your home.”

² See H 2:18, “**Quintum esse**”: P. cites the quintessence in various ways.

³ This discovery was neither new nor unpublished: the preface of Brunswig (1500) succinctly expressed the inverse relation of matter and spirit(s) in the art of distillation (see Intro 4, 37, note 28).

lassen/ vnd still ligen als wol/ als die Sonne durch das Glaß/ vnnd kompt doch nicht dardurch. Darumb wirt dem Leib an jhm selbs nichts zugemessen/ sonder den krefft die auß jhm gehen/ zu gleicher weiß wie der geschmack von einem Bisem/ deß leib auch still ligt.^a Also sind auff den grund die vielfalten experimenten in *Mumia*^b erfunden worden/ das man sagt: das theil am menschen ist gut darzu/ das ander ist gut zu den dingen: daruon ich hie nicht schreiben will/ biß ich zerleg den *Mumia*, in der heimlichen Schul/ in welchen örtern erklet werden die ding/ die euch hie werden gebresten. Dann sie haben so grosse *mysteria* in jhnen/ daß sie eins treffenlichen Buchs wol bedörffen. Dieweil aber besser ist/ die ding nicht zu öffnen/ zu vermeiden das vbel so darmit laufft: wirt hie in dem orth besser geschwigen sein/ dann gemelt. Damit will ich hie also beschlossen haben mein diß vierdte Buch von den Vnsichtigen dingen: darinn jhr verstanden haben/ wie die natürlichen Cörper durch jr eigen natürliche krefft vnder dem volck viel wunderbare ding wircken. Darauß dann vermeint ist worden/ von | 306 | eim theil/ es seyen Heiligen: vom andern theil/ es sey der Teüffel: der [hats] Zauberey/ der Hexerey/ geheissen/ vnd viel Abgötterey vnnd Aberglauben mitgeführt. Was aber sey/ vnnd wie jhrs sollen erkennen/ das ist bißher gnugsam angezeigt. Wiewol der Mensch darzu nit soll gebraucht werden: dann er ist gebildet nach Göttlicher bildung: auff das folgt jetzt was weiter not zu wissen were. Von wannen dise krafft dem Menschen werden/ wirt an seim orth/ von der Bildung deß Menschen angezeigt.

^a Together with the following sentence, the reference to **Bisem** suggests P.'s own operations in extracting the *quinta essentia ex aromatibus* recounted in *Archidoxis*. (see above, note on H 1:234; cf. S 3:134-35). What follows the passage in *Archidoxis* is a detailed account of the procedure and ingredients.

^b Of relevance to the present treatise are the parallels mentioned in the brief exposition *De Mumiae Arcanis* (S 14:305-08). As in the present work, the parallels there to the powers of the dead human body include the charisma of a speaker; the magnet: "du findest ein mann, der kan reden, das im alle welt zulaufft und hört im zu; nun wiß, das das maul ein magnet ist, zeucht an sich die leut in der kraft" (305); the presumed powers of dead saints, and the powers of stars and stones (306). Since the Eucharistic flesh and blood of Christ superficially resemble "mumia," P. is obliged to emphasize the fundamental distinction: "Darumb ich aber furhalt ... das das blut und fleisch, so für gemacht wird, nit zeichen tunt, dan es kein mumia ist, sonder der glaublich leib. der nun die zeichen dis bluts und fleischs haben wil, der muß zu Christo, der tuts und gibts und das blut und fleisch nit" (307). The Eucharist thus nourishes the soul and is removed from the sphere of magic and prodigious signs.

the body can also send its powers abroad while remaining in its place like the sun that shines through glass without passing through it. This is why nothing should be attributed to the body in itself but only to the powers that proceed from it, just as the taste from musk,¹ the physical presence of which is not moved. The many experimental results with *mumia* should be assessed on this basis. When they say: “this human part is good for this purpose, and the other one for those things,” I will not write anything about this until I have analyzed the *mumia* in the secret school. It is there that such things are explained that we are missing here. For they have such great *mysteria* within them that they would need an outstanding book of their own. But since it is better not to disclose these things in order to avoid the evil that comes with them it is better to maintain silence than to report them here. With this I announce that I have concluded this my fourth book on the Invisible Things, [written] with the purpose of your coming to understand how it is that natural bodies can effect many marvelous things among the people by means of their own natural forces; and that it has been concluded by | 306 | some that they were [bodies of] saints [and] by others that it is [all the work of] the devil. The one side <has> called it sorcery, the other witchcraft. Much idolatry and superstition have been associated with it. As for the truth of the matter and how it should be understood, enough has been said here already. The human being should not be involved in such matters, since he has been made in the divine image. The remaining things that should be known about this subject will follow in their place: how this power arises for the disposal of the human being [will be treated] by explaining the formation of the human being.

¹ See Zedler, **Bisam**, *lat. Moschus*: its import from the East, procedures for extraction, and medicinal use, usually as a stimulant or relaxant; cf. NCE, “musk” on its sources and use in perfume (cf. H 1:234).

Das fünfft Buch/
 von den Vnsichtbarn Wercken/
 des Hochgelehrten Herrn *THEOPHRASTI*
 von Hohenheim *Doctoris*.

Vorred zum Leser.

Vnd ob ich vielleicht hierinn nicht würd gefallen/ den mancherley Secten so auß eigenen köpffen erwachsen/ die in der Weißheit kein Erfahrenheit haben/ die auch nicht nachstellen dem grundt der Warheit. Vnnd wiewol sie ein grossen pracht führen/ ligt nit macht dran: dann was ist auff jr leichtfertig Hertz zubawen/ das allmal auff vppigs zukünfftigs fürnemen steht/ deren loben vnd schelten jres gleichen allein wolgefalt: dann wo steht das Rohr/ dann an dem orth da es der Wind treffen kan? welcher leichtfertigkeit sich teglich mit newerung außbricht/ darinnen sie jhnen selbs Lob schöpfen wöllen/ begeren das zuhan/ dem sie nicht nachstellen/ erhalten sich bey den Blinden/ auff das jhr schilend vnd eineugigs Aug ein ansehen hab. Ich far aber fort von den Characteren^a zuschreiben/ wie dieselbigen in vns Menschen wircken. Nicht das ich wölle den Schreyern auff den Stülen/ | 307 | ein arbeit fürscheiden: Aber euch Gelerten vnd Erfahrenen/ daß das jenig/ das vppig außgelegt ist worden/ erkennet

^a The discussion of the medical use of *characteres*, though not central, leaves a long trail in P.'s work. The *Volumen Paramirum (Entien-Schrift)* treats their practitioners as one of the five schools of medicine: "Die dritten heißen characterales, aus ursachen durch ir character machen sie alle krankheiten gesunt, wie ir libell ausweist und ir cur. in solcher kraft, als wan einer einem gebeut zu laufen und der laufft, das geschicht mit dem wort. ...das wort, das ist ein character. und ire anfenger sind gewesen und gebraucher Albertus Magnus, astrologi, philosophi und deren vil mer" (S 1:167-68; cf. 222f., note the discrepancy in the order given to *ens characterale* and *ens spiritale*). The Basel-era materials contain specific recommendations, including formulae for bleeding, one of which alludes to the "passion": "alius character S. S. S. [sic] und komen aus dem passion, bedeut ein ietlicher buchstab ein besondern sentenz" (S 5:364f.; cf. 351, a charm involving "6 oder 7 characteres" is recommended for healing stomach wounds). In Sudhoff's volume 14, the brief *Fragmentum Libri de Characteribus* alludes, as does the present work, to Aaron's contest with Pharaoh's magicians (321-24). Though classified by Sudhoff as spurious, *Archidoxis Magicae* reproduces magical images and conforms extensively to P.'s authentic work (437ff.)

The Fifth Book
on the Invisible Works
by the Highly Learned Herr *THEOPHRASTUS*
von Hohenheim, *Doctor*

Preface to the Reader.

Perhaps [what I have to say] will not be to the liking of the many sects that have their origin in their own ingenuity, who have no experience of wisdom and no record of seeking out the foundations of truth.¹ Though they exhibit great pomp, there is nothing behind it all. For what could be founded on their frivolous hearts, to abide in nothing but luxurious future expectations, [for] whom praise and blame is only meaningful to those of their kind? For where else would you find the reed, but where the wind could sway it?² What great frivolity bursts out every day with innovation³ in which they desire to obtain praise for themselves, coveting access to things they have not pursued with application [and] taking from the blind so that their own slanted and one-eyed sight can gain regard. However, I will proceed in writing about the characters⁴ and how these operate within us human beings. I do not do this in order to perform the work for those screamers in their [academic] chairs. | 307 | But it is for you, the learned and experienced ones, [I do so, in order] that what has been interpreted arrogantly

¹ Though at times unfocused, the **Fifth Book** restates P.'s premise throughout: that knowledge must renew its foundation, casting off hearsay and false sectarianism. Thorndike's title projects a combined history of magic and experimental science. Here, P. renews his resolve, casts off restraints, and embarks on the path of magic as an experimental science. This leads him ultimately to the phantom academy of arts delineated in his *Astronomia Magna, oder die ganze Philosophia Sagax* (1537-38).

² In evoking the anticipations of luxury and pomp of the crowds who come to see him, Jesus asks them if they expected to see, "A **reed shaken by the wind**" (Mt 11:7 or Lk 7:24).

³ P. who so often appears as an innovator here falls into the common disdain of his age for all **innovation**.

⁴ See HDA, *Characteres* (lat.) are names and formulas written by means of secret symbols to which magic powers are attributed. Common already in the Hellenistic magic papyruses, the Church bitterly opposed their use. They were controversial in the 16th century. Agrippa von Nettesheim wrote of the "characters" of demons. Those who operated with them were called *characteristici*. See also RLAC on "Amulet": the medical use of amulets inscribed with magic or sacred characters was condemned—yet devoutly revalued and widely practiced in a Christian tradition that inherited many such ancient pre-Christian precedents. Of further relevance, cf. Ruland on the "*Imagines*" with their relation to "*Imagination*."

werde/ wie vnbilllich jhm geschehen sey/ vnnd wie die vnweißheit so gwaltig vndertruckt dz jenig/ daß sie solten in den wüsten pfützen vmbkehren: Sagen/ das sey Zauberisch/ Hexisch/ Aberglaubisch/ wissen nit was ist. Der fluch gang vber sie/ dann sie hand deß Höchsten pflichts vergessen/ den andern Tauff empfangen/ die Ehe veracht/ das jhn auch hie die krafft entzeucht. Basel erhielt mich in jhrer hohen Schul/ zeihete mich/ ich geb Ergernuß in solchen lehren: wie kan ich aber weisen Leuten ein Ergernuß geben/ so ich die entledigt hab/ die zum grundt kommen sind? So aber einer auß meiner Schul hierinn sich ergern wolte/ was möcht die vrsach sein? das ers wissen wolt/ ehe ers gehört hatt. Wer kan aber ein solchen/ der sich selbs so witzig acht/ für Ergernuß bewahren? der ergert sich allein der sich selbs schetzt vnd acht/ vnnd vrtheilt das jhm kaum so viel als ein Traum wissent ist. Darumb Leser biß du/ daß du wöllest die ding nutzlich erkennen/ vnnd rechtfertige den Glauben nicht auß deiner eigenrichtigkeit/ vnnd was du vrtheilest/ das auß erfahrungheit geschehe. Dann der sich selbst zuviel schetzt/ der wird so leicht ernidert/ so schwer er sich schetzt zusein. Darumb die kräfte der Nammen vnnd Wörtern/ gesprochen oder geschriben/ in was weg das beschicht/ ist mein fürnehmen zubeschreiben: Auch hie zu vnderrichten/ was den dingen zu oder daruon zugeben sey. Darumb Leser/ vrtheil nit/ du habest dann guten grund erfahren.

Eingang diß Buchs.

Ein jedlich werck das vnser gebrechlichkeit zu einer auffrichtung dienet/ gehet auß Gott. Dann wer ist der/ der dem Hauß wolt wehren sein vmbfallen/ so er dem feind were/ der darinn sesse? Vnser Leib ist

should be recognized as it truly is. How improperly this has been treated! And how has false wisdom brutally suppressed what should be salvaged from the pools of depravity!¹ They call it sorcery, witchcraft, [or] superstition. They do not know what it is. The curse will be upon them, for they have forgotten their duty of the Highest One. They have received the second baptism [and] held marriage in contempt, which will deprive them of their powers in this as well.² Basel retained me [as a teacher] at its university, [and then] accused me of causing annoyance with such teachings.³ But how should I give annoyance to the wise whom I have set free and who have arrived at the [true] ground? But if someone from my school were to take offence in these matters, what might the cause be? Claiming to have known about these things before he heard about them [from me]. How could one who pretends to be that clever be preserved from getting into trouble? Whoever thus exaggerates and overestimates himself in this way and passes judgment on things about which he can barely dream of understanding in a useful way causes annoyance to himself. Therefore, reader, if you want to gain useful knowledge of these things, you should not justify your belief out of self-righteousness, and [instead] see to it that when you pass judgment, it is from experience. For whoever overestimates himself is easily humbled, no matter how important he imagines himself to be. Therefore, it is my purpose to describe the powers of names and words, whether spoken or written, and how [the powers] come into being. Moreover, it is my intention to give information about what effect this has or can have upon affairs. Hence, reader, do not pass judgment until you have experienced a good reason for doing so.

Beginning of the Book.

Every sort of work that serves the restoration of our frailties proceeds from God. For who should want to prevent the house from collapsing if he had enmity with the one residing in it? Our body is the receptacle

¹ See Grimm, *Pfütze* (3b): “pool” is the usual term of the age for the common condition of depravity.

² These aspersions again evoke the presence of dissenters familiar in St. Gall: they caused scandal not only by repeating **baptism**, but by allegedly breaking with **marriage** conventions. These vices are addressed and metaphorically generalized by P. Here they are said to be *false* users of characters (cf. H 1:265-66).

³ Here P. refers to a little known reason for the failure of his **Basel** academic tenure: his introduction of disreputable magic teachings.

der auffenthalter der Seel Gottes: allein sie sey leiblich bedeckt/ sonst ist der Seel kein trost. Wer gönnt dann dem Leib sein auffenthaltung dann allein Gott? der will vnser lang leben haben/^a darumb er vns versorgt mit mancherley hülff vnd auffenthaltung: treibt vnd zwingt auch/ das vns müssen das leben fristen/ die vns feind sind. Dann | 308 | glück vnd heil soll gehen von vnseren feinden/ vnnd von allen den henden deren/ so vns hassen. Darumb ob vns ein guts beschicht durch vnser feind/ so sollen wirs annehmen von Gott: Dann Gott vberwindt vnser feind in dem/ daß sie vns müssen vber jhren willen guts thun. Dann die Geschriff sagt/ das vns glück vnd heil kommen werden von allen den Henden die vns nichts guts gönnen. Also werden die Spieß gebrochen deren/ die vns vermeinen zuerstechen: derselbigen Spieß sind vnser Artzney. Von wannen vns hülff kompt/ so kompts allweg von Gott: dann er ist der/ der vnserm Leib das leben gibt/ vnd verleicht/ vnd ist sonst kein Gott. So du in ein graben fellest vnnd dir hilfft^b ein Mörder herauß/ so hastu dem Mörder nichts zu-dancken/ das geheiß Gottes hatt jhn darzu trieben. Ist dir aber nicht als wol geholffen/ als hett dir der Oberst Zwölffbott hülff bewiesen? Was dein Hauß/ darinn dein Seel ist/ zu langem leben erschist/ das hatt Gott thon/ der will dich lenger behalten: vnd ob es gleich der Teuffel gethan hette/ so hett er dir glück vnd heil geschenckt auß den henden deiner feind/ vnd aller deren die dich hassen. Dann zu gleicher weiß/ wie der Mörder/ dem würdestu nur nutzlich sein im Graben: dann er begerte deins guts/ das würd jhm nit/ er nehm dir dann vor das leben: das er aber dich muß leben lassen vnd lauffen/ ist Gottes befelch: Darumb zwingt jn Gott/ das er dir helffen muß. So wunderbarlich sind die gnad Gottes auff vns gericht: sie kommen wie sie wöllen/ Gott hab

^a Healing the body and saving the soul are two very different things. Here and elsewhere P. attempts to make them seem equally embedded in the divine mercy (see H 1:67-68; cf. *De Vita Longa*, S 3:247ff.).

^b Sudhoff (329): "hülff"; V (326): "hulff."

of the soul [that comes from] God. Unless it is physically covered, the soul has no consolation. Who else would concede to the soul this receptacle but God? It is he who desires a long life for us, which is why he provides us with so many kinds of assistance and lodging, [and it is] why he drives and forces those who are our enemies to spare and extend our life. For | 308 | happiness and salvation should proceed from our enemies and from the hands of all who hate us.¹ Accordingly if something good befalls us through our enemies, then we should accept it as coming from God. For God overcomes our enemies in the sense that they are compelled to do good to us against their will. For the Scripture says that happiness and salvation will come to us from the hands of all those who would not wish us anything good. In this sense then are the weapons broken of those who thought to stab us with them. Their weapons are our medicine. No matter from which quarter we receive help, it invariably comes from God. For God is the one who gives and lends life to our bodies; and there is no other God. If you should fall into a ditch, and a murderer helps you get out of it, you owe no thanks to the murderer. The commandment or will of God made him do it. Would you not have been helped, as much as if the twelve apostles² themselves had helped you? Whatever should support and occur so that the house in which your soul resides has a long life has been done by God. He is the one who wants to maintain you longer. Indeed, even if the devil should have done the deed, he would only have imparted happiness and salvation to you from the hands of your enemies and from all those who hate you. For it is the same as with the murderer. The only use he would have for you is in the grave. He covets your belongings, which he cannot have unless he first takes your life. But it is God's command that he must let you live and go your way. In this sense God compels him to be of assistance to you. This is how wondrously the gifts of God are directed toward us. Let

¹ The paradox accords with Lk 6:22, [Jesus]: “**Blessed are you when people hate you.**” The intention of P.’s peroration is that even the power of magic which is ascribed to the greatest enemy, the devil, can fulfill God’s will by serving human well-being, a service for which thanks are owed to God and not to the enemy. Notably, this biblical verse resonates more with P.’s personal outcast status than with the diabolical enmity he evokes. In any event, like the paradox of the seed that must die to bring forth fruit (Jn 12:24), blessings from the hands of one’s enemies (Lk 6:22) is the stem of an extended biblical allusion employed to develop non-biblical themes. In either case, the stem is transformed by alchemical-herbal metaphors, Lk 6:22 in the paragraph that follows.

² See Grimm, *Zwölfbote(n)*: literally “twelfold messengers.”

lob. Was verdreußt vnsern wiedersecher herters/ dann so wir so handvest sind/ vnd wissen/ dz er vns auß dem Graben geholffen hat? Lobent Gott darumb/ vnd nit jn/ vnd ziehens dahin/ das er vns muß guts thun/ auß dem geheiß Gottes/ vnnd beschliessens mit dem heil/ von den henden vnserer feinden.

^aSecht an den Distel vnter den Dornen/ der hasset vnsern Leib so strenge/ dz vns der Dorn nit will vergönnen zum Distel zu greiffen: vnd so wir an Distel kommen/ so sticht er gleich so fast/ vnd weret sich gegen vns/ auff dz wir die Artzney/ so in jm ist/ nit erlangen. Was thut aber Gott? derselbig gebeut dem feür/ dz treibt die Artzney auß dem Distel/ vnd zurseüdt jm seinen Dorn/ verbrennt jn zu äschen/ vnd wirt vom Artzt außgeworffen | 309 | in Dreck vnd in Koth: Jetzt ist das böß gemeistert/ vnd dz gutt außgeklaubt. Wer wolt aber dem Distel feindt sein/ so er vns die gutthat beweist? wiewol er dem leib gehaß ist/ noch muß er jhm die gesundtheit geben: Wer kan einer Frawen feindt sein/ sie sey gleich wie sie woll? Dann mit jhren früchten wirdt die Welt besetzt/ darumb sie Gott lang leben last/ ob sie gleich gar ein Gall were. Darumb so bildet vns Gott damit ein/ das wir dardurch ein exempel nemen/ vnser feindt nicht anders zu halten/ dann das sie vnter der handt Gottes seind/ gleich wie der Distel vnter der Hagendorn/ vnter dem gewalt des Fewrs. Vnd wie das Fewr zwinget dieselbigen/ das vns das Brodt durch das Holtz gebachen wirdt/ vnd dergleichen: wie vns nun das Brodt zu guttem erscheust/ erhalt vns vnsern leib zu langem leben. Vnd wiewol dz Fewr vnser feind ist/ haßt vns/ vnd alles das darin kompt/ begerdt das alles zu verschlucken vnd zu verzehren/ wir seindt aber die/ die des Fewrs gewaltig seindt/ vnd ist vnter vnsern henden/ darumb so geht vns gutts auß dem Fewr. Wir sollen nicht niessen die feindschafft des Fewrs/ sondern dz wirs zu zwingen haben/ vns gutts zu thun/ vnd dieselbige gutthat sollen wir niessen/ darüber Gott dancken/ das er vns vor des Fewres gewalt bewaret hat/ vnd das vns der feindt muß die rohe speiß kochen/ nach vnserm munde gefallen. Sehet an die Schlangen/^b dieselbige ist vns

^a Sudhoff (329-31) marks the next three paragraphs: “Zum andern,” “Zum dritten,” and “Zum vierten”; as in V (326 verso-328).

^b The *Liber Principiorum*, ranked as spurious by Sudhoff but containing much that is in conformity with P.’s authentic works, observes that evil and good are two sides of a single coin for the snake: “Dieweil got der allmechtige **der schlangen** mer, höhere und größere mysteria, dan sonst keinem andern tier oder lebendigen creaturen zugeeignet und gegeben in irer schöpfung, darumb ist nit unbillich der fall eben durch

them come as they might: God be praised! What can possibly vex our enemy more than for us to be so stalwart and know that he has indeed pulled us out of the ditch? Let God therefore be praised and not him, and let it go at that. He has to act for our benefit because God has commanded it, and therefore you should conclude that it is the salvation that comes from the hands of our enemies.

Just behold the thistle among the thorns: the thorn hates our body so venomously that it rejects and repels our attempt to reach for the thistle. And if we should get at the thistle, [the thorn] then stabs at us so sharply to prevent our obtaining the medicine within [the thistle]. So what does God do? He enjoins the fire to extract the medicine from the thistle and burns off its thorn, incinerating it: it is cast out by the physician | 309 | unto the waste and filth. The evil is vanquished, the good appropriated. Who should despise the thistle when it bestows its benevolence on us? Though inimical to the body, it must yield the body its health. Who should despise a woman of whatever character? With her fruit she peoples the earth for which reason God grants her a long life, even if she should be a lascivious whore (**ein Gall**).¹ This is how God impresses upon us and instructs us that we should regard our enemies as being under God's hand, as the thistle is guarded by the thorn bush which is subject to the power of the fire. It is the same as when fire exerts power over its objects so that bread is baked by wood and there are other effects of this kind. Just as bread serves to benefit us, [fire] serves the long life of the body. Though fire is our enemy, though it despises us and everything else that enters into it, craving to swallow and consume them all, we are the ones who hold power over the fire and master it with our hands, so for us good things emerge from fire. It is not the enmity of fire that we benefit from, but from being the ones who can vanquish it and compel it to do good for us. This benevolence is what we enjoy: we should thank God for preserving us from the violence of fire so that our enemy has to cook our raw nourishment, to our delectation. Behold the snake. It is inimical to us,

¹ See Grimm, **Gall**: *lascivia*.

feindt/ das sie ab vns pfeifet/ so baldt sie ein Menschen sihet: Was ist aber mehr in dem feindt? so jhm Haupt vnd Schwantz abgehawen wirdt/ wo ist ein Edler Artzney im Fünfften wesen wider der haut *Morphea*?^a Sol nun das ein feindt sein/ vnd Gott schickt vns das Heil von dem feindt/ da tödtlich gifft in ligt: So wirdt er vns auch den höchsten feindt dahin treiben/ das er vns muß guts thun vber seinen willen/ vns zu einem anzeigen/ das Gott sein Herr ist/ vnd dz die Geschrift wahr ist/ glück vnd heil von vnsern feinden/ vnnd von den henden aller derer/ die vns hassen: Dann Gott ist Trew in allen seinen wercken vnd wörtern.

So trew ist vns Gott/ vnd allen denen/ so in seinem willen leben/ ehe er solchs ließ/ ehe hies er den Teuffel dasselbig alles thun/ damit er vns erzeugte sein Gwalt vnd Almechtigkeit/ vnd | 310 | bewart die seinen die jhn lieben/ das jhn von dem feind kein leid geschehen mag/ sondern gutts. Darumb wo wissend von den dingen/ das wir hierinn kein zweiffel sollen tragen/ anders dann so wir Gott lieben von vnserm hertzen/ so vns auff das der Teuffel brechte/ Silber vnnd Goldt/ hülf vns/ geb vns Artzney/ nehm vns auß dem gefengnus vnnd thurn: So versich dich/ daß das Gottes geheiß ist. Noch ist aber eins da/ das wil ich euch auch vnerrichten/ wie viel solcher grosser gutthat beschehen den argen bösen leuthen/ nemlich vnnd wissentlich durch den Teuffel/ vnnd ohn den geheiß Gottes/ aber verhengt vnnd zugelassen: Das der Teuffel das billich vnnd wol thun mag/ auff vnser vppiges vnnd lasterlichs ansuchen/ manchem grosse krankheit heilet/ auß grossen nöthen hilfft/ gefencknuß vnnd dergleichen/ vnnd in dem Menschen ist nichts gutts/ vnd kompt auch nichts gutts auß jhm: Warumb geschicht das? Gott will/ das die Gschrift wahr bleibe/ vnnd das eim jedlichem beschehe gutts von seinen feinden. Auff solchs zu gleicher weiß/ wie vns Gott den leib erhalt zu langem leben/ in dem so wir jhn lieb haben: Also verhengt er auch dem Teuffel/ das er die

die schlangen beschehen" (S 14:500). Small wonder that so much good can be extracted from it.

^a Of frequent interest to P., **morphea** is categorized in the Basel materials as a putrefication of the three substances of the blood, flesh, and skin, when the mineral salts become corrosive (S 4:193-95): "Ich sag, das morphea sei ein feulung der dreien substanz des bluts, fleischs und der haut, durch die mineralischen salia dahin gebracht und in ein corrosif und putrefaction außen und innen geordnet" (193). *Gutta rosacea* is discussed as a distinct though related phenomenon (S 4:190ff.).

so that it hisses us away as soon as it sees a human being. But what else is in this enemy? If its head and tail are chopped off, where could you find a more noble medication¹ in the fifth essence against the *morphea*² of the skin? Is that what we should call an enemy, when God sends us our health from this enemy in whom deadly poison lies? If so, then will he not also send to us the greatest of enemies to do good for us without wanting to? Will he not do this in order to reveal that God is [the devil's] master and that the Scriptures are indeed true: that happiness and salvation come from our enemies and from the very hands of all those who despise us. For God is faithful in all his works and words.

God is so faithful to us and to all those who live in accordance with his will that, rather than desisting from this relation, he commanded the devil to do all those things to reveal to us [God's] authority and omnipotence and | 310 | preserve those who love him, so that no harm should befall them from the enemy but rather only good. Therefore you should be aware when it comes to this: we should entertain no doubts but only love God with all our hearts. If the devil brings us gold and silver, helps us, provides us medicine, [or] springs us from jail, you should anticipate³ that this is God's will. But there is still another matter about which I would inform you. I mean the fact that there are so many highly beneficent things that befall bad and wicked people, which clearly occurs through the agency of the devil and without the command of God, even though these things are ordained and allowed by him. How does it happen that the devil is properly allowed to do such things in response to our lascivious and depraved desires, [why is it that through the devil] many a serious disease is healed [and] help is obtained in great need, whether it involves prison or some other such contingency? How can this happen, even though the person in question has nothing good in him and nothing but evil comes out of him? How can such a thing happen? [It is because] God intends that the [word of] Scripture is to be upheld and that to each should befall something good from his enemies. In the same way that God maintains our bodies to grant us a long life because we love him,

¹ The **snake** was used in popular medicine, including for "Aussatz" (see HDA, "Schlange"). Moreover, its presence as an ingredient of theriac was sufficient to assure its status in academic medicine.

² On *morphea* (= *gutta rosacea*), see H 1:129.

³ See Grimm, **versehen** (9): an archaic reflexive signifying to anticipate or hope for.

jenigen dermassen auch bewart/ die eins vppigen bösen lebens seindt/ macht sie wunderbarlich gesundt/ mit Worten/ Nammen/ Segen/ etc. Darumb zu beiden seitten/ die so Gott lieben/ vnnd die so dem Teuffel anhangen/ müssen sprechen am Jüngsten Tag/ vns ist gutts geschehen von vnsern feinden/ die in den Elementen seindt/ vnd im Abgründt der Hellen. Dann die Schrifft die muß bekennt werden/ das sie warhafftig ist eim bösen vnnd eim gutten/ vnd das Gott gegen niemands kein neidt sucht/ sondern sein Barmhertzigkeit beweist biß ann Jüngsten Tag. Vnnd wie er last den Sommer vnd denn Winter/ eim wie dem andern sein: Also last er auch diese ding für sich gehn/ vnnd beweist das gnugsam mit der Artzney/ die die gleubigen vnnd vngleubigen/ gleubig vnd abergleubig/ die da lieben vnd die da hassen/ alle gleich purgiert vnd Consolidirt.

Dorumb die ding geben kein vnglauben noch aberglauben/ so Gott in seiner barmhertzigkeit verstanden wrdt. Sagt nit die Schrifft von bewegnuß der Himmlischen krefften/ wie sie sich | 311 | bewegen werden zu seinen zeitten? was sind die Himmlischen kreffte/ so hie verstanden sollen werden? Nemlich die sindts/ so vns vnsichtbar vnd als vbernatürlich vermeinen helffen. Ist nit vnser gröster feindt auß dem Himmel herab kommen? Darumb so ist er Himmlisch vnd nit Irdisch: Wir Menschen aber sind nit Himmlisch/ sondern Irdisch/ dann wir kommen nit von oben herab/ sondern von der Erden: Allein wir werden dann zum andern mal geboren/ so werden wir vns auch bewegen mit den Himmlischen krefften. Was sind dise hülf/ von denen ich hie schreib/ als allein Himmlische kreffte? wer gibt sie/ vnd theilt sie auß/ als allein Gott? den guten auß geheiß/ den bösen auß verhengnuß/ wem solt diß ein aberglauben machen/ dieweils je daher fleußt? wem solts ein ergernuß geben? Nun müß es doch niemand ergern/ als allein den/ der vorhin arg wer. Der aber in solcher einfalt erschiene vnd vermeint würdt/ sein einfalt nehm hie ein ergernuß: so werde derselbig gelert/ durchforsche die Schrifft/ wie jhn geheissen

he also permits the devil to preserve likewise those who are leading a lascivious and evil life. [The devil] miraculously makes them well by means of words, names, [and] benedictions, etc. This is why on the Day of Judgment both sides, those who love God and those who adhere to the devil, will affirm that [they] have received good from their enemies, from those in the elements and those in the abyss of Hell. For the Scriptures must be acknowledged as true for an evil person as well as a good one. [It must be acknowledged] that God harbors no envy toward anyone, but instead manifests his mercy until the Day of Judgment. Just as he leaves summer and winter each to its own, he lets all other things have their way. He proves this clearly by the medicine that purges and mends not only those who believe but those who do not, the faithful [and] the superstitious, those who love and those who hate, all [are treated] the same.

For this reason, these matters do not lend themselves to unbelief or superstition, as long as God is understood in his mercy. Do not the Scriptures speak of the movement¹ of celestial powers, of how they | 311 | are to move in their proper times? What are the celestial powers as they are to be understood in the present context? They are precisely that which is thought to help us invisibly and supernaturally. Did not our greatest enemy come down from the heavens? For this reason he is celestial and not terrestrial. But we human beings are not celestial but rather terrestrial. For we have not come from above, but rather from the earth. Unless we are born a second time, we will go on moving with the celestial powers. What are the kinds of assistance that I am describing here other than celestial powers? Who is it that gives and distributes them if not God? To the good in order to fulfill the promise, to the evil in order to fulfill what is ordained by judgment (**verhengnuß**).² Who should find occasion for superstition in this, given that it always flows from this source? Who should be vexed by it? No one need be annoyed by it but he who was already noxious. But whoever reacts and opines naively, thinking that his naiveté should indeed be annoyed by this—he should let himself be instructed and study the Scriptures to see what God asks of him, in order that he

¹ See Grimm, **Bewegnis** (1, 2): in this period, the term signified both celestial motion (Franck, *Paradoxa* [27]: “der lauf und bewegnus des himmels”) and motive or cause (“bewegnus und ursach schöpfen”).

² See Grimm, **Verhängnis** (1-4): Reflecting the theological quandary, the meaning varies from what is allowed to what is preordained by God, with telling citations from Luther and the *Faustbuch*.

ist/ damit er wiß vnd erkenn ein jedliches ding in seinem grundt. Dann von seiner einfalt wegen/ wirdt Gott diß werck nit vnterwegen lassen/ weder durch sein geheiß/ noch die durch des Teuffels verhengnuß. Dann diß sollen wir all im beschluß wissen/ wz vns von vnsichtigen dingen dermassen beschicht/ beschicht nit ohn vrsach: sondern zu einem anzeigen vns/ der dingen mercklich vrsach vnd vrsprung zu suchen/ vnd zu ermessen/ dz wir solchs dem Teuffel nit sollen zu legen: Dann Gott ist der/ ohn den der Teuffel nix kan. Seht an ein Richter in der Statt [vnd] die Schergen die jhm gehorsam sind/ vnd richten auß dz er jhnen befilcht/ wer wolte den Schergen für den Richter halten? Niemand: Darumb so mag auch niemand jhm solche ding zu messen/ dann der will ist des richters: Also hie an dem orth auch. Alle ding sollen ersucht werden in Gott/ dann auß demselbigen fliessen sie. Was verhengnuß sind/ die werden als verhengnuß auch gesucht: In allen dingen den Göttlichen willen am ersten ersuchen/ wie Göttliche Barmhertzigkeit oder Zorn vber vns gericht sey.^a Dann also laut die Summ deren dingen/ dz wir hülff haben werden/ wir sind böß oder gutt: Als dann auch die artzney beweist/ welcher hülff des Artzts lob nit ist/ sonder allein Gott. Der Artzt hat allein den danck der kunst vnd nit der hülff/ dann da ist nichts sein/ dann allein die kunst.
| 312 |

Darumb ist diß gesagt/ das wir nicht sollen den dafür halten/ den wir sehen/ das er der sey/ der da helff. Also müsten wir dem Artzt dancken/ vnd Gotte nicht: Dem Graß vnd dem Hew/ den Büchsen

^a Sudhoff (333) here introduces a paragraph break with “Zum fünften” and eliminates the following break, which may in fact have been a typesetting fluke. All subsequent paragraphs to the end of the work are introduced by ordinal headings up to “Zum 21” (349); V begins with “17.” (335), with the intervening numbers omitted.

should know and recognize everything in its reasons. For simply on account of that naiveté God will not abandon his work,¹ neither with respect to his promise nor with respect to his judgment of the devil. For this much we should all know in sum: whatever happens to us in such a way from the invisible things does not happen to us without cause, but rather in order to provide us an indication that we should seek after the intelligible cause and origin of things, and [seek] to understand that we should not ascribe these to the devil.² For God is he without whom the devil could effect nothing. Behold a judge (**Richter**) in his place (**Statt**) <and> the servants (**Schergen**) who are obedient to him and who carry out what he orders: who could confuse the servant with the judge? No one.³ For the same reason, no one can attribute such things to him [i.e., God]; for the will is that of the judge. It is the same in this case too. All things are to be sought from God, for it is from him that they all issue forth. Whatever happens by the leave of God should be sought in him as such. In all things we must first search out the divine will, [in order to understand] how the divine mercy or anger is a judgment upon us. For the sum of all these things is that we should have help, whether we are evil or good. Medicine merely bears this out this. What helps is not the physician: God alone is to be praised. The physician deserves only gratitude for the art and not for the help, for this does not come from him. Indeed, nothing of it is his except the art. | 312 |

This must be said so that we should not suppose that the one we see is he who gives the help, or that we should thank the physician instead of God. To thank the grass and the hay, the medicine box and the

¹ See Grimm, **unterwegs** (6b): “unterwegs lassen” means “im Stich lassen,” to abandon.

² Here P. returns to the fundamental medieval rationale (generalized from Rom 1:20): The visible things conduct us to the supernatural and divine causes of creation. Just as we are subject to the visible stars, we are subject to supernatural invisible powers, yet these, too, have their first mover and cause in God.

³ It is significant that P.’s self-evident distinction, his metaphor for the distinction between the omnipotent God and the devil who must do his bidding, was both popular and controversial: “**Richter**” implicated both the worldly and spiritual estates and both the judicial authority of the judge and the work of the executioner (“**Nachrichter**”). **Statt** could implicate both the station of the judge and the place of execution (**Richtstatt**). The servant-executioner (**Scherge**) merely does the bidding of the judge yet his profession is without honor (cf. Grimm). Social and semantic ambiguities served to rectify or obfuscate the theological or metaphysical paradox of divine omnipotence in a world over which the devil holds sway.

vnd der Apotheken: Das wer ein Aberglaub/ das were Abgötterey. Dann wen wir also wandeln wollen/^a wo würde das beschehen/ das wir das auffsehen hetten zum Teuffel/ vnd nicht zu Gott/ das wer falsch vnd vnbillich. Das sollen wir aber in vnsern hertzen gedennen/ das Gott die artzney geschaffen hat/ vnd hatt sie gestelt vnter vnser Augen/ das sollen wir betrachten: Warumb? So vns nuhn ein gutts geschicht durch die *Characteres* von denen ich hie schreib/ londts euch eben sein/ als sey es Graß vnd Hew: Vnd obs gleich Teuffel weren/ so londts gleich sein/ als seyens Büchsen in der Apothecken: Vnnd setzen den grundt also/ Heyl von vnsern feinden/ vnd von den henden aller die vns hassen/ vnd dencken das also/ Gott hatt mich geschaffen/ Gott hatt mich erlöset/ alles das guts/ das mir beschicht/ es sey von feinden oder von freunden/ so sey Gott lob vnd danck. Also sollen alle ding in den Ersten vrsprung gzogen werden. Dann secht an ein hoffertigen Artzt/ danckstu Gott vmb hilff/ vnd jhm nicht/ er zürnet: Dann er last sich am danck der Kunst nicht benügen: Was kan er dir aber schaden mit seiner hoffart/ Gott wirdt dich drumb der artzney nicht entplößen. Also beschicht dir etwas durch die Geist/ oder durch solche vnsichtbare hilff/ dancke nur Gott drumb/ wil ers nimm thun/ das ist/ derselbig Geist/ laß jhn faren/ zeucht Kuntze ab/ so kompt Heintz an die statt/ weich du darumb von Gott nicht. In allen vnsichtbaren dingen haben wir blinde vrtheil. Darumb was vns zu langem leben dient/ das sollen wir in Gott annemmen: Dann er will in mancherley wercken gegen vns bekannt sein/ vnd von vns gehret/ es lang ahn vns in was gestalt es wolle.

Alle ding sind in ein ordnung gesetzt/ vnd die ordnung geht auß dem gebott. Nun wer last aber sein Roß im graben ligen/ der jhm nicht drauß helffe? vnnd ob es gleich ein doppel Sontag were/ ist nicht die erlaubnuß von Christo/ das die hülff beschehen soll? vnnd das gebott

^a Sudhoff (333): “wolten”; V (328 verso): “wolten. so wurde das beschehen.”

apothecary: that would be superstition, that would be idolatry. If we chose to proceed in that manner, it would come to such a pass that we would look to the devil and not to God. That would be altogether wrong and unfitting. In our hearts we should remember therefore that God created medicine and placed it beneath our eyes. We should contemplate it. Why is this so? The reason is because, if good should befall us through the *characters*, which I am about to write of, then you should let it be for you as if it were grass and hay. And even if it should be as devils, still, let it be for you as if it were medicine boxes in the apothecary. And define the principle of the matter thus: [it is a matter of] salvation from our enemies, and from the hands of all those who hate us; and you should think as follows: God created me and God has saved me; everything good that befalls me, be it from enemies or from friends, God is to be praised and thanked for it. Thus should all things be taken into their First Source. For just have a look at an arrogant physician. If you thank God for assistance and not him, he is furious. For your thanks for his art is not enough for him. But what does his arrogance matter to you? God will not strip you of medication on that account. By the same token, if something comes to pass for you through the spirits, or through [some other] invisible help of that kind, thank God for it. If he does not want do this any longer, I mean, that particular spirit, then let him go his way. If Tom takes off, then Dick takes his place: do not abandon God for that reason. In all the invisible things, our judgment is blind. Hence, whatever serves the purpose of our long life, we should accept it in God. For he desires to be manifest to us in many sorts of works, and to be honored by us, no matter how it reaches us.

All things are placed in an order and this order proceeds from the commandment. Who then would leave his horse stuck in a ditch if he could help get it out?¹ And even if it were Sunday twice over, do we not have the permission of Christ to bring about this assistance? Should not the commandment [to love one's fellows] be observed? If

¹ Citing Mt 12:9-12 from memory, P. is presupposing the question taken up by Jesus, "Is it lawful to cure on the Sabbath?" Apparently through a lapse of memory, P. substitutes "horse" for "sheep" in Jesus' reply: "Suppose that one of you has only one sheep and it **falls into a pit** on the Sabbath; will you not lay hold of it and lift it out? How much more valuable is a human being than a sheep! So it is lawful to do good on the Sabbath" (cf. Mk 3; Lk 6:6-11).

sol nicht geachtet werden? So wir nun vbertretten mögen das gebot des Sabbats^a auff das | 313 | das der todt gewendt werd: So wir auch viel mehr eim Menschen dann eim Roß helfen/ in gebrechung des Sabbats. Nun verstand das also: Das gebott lautt/ du solt den Artzt nicht verachten/ vnnd die Artzney/ vnnd darbey angezeigt/ wie sie von der Erden wachst. Nuhn laß es gleich sein/ als wer es ein Sabbat/ vnd du hülfest dein nechsten/ mit Charactern/ die endlich nicht auß der Erden kommen/ mit jhren krefften: Jetz brichstu den Sabbat/ dann du gahst dem gebott nit stracks nach. Nun ist aber dz brechen nit weiter zuverstehen/ dann als hettestu eim Roß am Sabbat außgeholfen: Du hast dz werck der hülf bewiesen/ vnd die hülf gethan/ die dich dein kunst gelernet hat. Der hülf halb ist kein mangel/ den sie kompt nit von dir/ sie kompt von Gott: Die kunst aber ist nicht nach ordnung des gebots/ die hülf aber. Darumb so wirdt diese kunst dahin gemessen/ als brechung des Sabbats/ beschirmt mit dem wordt Christi/ do er das exempel von dem Roß auß dem graben zuheben/ angezeigt. Dann secht auch an das Daud in Tempel gieng mit seinem volck/ vnd aß das Brodt/ das jhm nit gebürete zu essen: Er aß es für den hunger in nöten/ vnnd war jhm ohn sünd. Darumb die not in der Geschriff entlediget wirdt/ das Noth billich soll gewendt werden/ mit dem/ das zu gegen ist/ es sey der Teuffel/ Geist/ Artzt/ Mörder/ etc. was dann da das nechste ist. Nuhn lag mehr am selbigen Brodt das Daud vnnd sein volck assend/ dann hie ligt an der Kunst: Eins wirdt bey Gott wie das ander verantwort: Es seindt gebott die wir sollen halten. Dieweil aber

^a In *Ex Libro de Tempore Laboris et Requei* (G 2:73-82), considered by Goldammer (XXXV) to be of the same period as this work, P. reflects on the meaning of **sabbath rest**. His conclusion makes labor into the measure of both workdays and sabbath: the former are devoted to producing bread; the latter to the pursuit of that which augments the bread, by which alone humans do not live: “aber wisse, daß das wort gottes, in dem wir auch leben, sein eigen werktage hat, daß gott auch sein eigen werktage. also arbeiten wir für und für ohne aufhören. da ist kein müßiggang zum laster” (82).

we are thus permitted to transgress the commandment of the Sabbath¹ in order that | 313 | death should be prevented, and if we are to help the human being that much more than a horse in violation of the Sabbath, all of this implies the following: the commandment directs us not to despise the physician or the medicine. It is revealed to us how the latter grows in the ground.² Now interpret this as if it happened that you were helping your neighbor on the Sabbath by means of characters which do not come suitably (**endtlich**)³ out of the ground with their powers. You are violating the Sabbath, for you do not follow the commandment directly and at once. Your violation is to be understood in no other way than as if you had pulled a horse out of the ditch on the Sabbath. You have carried out the work of helping which you learned from your art. There is no wrong in helping, for it does not come from you but rather from God. Art does not follow the order of the commandment. However, the helping indeed does do so. This is why we can say that, though the [practice of the] art is esteemed as a breach of the Sabbath, it is covered by the word of Christ, when he gives instruction with the example of the horse in the ditch. For take note besides that David entered the temple with his people and ate the bread that was not appropriate for him.⁴ He ate it on because of suffering hunger and did so without sin. This is why in the Scripture, being in need liberates [one from certain injunctions of the law], because suffering should be alleviated with whatever means are available, be they devil, spirit, physician, murderer, or whatever else is readily available. As it happens, that particular bread which David and his people ate was more important than the art is here. The one will be answered for to God as the other one was. They are [subject to] com-

¹ Healing on **the Sabbath** would seem to be a violation of the fourth commandment but it is actually done in fulfillment of Jesus' commandment to love one's neighbor. The remarkable point here is that P. intends to extend this latitude to the medical use of characters in an apparent departure from the biblical legitimacy of "medicine from the earth." (For the introduction of this extended allusion to Sir 38, see H 1:69.)

² Sir 38:4.

³ See Grimm, **endtlich**, adj. (1): quick or handy (the implication is that the medicines need help).

⁴ Mk 2:24-28, [Jesus said to the Pharisees]: "Have you never heard what **David** did when he and his companions were hungry and in need of food? He entered the house of God...and ate the bread of the Presence, which it is not lawful for any but the priests to eat, and he gave some to his companions." Then he said to them, "The Sabbath was made for humankind, and not humankind for the Sabbath; so the son of Man is lord even of the Sabbath."

Christus selber die auflösung anzeigt/ das wir mögen die noth wenden des Viechs/ noch viel mehr des Menschen. Dann mocht Dauid das Brodt für den Hunger essen/ so war es nimmend daß/ das er^a war/ die weils die Priester in jhrem gewalt hatten: Also mit der kunst. Ich setz/ es wer der gantz Teuffel/ so kunst in mein handt kompt/ so ist auch die hülf in meiner handt: Jetzt ist sie nimmend des Teuffels/ sondern mein: Jetzt mag ich dem krancken helffen/ vnd Gott lob vnd danck sagen.

Darumb so mag ich wol billich fürhalten/ wz die ding seint/ die man zauberey geheissen hat/ vnd mit andern dergleichen namen fürgewendt: Vnnd es ist die hülf vns ein ander zu be| 314 |weisen geheissen. Solts vnrecht sein/ wen der Teuffel vor mir stündt/ vnnd ich sprech zu jhm: Gehe hilff dem Roß auß dem graben an meiner statt/ vnnd es beschech: Wer wolt mich darumb im Aberglauben vrtheylen? Viel mehr in rechtem glauben/ das ich dem Teuffel oder ein^b Geist ein solches geböte. Wenn er mir aber dem Roß auß dem graben hülf vnd würffs mir in ein anderen: Jetzt möcht wol gesprochen werden/ ich gieng im Aberglauben/ der solche belonung gebe. Dann hie müest jhr auff einen sonderbaren puncten mercken/ trifft ahn die Bundtnuß. Als/ wenn der Teuffel einen dahin bringt/ das einer solche sachen mit einem Aberglauben anfalt/ wie von den *Ceremoniis*^c vnd dergleichen hernach volgen wirdt: Jetzt hat es sein bescheidt/ das die kunst vnd hülf in des handt ist/ vnnd hat sich zu eim Knecht gemacht/ da er wol möchte ein Herr bliben sein. Dann es gebürt sich das einem glaubigen der Teuffel gehorsam sey: Mag er aber das blättly vmbkeren/ er fleist sich/ Was schadt jhm versuchung? Diese suchen des Teuffels ehr vnd lob/ vnd nit Gottes. Das ist der falsch vnd betrug in diser kunst/ dann

^a Sudhoff (335): “es”; V (330) has the same.

^b Sudhoff (335): “eim”; V (330): “ein.”

^c Relevant to the themes and allusions of the present work (the examples of Aaron, Pharaoh’s magicians, Maria Magdalena, the imagination and faith), P.’s *Liber de Superstitionibus et Ceremoniis* (S 14:359-75) associates ceremonial superstition with the idolatry of images, an association that breaks with a common distinction between ritual and image magic and reflects contemporaneous controversies over iconoclasm: “Drumb der den rechten glauben haben wil, der sol in nit also nemen, nicht aus den ceremonien, nicht aus den bildern, nicht aus den gemelden etc., sonder er sol in nemen aus Christo, on alle mittel” (371). In the sacred word there is no image, painting, or ceremony, only the Holy Spirit (371). Images and ceremonies are discussed as idolatrous misrepresentations of biblical events (367). Imbued with a spirit of anti-papal simplification, P.’s condemnation extends to paintings, comedies, and histories (364-65).

mandments which we should follow. But since Christ himself points the way to this dissolving [of commandments] in telling us we are justified in alleviating the suffering of the animal, it is all the more so for the human being. If David could eat the bread to sate his hunger, it was no longer that which it had been under the authority of the priests: this is equally the case with art. Let us suppose that the entire devil himself is involved in the art that comes into my hands. Yet the helping is in my hands as well. At that point, [the art] is no longer the devil's. It is mine. At that point I can indeed help the patient and give praise and thanks to God.

For this reason, I can appropriately demonstrate what sort of things one has called “sorcery” and misrepresented¹ with other names of the kind. | 314 | We are called upon to help to another. Would it be wrong, if the devil were standing before me and I were to say to him: “Go help the horse out of the ditch in my stead,” and he did it? Who then should judge me as [acting] in superstition? Rather, it would be in true faith that I would command the devil or a spirit to do such a thing. But if he were to pull the horse out of one ditch and thrust it into another, it could be said that I had proceeded [acting] in superstition, for which this was the reward. For at this point, we have to take note of a special point having to do with the agreement.² Consider what happens if the devil induces someone to try it with superstition, such as those *cere- monia* and other such things which I will explain: in the case in question it works out so that the [healing] art is in the hand of the other one, and [the devil] has made the one into a servant who wanted to be master. For it would be appropriate that the devil should be obedient to someone who is faithful. But if he can turn this around, he will exert himself to do so. What harm is done to him by temptation? Those [who are thus turned around] pursue the honor and praise of the devil and not God. That is where falsehood and swindle enters into it with

¹ See Grimm, **fürwenden** (9): “als Ursache oder Beweggrund vorbringen, die nicht wirklich sind.”

² See Grimm, **Bündnis**, *fem. noun*: glossed as *foedus*, it signified the compact or agreement, including that made with the king; the pact with the devil was a theme not only in *Dr. Faustus*.

der Teuffel hat sie nicht macht/ dz also sey/ wie dise ceremonischen brauchen. Darumb so wirdt dise kunst so sie gebraucht wirt/ wie sie an jhr selbst ist/ in nöten/ kein brechen des Gebots sein: sie wirdt auch nit des Teuffels sein/ sonder jhm genommen/ als ein billicher raub/ deren gleichen die Kinder von Israel^a viel eröbert haben. Dann Gold vnd Silber kan man jm nit nemen/ man muß jm vnd eim jedlichen Geist rücksweiß nemen/ das so sie haben: Dann er gaht vns auch nach mit offnem Mund/ wo er mag seinen raub daruon bringen. All ding so wir in künsten vermügen/ sollen Gott zu lob vnd zu ehr gebraucht werden/ vnd als in der gestalt gefürt/ dz sie sich vergleichen mit *Maria Magdalena*/ die verschüt ein kostliche salb vber das haupt *Christi*/ vnd sie wer wol baß angelegt worden/ nach menschlichem verstandt/ dann also zu verschütten: Christus gab aber die zeugnuß/ das sie hett ein gutt werck gethan.^b Darumb so wir schon nicht all mahl nach menschlichem verstandt handeln/ vnnd wandeln aber in rechter liebe mit denselbigen dingen/ so wirdts auch verantwort mit ver| 315 |schüttung dieser salben. Ist es widers gebott Gottes/ helffen? Nein. Aber den Teuffel vnd abgötterey zu bereiten/ das ist wider Gott. Vnnd ob wir schon durch die Abgötter gsund leut machtent/ so sols nit sein: Dann wir sehen die Abgötter für vns/ vnd thund betrogne zeichen: Dann was betrogne zeichen sindt/ die gondt von betrogenen Göttern. Der Sahn aber der Charactern ist nit von Abgöttern/ wie sie geboren sind/ verfast kein abgötterey in sich. Wiewol das ist auch/ das all Abgötterische zeichen auß natürlichen krefften kommen: Darumb billich Gottes lobe zu zulegen/ vnd die krafft natürlichs liechts zuentdecken/ vnnd abgötterey stossen dahin sie gehört. Dann wen sie schon verstossen wird/ noch ist den krefften nichts genommen/ dann sie warent nie der Abgötter: Ist gleich als wen einer in einem

^a Sudhoff (336): “die kinder Israel”; V (330 verso): “die Kinder vonn Yßrahel.”

^b P.’s subtle evaluation of the relation of the veneration of Mary, the saints, and Mary Magdalene’s pouring the balm on Jesus’ feet (Jn 12:3ff.) to the true and the false medicine gains a certain clarification in *Liber de Superstitionibus* (S 14:363, 367): If we were to reenact the Magdalene’s deed with a picture of Jesus, this would be idolatry (363). If we produced a picture of Maria and invested it with our belief in her miraculous power, it might, like her, perform miraculous signs proceeding from faith. Even though the signs would be “false,” they would still result from faith and might conform without superstition to the proper order (367). But if we believe in the saints (James and Peter), even though we might be able to believe ourselves lame or whole, this is a false faith: “das ist aber nicht der recht glauben; der glaub sol allein in éin got sein” (367).

this art. For the devil did not actually make these ceremonial customs. Hence, if this art is used as it is in itself to alleviate suffering, there is no breach of God's commandment. Then it does not belong to the devil. Rather, it is taken away from him in an appropriate seizure of a kind that was common for the children of Israel. For gold and silver cannot be accepted from [the devil]. One has to seize back¹ from him and every spirit all that they have. For he pursues us in the same way with open jaws to seize his prey. Everything we are capable of mastering in the arts is to be used for the praise and honor of God. It should be practiced after the ideal of Maria Magdalena, who poured out a valuable salve onto the head of *Christus*, and though it might have been better expended by the human measure for such things, Christ nonetheless testified that she had performed a good work.² In consequence, even if we do not always act in accordance with human understanding and yet do not proceed in such matters with the proper love, this is still to be defended by | 315 | [the example of] the pouring out of this salve. Is it then against God's commandment to be of help? No indeed. But to prepare the way for the devil and idolatry is against God. Moreover, even if we do restore people to health by means of idols, this should not be done. For we would see the idols before us perform deceitful signs. What is it then that makes these signs deceitful? It is the fact that they proceed from false gods. However, the seed of the characters is not from idols. When they come into being, they encompass no idolatry. It may indeed be the case that all idolatrous signs arise from natural forces. This is why it is proper to apply God's praise and disclose the power of the natural light and banish the idolatry to the realm into which it belongs. For even if they are banished, nothing has been taken away to diminish the [natural] forces, since these never belonged to the idols. It was only as if someone was run-

¹ See Grimm, **ruckweise/rückweis**: both are adverbs; the first can mean "gradual," the second "backward"; here the implication is rather one of taking back forcefully or abruptly .

² Jn 12:3ff., "Mary took a pound of costly perfume made of pure nard, anointed Jesus' feet, and wiped them with her hair." To Judas' objection that the valuable perfume could have been sold for gain, Jesus replied in Mary's defense, saying that she had bought it and intended it for the day of his burial. Assuming Mary and her sister Martha are the same sisters as in Lk 10:38-42, the passage calls to mind a medieval tradition which privileged Mary, as the symbol of *vita contemplativa* or devotion to the divine, above Martha, the symbol of *vita activa* or devotion to the lower, practical and earthly matters. In identifying this **Mary** with the **Magdalene**, P. may be thinking that from the latter "seven demons had gone out" (Lk 8:2).

entlihenen Rock ging. Das ich aber fürhalt/ das nit alle ding dem menschlichen stand befohlen sindt: Dann die mancherley Secten/ so vnder dem glauben *Christi* einfallen/ stricken das *Euangelium* so in ein engs Garn/ so *Christus* das exempel vom Roß nit geben hette/ so dörffte am Sabbat niemandts weder essen noch trincken/ es müste vnden vnnd oben feiren/ oder müst gar von keim feirtag wissen. Darumb so muß solcher verstandt hindan gesetzt werden/ dann er ist der geschriff nicht gemeß: Haben auch kein befelch hierinnen zu tractieren: Dann sie würden am letsten dem Judas recht geben/ vnd *Christo* vnrecht/ wie dann die Secten der Teuffer des merertheils gebrauchen.

Also so ein ding von solchem groben verstandt nicht mag begriffen werden/ so sols darumb kein zauberey sein: Dem Teuffel sol man die ehr nit lassen. Dann was frewet jhn mehr/ auch in aller Abgötterey/ dann das man jhm das lob gebe/ er hatts gethan? Wir müssen hülf in mancherley suchen/ auff das wir mancherley *Magnalia* erfahren/ vnnd sein heimlichkeit in vilen dingen sehen. Es wer gnug/ das er vns befohlen hette/ mit fasten oder betten gesundtheit zu erlangen: Er hatts aber nicht gethon/ sondern hatts in ein mittel verordnet/ vnnd last vns im selbigen suchen/ die Erden durchwandern vnnd viellerley erfahren: Vnnd so wirs alles erfahren haben/ was gutt ist/ das sollen wir behalten. | 316 |

Nuhn wirdt das in allen sachen müssen gemerckt werden/ das sich ein jedlicher in demselbigen erinnere: Dann gutts vnnd böß muß herfür. So wirs nuhn herfür bracht handt/ so sollen wir die zwey von ein ander scheiden: Das gutt nemmen vnnd das böse ligen lassen. Nuhn was wirdt vns hie angezeigt anders/ dann wan wir könten lernen dem Teuffel all sein kunst ab/ so sollen wirs thun: Die kunst brauchen vnnd den Teuffel lassen ligen. Die künst seindt vns erlaubt all zu lernen/ alles das versuchen/ was gutt ist/ behalten: Dann darumb seindt wir auff Erden/ das der weniger vom mehrerm lehren soll. Dann Gott hatt den Teuffel nicht ohn kunst begabt vnd hoch erfahren

ning around in a borrowed cloak. But what I do propose is that not all things are consigned to the human understanding. The numerous sects that have come upon us under cover of [professed] faith in *Christus* are spinning the *Evangelium* into such a narrow yarn (**Garn**),¹ as if *Christus* had not given the example of the horse—as if no one were even allowed to eat or drink on the Sabbath. People would have to celebrate high and low, or not celebrate any holiday at all. This is why an understanding of that kind has to be set aside. It is not adequate to Scripture. They have no authority to treat of such matters. For in doing so, they would end up agreeing with Judas and disagreeing with *Christus*,² as is the case with that which the sects of the Baptists for the greater part do.

Therefore, merely because a certain matter cannot be comprehended by such a coarse mind, this does not mean that for that reason it has to be sorcery. We should not accord such an honor to the devil. For what could possibly please him more, even with all his idolatry, than receiving such praise as when we say that he is the one who has done this? We must seek help in many ways, so that we will come to know many *magnalia* and recognize his [God's] mystery in all sorts of things. He could have simply ordered us to attain health by fasting and praying, but he did not do so. Instead he provided [what we need] in an intermediate realm, and he has us seek within it, wandering through the entire earth and discovering many sorts of things. And when we have learned everything that is good, the [good] is what we should retain.³ | 316 |

With regard to all things one must take note so that all of us bear it in mind: what is good and what is evil must [both] forth. When we have elicited [these], we should separate the two from one another, accepting what is good and leaving what is evil alone. What else should be the lesson for us in this case than that, if we can learn from the devil his entire art, then we should do so, thereby making use of the art and leaving the devil alone. It is permissible to learn all the arts: to try everything and keep what is good. We are on earth in order that the lesser should learn from the greater. For God did not fail to endow the devil with art nor fail to make him highly learned in the

¹ See Grimm, **Garn** (II,3,d): P. uses the word metaphorically in the sense of a net or trap, not fable.

² This refers to the passage cited above.

³ 1 Thess 5:21, [Paul]: “**test everything**; hold fast to what is good.”

in das Liecht der Natur gesetzt: Welche so wir kündten/ wir hetten Gott ohn erzürnt. Vnd wiewol seine künst vnserer nicht gleich seindt/ so ists doch ein kunst als wol als die vnserer. Nimpt er ein Wort für ein Kraut/ so seys wie ein kraut/ vnd wie es dann dergleichen weiter begriffen mag werden. Es soll sich auch niemandts versehen/ das solch wörter Teuffel seyen: Es seindt seine *Species*/ die Character sindt seine *Composita* vnnd Syrupel. Also wachsen sie in dem land da er ist/ daruon sich weiter gebüret zu reden.

Es ist vns auch trefflich zu mercken/ wie die Gschriff von Moyse sagt/ wie dz er auß dem geheiß Gottes/ bey König Pharao vnd allem seinem land groß wunderwerck gethan hatt: Auß einer Gerten ward ein Schlang: Vnnd aber die künstler kamen vnnd machtens eben als wol als er.^a Wiewol die Gschriff diesen Künstlern rauch namen gibt/ so ligt es nicht an den namen: Dann die kunst vermag die namen anderst darzu thun. Nuhn aber wie giengs? Do die Künstler der Schlangen viel gemacht hatten/ do verschluckt Aarons Schlang die andern all: Dann worumb? Gott wolt allein Herr da sein/ vnnd wolt nit/ dz jhm die Menschen in sein gewalt fielen mit jhren künsten: wiewol ers zugeben hat vnd [die] künst von jhm hie warent. Was bedeut dz vns anders/ dann das all vnser sachen nix sind gegen Gottes/ vnd dz wir keiner künsten wissendt sind auff Erden/ müssendt nur warten/ wz vns Gott verhenget oder nit. Also warend auch mehr zeichen vor dem Pharaone eröffnet/ welche allmal von den künstlern hernach auch gethon | 317 | wurdent: sie thetens mit künsten/ *Moyse* aber vnnd *Aaron* ohn kunst. Es ist gleich ein ding hiemit zu verstehen als mit den krancken/ die da gesund gemacht sind worden von *Christo*, vnd seinen Apostlen/ vnd die Artzt habens auch nachgethan/

^a See vis-à-vis.

light of nature. Those are things which, if we are able to master them, we would anger God by not having done so. Moreover, although his arts are not like ours, his is an art as much as ours is. If he takes a word as an herb, then it is like an herb, with everything that follows from this for its comprehension.¹ Indeed, no one should make the mistake of thinking that such words are devils. Those are his *species*, the characters are his *composita* and syrups. Therefore they grow in the land, in which [God] is present, about which more will be said.

We must also pay the closest attention to how Scripture recounts how Moses, based on God's commandment, performed the most miraculous works before Pharaoh and his entire land. A staff became a snake. But then the artists came along and did the same thing.² Although Scripture gives these artists barbaric names, it is not a matter of their names. For art is capable of thrusting such names into a different light. But now what exactly is it that happened? As soon as the artists had made many snakes [from their staffs], Aaron's snake swallowed all the others. Why exactly did this happen? God wanted to be the only lord there; and [God] did not want the human beings to fall under his [Pharaoh's] power with their [Pharaoh's magicians'] arts; though it is admittedly the case that <the> arts here came from him [God]. How else is this to be interpreted other than that all our affairs are nothing compared to God's; and we are not knowledgeable about any sort of arts on earth, and we can only wait to see what God allows us or not. Now then even more signs were revealed before Pharaoh; and all were thereafter done in each case by [Pharaoh's] artists. | 317 | They did these things by means of art; but Moses and Aaron without art. We can apply the same understanding to the patients who were healed by *Christus* and his apostles. For the physicians have followed

¹ The reference of "he" is ambiguous both in the passage and in the metaphysical construct it articulates, since ultimately God has "endowed" the devil with any art or material with which he operates. If it is said that "he takes a word as an herb," this is likewise ambiguous, being capable of signifying the metaphorical equation of herbs with God's word in Jesus' parable of Lk 8:12, or of signifying the devil, who steals away the word of God clothed in the metaphorical image of the herb in that parable.

² Refers to Ex 7:10-12, "Aaron threw down his **staff** before Pharaoh and his officials, and it **became a snake**. The Pharaoh summoned the wise men and the sorcerers; and they also, the magicians of Egypt, did the same by their secret arts. Each one threw down his staff, and they became snakes; but Aaron's staff swallowed up theirs." Magic or its equivalent performs the same way in either case, but it is more powerful and all-encompassing when it is empowered by and in direct fulfillment of the divine will.

viel tausent krancken auffgebracht. Das aber der Namm Zauberer da soll stohn/ das mag nicht sein: es ist ein kunst auß dem liecht der Natur: Also ist es auch ein kunst mit denen in Egypten gesein/ welche noch im liecht der natur nicht erloschen ist. Dann vermag die Natur auß Eisen Kupffer zumachen/ auß den *Liquoribus* Edelgestein zu machen: so vermag sie noch viel mehr in jhr grosse heimlichkeiten. Darumb haben dieselbigen Künstler der kunst halben Gott nit erzürnet/ sonder allein des frevenlichen zufallens/ zu verachten Moisen vnd Aaron: also wolten sie sprechen/ was sagen die zwen Männer das sies Gott geheissen hab/ sie thundts mit den künsten wie wir/ da secht die warzeichen: darumb ward jhr kunst zu nicht/ auff das *Moyses* vnd *Aaron* erkennt würden.

Sagt auch nit die Geschriff/ das Gott spricht/ bin ich nit der/ der die Stummen vnd Gehörlosen gemacht hat/ die Blinden vnd die Gesehenden. Was ist das anders geredt/ dann das er ein Schöpffer ist aller dingen? so wir Gehörlos vnd Stumm geboren werden/ sollen wir drumb Stummen vnd Gehörlos bleiben? Dieweil vnd er der ist/ der vns lernt reden/ dann wie wolten die Kinder auß jhren krefften reden lernen/ so Gott nit wunderbarlich sein hülf mittheilete. So wir nuhn reden können vnnd hören/ so haben wir da Instrumenten zu erfaren/ in Göttlichen wercken/ so weit vns Gott verhengt. Was ist das einer sicht/ vnd weiß nit/ was er sieht? warumb ist der Mensch/ dann das er soll lernen vnd erfaren/ guts vnd böses/ vnnd das gut soll er behalten. So wir kein erfarenheit haben in denen dingen/ jetzt wissen wir von Gott nichts: soll aber dz ein wolstand sein an den Menschen/ der nichts weiß? Kein wissender Mann ist nie in verführung blieben/ jhn hat auch niemandt aberglaubig gesehen. Wo sind die Aberglauben? dann bey denen die nichts verstohnd: wo ist die Hoffart? als allein bey den vnergründten: wo ist die thorheit? als allein bey denen/ die in jren weißheiten bleiben/ vnnd weiter in Gottes weißheit nit faren. | 318 | Vnd darumb so ein kunst geoffenbart wirt/ vnnd sie in jhrem dollen

suit and restored many thousands of patients. Yet the name “sorcerer” should not be applied to this. It is an art that stems from the light of nature.¹ For this reason, it was also an art among those [arts] that existed in Egypt, which has not been extinguished from the light of nature. For if nature is capable of making iron out of copper and turning *liquores* into gemstones, it can do even more in its great mysteries. This is why those artists did not anger God with their art. His anger only resulted from their frivolous overzealousness in holding Moses and Aaron in contempt. It was as if [the zealous] were saying, “How can these two men claim they did this by following God’s commandment? They do what they do by using the arts, just as we do.” There you see the prophetic signs: The art [of Pharaoh’s magicians] came to nothing so that Moses and Aaron should be recognized.

Does not the Scripture also say that God speaks thus: “Am I not the one who has made the dumb and deaf, the blind and the seeing?”² How can this be taken in any other way than that [God] is a creator of all things? Just because we are born without hearing and speech: should we remain dumb and deaf? For he is indeed the one who teaches us to speak, for how else would children learn to speak from their own powers, if he did not miraculously impart his help. Since we can speak and hear, we have the instruments for gaining experience of the divine works, insofar as God permits us to do so. What would that amount to, were someone to see and yet not know what it is that he is seeing? Why else does the human being exist, if not to learn and gain experience of what is good and what is evil, and retain what is good? If we were to have no experience of such things, we would not know what God is. Would that be a proper state of affairs for the human being: to know nothing? No knowledgeable human being ever remained in temptation, nor has anyone [properly] regarded him as superstitious. Where do superstitions reside if not among people who understand nothing? Where do you find arrogance, in not among those without foundation? Where do you find foolishness, but among those who abide in their own wisdoms and do not search deeper in God’s wisdom? | 318 | Moreover, because an art happens to be revealed

¹ Consistent with P.’s other writings, the “**light of nature**” does not contrast with but rather conforms to God’s revealed power in nature. “**It**” refers to healing by means of acceptable magic.

² Ex 4:11 [God to Moses], “‘Who gives speech to mortals? **Who makes them mute or deaf, seeing or blind?** Is it not I, the Lord?’”

Schedel nit mag ergründet werden/ so muß es Teuffelisch vnnd Zauberisch sein. Das ist aber jhr grundt/ auff dem sie ligen/ dz jhr thorheit nit an tag komm/ vnd daß sie als die obersten Zauberer nit für Zauberer gefunden werden. Darumb soll ein jetlicher wissen/ dz ein jetliche hülff auß Gott entsteht: dann weder dem Teuffel noch keim Zauberer sind sie möglich. Vnd ob sie schon Menschlicher verstand nit begreifen mag/ so sind sie doch nicht wider die Geschrifft. Wie aber ein jedlichs zugang/ vnd auff vns komm/ vnnd wie ein mißbrauch hierinn ist/ das [soll] weiter gemerckt werden: auff dz wir die mittel/ so Gott vns beweist/ durch die wir solche ding erlangen/ gründtlich erkennen. Dann einer der da jrr geht/ so jhm ein Dieb den weg wiese/ wer er nicht auch gewiesen? die müssens thun/ die es können vnd wissen.

Auff das so wissent all/ dieweil wir Menschen nackent vnd bloß geboren sind/ vnd bringen weder kunst noch weißheit mit vns/ vnd warten der gnaden Gottes/ was er vns zuschick/ vnd gibt vns nit mehr von freyen stücken/ dann das leben: wir seyen oder werden gesund oder kranck/ das befihlet er der natur: lernen reden/ befihlt er vnseren Eltern: vnd weiter so wir auffwachsen/ müssen wir alle ding hart vnd schwer erlernen/ vnd die wenigest kunst vermögen wir nit. So wir nun müssent lernen/ so muß etwas sein dz nit Menschlich ist/ vnd vns lernet: dann der Mensch kan je im anfang nichts. So wir nun wöllen lernen/ so ist vnser erster grund in Gott/ vnd bekennen den als vnseren Gott/ der vns lernt vnd zuschickt/ was wir bedörffen: vnd so wir alle ding wol ermessen/ so befinden wir/ dz alle ding durch ein mittel beschehen vor das hin/ so Gott die schöpffung auffgericht hatt. Als Gott der Vatter/ da er Himmel vnd Erden beschuff/ da schuff ers ein mittel zusein/ auß denen an vns langen solt dz jenig/ darüber der leib

without those people being able to make sense of it in their inane skulls, [this suggests to them that] it can only be diabolical and [a form of] sorcery. But that is [only] the rationale on which they abide in order to prevent their foolishness from becoming apparent, so that they, who are perhaps the greatest sorcerers, should not be found out as such. This is why everyone should be aware that every sort of help arises from God; for such a thing is not possible either for the devil or for a sorcerer. And even if such things cannot be comprehended by human understanding, they are nonetheless not contrary to Scripture. But as for the way in which each thing proceeds and comes to us, and as for the possibility that there can be abuse in such matters, the following instruction <must> be carefully attended to. It is necessary that we have a fundamental knowledge of the means that God demonstrates to us so that we can arrive at such ends. For anyone who goes astray because a thief has shown him the way, would he not also be shown up.¹ Those who have the ability and the knowledge should do such things.

With respect to this everyone should know that we human beings come into the world naked and bare, bringing with us neither art nor wisdom, and that we must await what the grace of God imparts to us. For without [our] further effort, he gives us little more than life itself. As to whether we are healthy or sick, this he commends to nature. Our learning to speak is the responsibility of our parents. And if we are to develop and mature in additional ways, we must learn all things with much effort and difficulty. We are not [initially] capable in even the least of the arts. But if we are able to learn, there must be something which is not human and this must teach us. For at the very beginning the human being knows nothing at all. If we are indeed resolved to learn, our primary foundation is in God, and we must recognize this as our God who teaches and sends to us what it is we need. Moreover, if we evaluate all things properly, we recognize that all come about as a means for something God is directing the creation towards. Thus God the Father in creating the heavens and the earth made these things to be an intermediate realm (**mittel**)² from which there should extend to

¹ See Grimm, ¹**weisen**, cf. ⁵**weisen**: used twice in the same sentence, the verb “to show” is first neutral and then negative, with the implication that if one listens to the wrong directions, one comes into the wrong.

² See Grimm, **Mittel**: The noun that commonly signifies “means,” “middle,” or “medium” at this point is apparently used by P. to affirm the implication of an intermediary agency of spirit between the Creator and the human creature, something

herrschen soll. Also ist der Mensch ein Herr der Artzney/ ein Herr der Acker/ Wisen/ vnd Weingarten: nit darumb/ daß die Erden vnd Sonn vns dz geben/ Gott gibts nach verordnung diser mittel/ also hatts jhm gefallen. Dergleichen auch die weißheit der künsten/ haben wir auch nicht von vns selbs/ sonder auch durch ein mittel: dasselbig mittel sind die | 319 | vnsichtbaren Geist/ welche zu gleicherweiß/ wie ein Acker der vns frucht gibt/ also die künst von jhnen auch gehen. Von diesen mitlen ist zu reden: es seyend dann Engel oder wie sie Gott genempt/ vnd kommen zu vns. Zu gleicher weiß wie der Engel kam zu *Maria*, vnd sagt/ du bist voller gnaden: wie das offennbar ist/ also werden vns die gnad heimlich mitgetheilt/ vnd ein jedlicher behalt die Gab/ die jhm Gott zuschicket/ dem das/ dem ein anderß/ vnd laß jhms sein ein Englischen groß/ der so vil ist/ als dieselbig Gab.

Also wissent hierauff/ wie köndten wir die Erden bawen/ vnnd wissen dieselben zu herrschen/ wie jhr zugehört/ so wir nit ein vbermenschlichs liecht hetten dz vns lernete? Nun sind alle künst vollkommen in den Geistern/ sie seyden gut oder böß: auß jnen muß an vns kommen/ dann sie als ein mittel das geben/ (als dann die Sonn den Sommer vnd schein) dz wir auff Erden können: dann von vns selbs ist nichts da. So es nun von jnen kommen soll vnd muß/ so müssen wir am aller ersten den *Affectum* haben auff dasselb: so die begierligkeit in vns ist/ so soll sie ohn alle mittel in Gott stehn: Auff solches gohnd die geheiß Gottes/ du Engel oder Geist lern den dz/ oder das/ auff dz er

us those things over which the body should rule. This is why the human being is a master of medicine, [a] master of fields and meadows and vineyards. This is not so because the earth and the sun [simply] yield these things to us. God gives them in accordance with his ordaining of means, as it has pleased him to do. The same is true of the wisdom of the arts which we do not have from our own power but rather likewise through a means. These means are the | 319 | invisible spirits which are such that the arts yield us something in the same manner as a field yields to us its fruits. It is about these means that one must speak, whether they are angels or whatever God chooses to come to us. In the same way that the angel came to *Maria* and told her, “you are full of grace,”¹ just as that [has been made] evident, the [gifts of] grace are also mysteriously communicated to us, and everyone retains the gift God sent him, to the one this, to the other that, and each should accept it as an angelic greeting, which amounts to as much as that same gift.

Moreover, you should ask yourselves with respect to this how we could ever know how to till the earth and master it as is proper, if there were not a supernatural light that taught us these things?² The fact is that all the arts are perfect in the spirits, whether they are good or evil [spirits]. It is from them that [such things] must come to us, for as an intermediary they give it to us (in the same way that the sun gives us summer and the sunshine) so that we are able to [sustain ourselves] on earth. For from ourselves, there is nothing there. Since it therefore should and must come from them, we must above all have an *affectus*³ for the same. If the desire is within us, then it should hold fast to God⁴ without any sort of intermediary. That is the thrust of the commands of God: “You, angel or spirit, teach this to him so he will

categorically excluded in Luther’s contemporaneous theology (cf. 8,e: “in den dingen die gott anlangen, und in welchen gott mit dem menschen, und er mit gott zu thun hat, on mittel jrgend einer creatur,” Luther; or (9), used in the sense of an “intermediary” or “mediation”).

¹ See Lk 1:28ff. On the peculiarities of P.’s veneration of the **Virgin Mary** as divine and his interpretation of the “Ave Maria” and “Magnificat,” see Gause 47-73. Here the paradigmatically mediating role of Mary between God and humanity is relevant to matters of the arts and gifts, natural magic, and medical authority.

² Notice that this seemingly arbitrary postulation of a first **supernatural teacher** avoids the necessity of ascribing to Adam the bad precedent of innovation.

³ See OLD, *affectus*: a permanent mental or moral disposition; eagerness, zeal.

⁴ See Grimm, *stehen* (II,C,5,b): to insist on or remain steadfast in (Zwingli: “stond in der fryheit”).

die Gab hab. Dann hierauß folget/ dz wir berüfft sind vnd zum affect gezwungen/ der in dem/ der ander in disem. Nun auff solches wirt das geheiß durch den Engel oder Geist außgericht: jetzt haben wir gewalt zu lernen dz jenig/ dz wir begeren: vnd so wir in dem weg nit stond/ vnd würden gleich doll in vnser Fantasey/ so möchten wir nicht lernen ein Bley zerlahn. Also macht auß vns Gott wies jhm fügt: dem hat er geben die findung der Buchstaben/ dem andern das Handtwerck der Schmidt/ dem andern das Seittenspiel/ vnd also einem jetlichen/ was dann noth auff Erden gesein ist: vnd dasselbig dermassen versehen/ dz wir die ding nach dem ersten Erfinder/ einanderen selbs lernen. Was aber dem Menschen nit müglich ist zu lernen/ von jm selbs/ dz muß gehn auß der ordnung/ wie hie gemelt ist. Vnd also zu gleicher weiß/ wie der groß *Mariae* geben ward/ darauff sie dann voller Gnaden war: also werden auch die gnaden außgeteilt vber vns.^a Vnd alles dz wir erfinden/ das nimpt alles also sein vrsprung. Darumb sol sich niemandt darumb bekümmern lassen/ durch wz | 320 | mittel solch ding an vns langet: sonder das sollen wir dahin hoffen/ es kom durch böß oder gut Geist/ daß sie dz alles thuent auß dem geheiß Gottes. Dann Gott will das jhm alles gehorsam sey/ vnd das wir sein gewalt vnd mechtigkeit sehen vnd spüren/ in der Hell als wol/ als in dem Himmel/ vnd das er will/ das vns/ seinen erwöhlten/ was im Himmel vnd Hellen sind/ dienen.

Dieweil nun böß vnd gut Geist/ alle Creaturen sind/ so ist auch das ein Creatur/ daß sie können: Also haben sie nichts von jhnen selbs/ sonder alles von Gott/ was da ist. Wie kan dann einer sagen/ daß er vom Teüffel lern? dieweil der Teüffel kein Gott ist? So muß doch ein jetlicher bekennen/ das nit ein Vogel auff die Erden flöge/ so jn Gott nit darauff sendete: Nit ein Nesseln wüchse/ so es nit Gottes geheiß were. Gefiel Gott nit/ dz wirs solten haben/ er ließ vns nicht zu stehen: dieweil ers vns zustehn last/ so müssen wir je hierinn ermessen/ das vns Gott darmit nicht arg meindt/ sonder in gutem vnd auß Göttlichen treüwen. Was ist denn args in disen künsten? Nichts dann

^a P.'s interpretation of the *Ave Maria* and the *Magnificat* places the Mother of God into the dynamic of the Trinity (cf. Gause, 55ff.); here the exaltation of Maria mirrors the divine dispensation to humans.

have the gift of God.” In consequence of this, then, we have our calling and are compelled to the disposition, one person in this, another in that. To this end the command is carried out by the angel or the spirit: now we have the power to learn what we desire. And if we were not positioned in this path, and instead became mad in our fantasy, we could never learn to dissolve lead. God thus makes of us what he chooses: to this person he gave the discovery of letters, to the other one the craft of the smithy, to a third playing on the strings, and thus to each whatever is necessary on earth, whereby all of this is to be understood in the sense that all of us follow the first discoverer [of these arts] in learning them from one another. However, that which the human being cannot possibly learn of himself has to proceed from the order as I have described it here. That is, in the same way the greeting was delivered to Maria, whereupon she was full of grace, just so are the [endowments of] grace distributed among us. Moreover, everything that we discover has this same kind of origin. For this reason, no one should worry about the question by what | 320 | mediation things of this kind reach us. Instead we should simply hope to the effect that whether it should come by way of an evil spirit or by a good one, in either case they bring it to us at the command of God. For God wants everything to be obedient to him; [he wants] us to recognize and sense his authority and sovereignty in hell as well as in heaven; he wants whatever is in heaven and hell to serve us, his chosen ones.

Since indeed both the evil and the good spirits are in either case creatures, that which they are masters of is also creatural;¹ in consequence of this, they have nothing from themselves, but rather everything present [is] from God. How, then, should it be possible for anyone to say that he learns from the devil? Particularly given that the devil is not a god. In consequence, each and everyone must confess that not a single bird flies upon earth without having been sent there by God.² Not a single nettle grows without this being God’s commandment. If it were not God’s pleasure for us to have this [art or skill], he would not let it accrue to us. But since it does, we must assume in these matters that God did not mean ill by us with them, but rather [meant] the good and out of divine faithfulness. What is then

¹ P. does not mean that the art mastered by the spirits is an animate being, but rather that it is something created by God (**Creatur**) and therefore not eternal.

² A variant of the thought expressed in Mt 10:29, [Jesus]: “Are not two sparrows sold for a penny? Yet not one of them will fall to the ground apart from your father.”

allein das/ daß wir selbst arg machen. Betten vnd Fasten ist gut: dann sie treiben die Teüffel auß: klopfen vnd anleütten ist auch gut: also sind alle die ding gut vnnd vns zu gutem erlaubt vnd befohlen zu brauchen. Aber das ist nit gut/ daß wir Betten vnd Fasten pflegen/ wie die *Tetrici*:^a das ist/ daß wir sollen vnser angesicht weschen als wissen wir nicht drumb/ daß hertz/ vnnd nicht das maul rüen: Jetzt folgt auß dem/ daß denen Fasten vnd Betten zu argem dienet. Nit das Fasten vnd Betten darumb böß sey: das ist aber böß/ das hinzu gelegt wirt. Auff das so wissent/ dieweil nuhn Gott durch ein solchen gruß die Gaben auff vns fallen last/ ein jetlichen zu seim beruff: dann wir berüffens auff vns:^b so sollen wir sie nicht Tetricisch führen: das ist/ wir dörfen keiner Ceremonien darzu: dann das wer der falsch/ so wir wolten söliche ding erlangen/ oder erlangt hetten/ vnd wölten von vns nit ohn mittel zu Gott gehen: Jetzt vberfelts in vnsern dingen/ durch welche Ceremonien vns Gott nicht hat geheissen erlangen. Vnd widerumb so vns Gott den gruß der gnaden schickt/ vnnd die selbigen gnad wölten wir mit Ceremonien erhalten: jetzt we| 321 |ren wir nahent in der Abgötterey. In disesen dingen allen soll vns *Maria* ein beyspiel sein/ die voller gnaden war: kein *Ceremonia* werde vor noch nach gebraucht/ in denselben fußstapfen sollen wir wandlen: dann sie ist nit jrrgangen/ darumb wir auch nicht jrr gohnd/ so wir jhrem weg nachgohndt: aber alle andere weg sind jrr.

Aber von den Ceremonien zu reden/ gelüestet mich euch jhr krefft zu erzehlen. Dann nit allein solchs mir zu meim fürnemmen dienstlich ist/ sonder auch weiter: nemlich in der gestalt/ daß Gott allein das Hertz haben will vnd nit die Ceremonien: er will auch herwiderumb/ dieweils vnser Hertz von jm erlangt/ daß wir solches im hertzen wider außtheilen. Dann was wir also erlangen von Gott/ daß erlangen wir vmb sonst: in dem weg solls wider außgohn. So wirs würden mit Ceremonien verflecken/ so treten wir in die hoffart/ der Gott nicht hold ist. Will hie bey den *Ceremoniis*, daß alle *Ceremoniae* derglei-

^a These are among the false works-righteous hypocrites: “von den saduceern, *tetricis*, phariseern, ist ir fasten in ein ungerechtikeit gerechnet worden” (S 14:346).

^b Sudhoff (343) puts the following in parentheses: “dan wir berufens auf uns”; V (334 *verso*) has none.

foul in these arts? Nothing except what we ourselves render foul. Prayer and fasting is good, for they expel the devil. Knocking¹ and ringing is also a good thing. All things are good and we are indeed allowed to make use of them for good purposes and even commanded to do so. But it is not a good thing if we make a practice of prayer and fasting, as do the *tetrici*.² By this I mean, we should wash our countenance as if we did not know anything about it; and our heart, not our mouth, should be moved.³ From this it follows that [there are] those to whom fasting and prayer can serve bad ends. This does not mean that fasting and prayer are for that reason bad things: what is bad is that which is added to it. In addition to this, you should be aware that because God lets the gifts descend on us by means of a greeting such as this, [summoning] each to his calling (for we apply it to ourselves), this is why we should not conduct [our callings] tetrically. By this I mean that we do not need any ceremonies. For that would be the falsehood if we were to want to attain certain things, or claimed to have attained them; and if we wanted to approach God not without any intermediary. In that case we would be overwhelmed in our actions because God has not commanded us to attain [his grace] by means of ceremonies of this sort. But if we do the opposite after God has sent us the greeting of grace, and try to obtain those graces by means of ceremonies, | 321 | we are close to idolatry. In all such matters, *Maria* who was full of grace should set an example for us. She had no need of any *ceremonia* either before or after. We should walk in her footsteps; for she did not go astray. In consequence, neither will we as long as we follow after her. But all other paths are erroneous.

But as for the ceremonies, I would gladly tell you of their powers. This serves not only purposes such as mine but others as well. The crux of the matter is that God only desires the heart and not the ceremonies. However, insofar as our heart reaches him, he wants us in turn to distribute [his love] in our heart. For that which we receive from God we attain for free. In that same way it should go back out again. If we were to defile this with ceremonies, we would enter into a state of arrogance, to which God is not favorably disposed. When I speak here about *ceremoniae*, I intend that all *ceremoniae* should be

¹ Lk 11:9, see H 1:242.

² *Tetricus*: frowning, stern, severe (OLD); the Pharisees are meant.

³ P. loosely follows Jesus' injunctions in Mt 6:1-13 not to pray like the hypocrites (who pray "so that they may be seen by others").

chen verstanden werden/ dann sie sind vrsach/ daß hierinn der namm Abgötterey billich gebraucht mag werden. Vnd will euch also mit solchen Exemplen vnderrichten. Wir haben von *Christo* ordnung vnd leer/ vnd nemlich/ kein gewalt/ hinzu noch daruon zu thun/ dieselbig trifft ein jetlichen Menschen an. Dann ein jetlicher Mensch ist jhm selbs der nechst bey Gott/ vnnd hatt vollen gewalt sein sachen gegen Gott zu fertigen. So nun aber der Mensch der ist/ der solchen gewalt auß seiner hand gibt/ vnd behalt das nit/ daß jhm Gott geben hatt/ vnd befilchts eim anderen/ vnd sucht jhn beim selbigen: jetzt falt er in die Ceremonien/ vnnd hangt an der verzweiffung. Dann ein jetlich *Ceremonia* ist der verzweiffung trotten. Nuhn volgt auß dem/ dieweil solcher gewalt auß der handt geben wirt/ so wirt auch auß der hand geben der Glaub/ vnd all seine krefft: vnnd im selbigen dahin es geben wirt/ erstehndt die Ceremonien auff. Daß sind jetzt die *Ceremoniae*, ein eusserlichen schein zu geben den dingen/ so dahin vertrauwt sind worden. Dann der den Glauben auß der hand gibt/ der ist des Glaubens beraubt/ vnd der hatt jhn/ dem er jhn geben hatt. So viel er nuhn dran außzuteilen hatt/ so viel zahlt er: diese zahlung/ steht bey Gott/ es gelt so viel/ so viel sein Göttlicher | 322 | will sey: ob es böß oder gut sey/ stand auch bey seinem Göttlichen willen: er wirdt die hertzen ansehen in denen dingen.

Nuhn aber/ das ich den Ceremonien ein außtrag mache/ so wissendt/ daß sie je nit sein sollen. Dann haben wir etwas gegen Gott zuerwerben/ so sicht er die hertzen/ vnd nit die Ceremony: hatt er vns etwas geben/ so will er auch nit/ daß wirs in *Ceremoniis* verbrauchen/ sonder mit vnserer arbeit. Dann er gibt nichts anders dann das/ dardurch wir Gott lieben von hertzen/ krefftten vnd gantzem gemüt/ vnd darmit wir dem nechsten helffen können: So es dahin dienet/ daß er vns gibt/ so werde aller Ceremony vergessen. Also wie eingerissen sind *Ceremoniae*^a in alle ding/ vnd verderbt den eigenen gewalt:

^a A useful context for this notion is given in the *Liber de Superstitionibus et Ceremoniis* (S 14:359ff.): the Bible offers precedents of divine supernaturalism, but the human reproduction by means of ceremony and image has a corrupting effect giving rise to ceremonies and superstitions among the common people (360). Catholic rites and practices are willfully merged with folk superstition in P.'s diatribe. See also P.'s early condemnation in *De Septem Punctis Idolatriae Christianae* of all external rituals or sacraments as "unnütz kirchengehn, üppige feier, vergebens petten [Beten] und fasten, almosen geben, opfern, zechenten, biffel, dreißigst jarzeit, peichten, sacrament nemben und all ander dergleichen priesterliche gebott" (G 3:33).

understood in the same way. For they are the reason why the term idolatry is applicable in such matters. Moreover, I intend to instruct you with examples such as the following. From the order and teaching of *Christus* we most definitely have no power to add or subtract anything. For it applies to everyone [equally]. For each and every person is in himself or herself the closest (**der nechst**)¹ to God, and has the complete authority to see to his or her own affairs with respect to God. However, insofar as it is the human being who throws away such authority rather than retaining what God has given to him by referring it to someone else, and by seeking authority in the other: precisely through this, he falls into the ceremonies and becomes bound to despair. For each and every *ceremonia* is downtrodden² with despair. Moreover, it follows that whenever such authority is thrown away, faith departs with it, with all its powers. In the process of giving it away, the ceremonies raise themselves up. Indeed, the very purpose of the *ceremoniae* is to lend an external appearance to the things that have been entrusted to the wrong instance. For whoever surrenders faith from his own hands has thereby been robbed of faith; and the one to whom it has been given has it thenceforth. What ever one possesses that can be given away is how much one pays. The payment is known to God. It amounts to as much as his divine | 322 | will. Whether it is good or evil also depends on his divine will. God will examine our hearts in these matters.

In order to conclude this discussion of the ceremonies, you should be aware that they should not exist. For if we desire something from God, he examines our hearts and not the ceremonies. If he has endowed us with something, he does not want us to waste it in *ceremoniae* but rather [we should make use of it] with our labor. For he gives nothing but that by virtue of which we love God with all our hearts, powers, and entire mind, and so that we may help our neighbor.³ If that purpose is served which he gives to us, then all ceremonies are forgotten. So you can see how much the *ceremoniae* have had their

¹ See Grimm, **Nächste**: used here in the sense of nearest in relation (2), rather than neighbor or fellow.

² See Grimm, **trotten** (2): from treading grapes for wine, used metaphorically for “oppressed.”

³ Paraphrases Mt 22:34-40, Mk 12:30-31, Lk 10:27-28, [Jesus answers the question of a lawyer, what is written in the law] “You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your strength, and with all your mind; and **your neighbor** as yourself.”

solches hatt auch verderbt die kunst *Magica*: das ist daruon ich jetzund schreib/ ist dahin kommen/ daß ohn die Ceremonien nit sollen will. Dann zu gleicherweiß/ wie wir gegen Gott handeln ohn eröffn-
 ung des hertzens: also sollen wir auch hie handeln in diser kunst: dann wir sind all gleich gwaltig/ einer wie der ander. Nun aber daß diser gewalt nit für sich gang/ ist es dahin gebracht worden/ dz Satan ein Anfenger ist/ dz wir solcher krefft nit gebrauchen sollen/ die *Ceremoniae* lauffen denn vor. Was sind nun die Ceremonien diser künsten? gleisnerisch Fasten vnd Betten: wie die Phariseer vor dem Volck ein spiegel machend/ also muß hie dem Teuffel die Phariseisch weiß auch gebraucht werden/ mit der Zahl/ mit der Zeit/ vnnnd mit mancherley Abstinenz/ mit viel Segen vnnnd Benedeyung/ mit Weyhwasser/ vnd dergleichen. Also hat es der Teuffel vnder sein händ gebracht/ welcher etwas dermassen erlangen wölle von Gott/ der müsse Gottes vergessen/ vnd dise *Ceremonias* brauchen/ als dann gang das für sich/ darumb ers thue. Nun vrtheil die Theologye/ wie die ding zu ermessen sind: dann zu gleicher weiß/ wie die Menschen gegen einander leben/ vnd wandlen/ in verführung jhrs gewalts: also ist es auch mit den gemelten Geistern.

Nit das ich wöll *Petro* in sein gewalt geredt haben: daß will ich aber gemelt han/ das ein jetlicher sein geruhet hertz bey jhm selbs hab. Darumb ich aber dieses red/ ist die vrsach/ daß die Character nit Wörter/ noch Nammen sind: aber die Ceremo| 323 |nischen/ die habens in die wörter gebracht/ vnd nammen/ damit die Geist herinnen angesehen würden/ gleich als wenn man dem Geist nit rüffte/ so solts nichts. Das ist gleich so viel als wenn man *Petro* nit gute wörter geb/ so würd die huld vor Gott verloren sein. Dieweil aber *Petrus* vnd die Geist knecht sind/ vnd was sie geheissen werden/ das müssen sie thun: darauß dann volgt/ heist *Christus Petrum* ledigen/ so muß ers thun/

bad effect on everything and ruined the authority that one should possess oneself. Moreover, this has also ruined the art [which is] *magica*.¹ I am writing about this [art] now because it does not want to do without ceremonies. In the same way that we behave toward God without opening our hearts, we are now conducting ourselves with this art. We all have equal powers, the one as much as the other. However, in order that this power should not advance, it has been presented in such a way as if Satan were its initiator, so that we will not make use of such powers unless the *ceremoniae* have first been performed. What do the ceremonies really amount to in these arts? A hypocritical fasting and praying of the kind which the Pharisees presented as a model for the people. And thus here too, for the sake of the devil the pharisaical manner must be utilized: by means of number, by means of time, and involving certain kinds of abstinence, with blessings and benedictions, with holy water and other things of this sort. This is how the devil has brought this under his control, [as if] whoever wanted to attain something with God had to forget about God and utilize the *ceremoniae* instead, as if the affair were advancing [only] because [the devil] had willed it to happen. You can leave it to the judgment of theology to decide how these things should be assessed. For just as the human beings live and act with respect to one another, abusing their powers, the same happens with the aforesaid spirits.

My purpose is not to usurp what is in the power of *Petrus*; but I do want to make the point that everyone should preserve the peace of his own heart. The cause of my saying this is that the characters are not words or names. But the ceremonial [abusers] | 323 | have reduced them to words and names so that the spirits would be understood to be invested in these, as if without [thus] calling the spirits it should not have any effect. That is as if we were to claim that unless one were to say good words to *Petrus*, the favor of God would be lost. But since both *Petrus* and the spirits are subordinate, whatever is commanded of them they must do. From this it follows then that if *Christus* commands *Petrus* to set someone free, he must indeed do so. If he com-

¹ Here and in the following, the discussion of **ceremonies in magic** (an alternate to image magic) parallels the theological debate of the Reformation concerning works or ceremonies such as the mass as opposed to the Lutheran rule of *sola fidei* (from which the works of love for one's fellows should follow). P. is close to Luther in choosing the inner over the outer. He is unorthodox in applying this choice to magic.

heist ers binden/ so muß ers thun: vnd so ers thut/ so hats krafft im Himmel vnd auff Erden. Dann also ist sein Ampt/ vnd wartet mit dem Ampt auff den geheiß Gottes. So wir nun solten *Petrum* für Gott erkennen/ so möcht ers jedoch nicht thun/ er würdts dann vorhin geheissen. Also wissent auch/ daß allein die Ceremonien in *Petrum* weisen: dieselbigen dermassen stohnd auch gegen den Geistern/ vnd dahin gericht/ daß der/ der zu heissen hatt/ vergessen wirt/ vnd die knecht an sein statt gesetzt: jetzt wirt im hauß regiret wie es mag/ da spilen Meuß vnd Ratzen/ da tantzt das Hofgesind/ dann der Herr ist hinweg. Also einer der da will dise kunst verachten/ [von wegen des mißbrauchs] der sol die kunst nit in verachtung setzen/ sonder daß sie den knechten zugemessen werden: da ligt die Abgötterey: vnd die kunst beweists an jhr selbs/ vnnd ist in den weg also zerrissen/ daß sie weder helfen noch rahten kan. Also gehts in einem jetlichen haußhalten/ da der Herr nit daheimen ist: wöllen die Knecht Herr sein/ sie müssen mancherley anfahen/ auff daß sie jhr fürnemmen verklägen. Vnd dieweil sie des Herrn krafft vnd macht nit haben/ vnd werden aber darumb angerüfft/ daß sie zeichen thünd/ vnd aber sie mögens nit: so müssens die außred suchen/ du hast nit recht gefastet/ du hast nit recht gebeichtet/ darumb hab dir die schmitzen/ etc. also werden die Folger der Ceremonien abgefertiget/ mit dem thumben saltz dz nichts sol/ dann in dreck zuwerffen.

Dieweil nun der Glaub mit den Knechten also handelt/ so wirt viel erfolgt: das ist/ viel beschicht in den dingen: wiewol es die Knecht antrifft/ daß es ein fürgang hat/ als vil söllicher Nammen sind die zeichen thünd.^a Dieweil nuhn aber der Glaub vnnd der gewalt von vns anweg ist/ vnd geben dem/ dem es nit befohlen ist zugeben: so ist Gott

^a Sudhoff (346): "tunt."

manded him to bind, then he must do that.¹ And if he does so, he has the power in heaven and on earth. For that is his office and in it he awaits the command of God. If we were to recognize *Petrus* as God, he would not do anything of the kind unless he had previously been commanded to [by God].² Accordingly, you should also be aware that the ceremonies only direct us to *Petrus*, just as in that other case they point toward the spirits, and [in either case] in the sense that the one whose command it was is forgotten and the servants put in his place. Therefore, now any sort of governance can rule in the household; the mice and rats can play; the house servants can dance; for the master is away. Accordingly, those who are inclined to hold the art in contempt <on account of its abuse> should not do so, but should rather direct their scorn at the fact that [its powers] have been attributed to the servants. That is the real idolatry. You can see this in the art. It has been misconstrued and fragmented to the point that it is no longer good for help or counsel. That is precisely the way things happen in any household when the master of the house is not at home. If the servants would be master, they had better get busy with many things to make their project look a little better. Even though they do not have the forces and powers of their master, they receive appeals to produce signs, which they cannot do, so they fall back on excuses: “You did not fast properly.” “You did not confess properly.” “Therefore you must have these blows,” etc. That is how the followers of the ceremonies are finished off: with the stale salt which is good only for casting into the dirt.

When faith behaves with the servants in such a way, a great deal is accomplished. I mean by this that much [then] happens in such affairs. However, it [is not] because of the servants who enact many names and signs that there is [such] advancement. Though it has come to pass that faith and power have departed from us and been given to one

¹ This alludes to the pastoral authority over the flock entrusted to Peter by Jesus in Jn 21, traditionally said to be his power “**to bind and dissolve.**” In rejecting ceremonies, P. insists that this is really the authority of Jesus. Notice that one of the most powerful and popular religious impulses of the age, opposition to the Church as gatekeeper holding the keys of St. Peter, is harnessed here in favor of a rehabilitated magic.

² The German of the first sentence of this paragraph is ambiguous: Is P. asserting that he would not contest the traditional power of Peter to hold the keys to heaven, or instead merely stating that he would not claim such power for himself? Here the matter is resolved in the sense that all power is vested solely in God.

ein gleicher Richter/ der manchen brauchen will/ vnnd viel ansicht an seinem | 324 | Werckzeug/ verhenckt viel/ nicht angesehen den Knecht/ sondern den Menschen selbst. Das ist ein grosse vrsach/ das er dem hingebere sein Glauben bestät: daß stand bey seim Göttlichen willen: Niemandt gang in die versuchung/ niemandts wart auff das heil. Alle ding sollen in Gott ersuchet werden: was er darnach seine Heiligen heist das geschehe/ es sey dieser oder jener/ er heiß es Geist [Engel] oder Teuffel. Dann also sind die Geist auch geheissen worden vnd zuleren vnd zu helffen/ damit vns guts von freunden vnd feinden beschehe. Das ist nun offenbar worden/ dem liecht der Natur/ daß die Geist die künst haben an tag bracht. Auff solchs/ da solchs in gutem wissen erfahren ist gesein/ da seind dieselbigen Geist angerüfft worden/ als theten sie es auß jhrem eigenen willen/ vnnd vergessen/ daß sie auß dem geheiß Gottes sollich bezwungen sind worden/ vnd durch die Chaldeer/ Persier/ vnd Egyptier/ nach Magischer vnderricht/ derselben Geist nammen erfahren/ vnnd dieselben für Götter auffgeworffen. Als wenn man viel wolte suchen bey den Heiligen/ vnd Gottes befelch were nicht da/ so vermögen sie nichts: dann sie sind nuhr Knecht. Also sind die Nammen behalten worden: vnnd da sie es nit haben wöllen thun/ wie sie es vermeint haben/ haben sie mit jhren eygen Geistern gespilt/ vnd die Ceremonien mit Fasten vnnd Betten vnd dergleichen auffgesetzt/ wie dann der Jud Salomon sein Spiegel^a vnd Moses *L[i]brum Consecrationis*:^b vnd also für vnnd für gemehret/

^a In P.'s *Liber de Imaginibus* the perversion of ceremonial magic is of Solomonic origin. Conjuring the spirits, "müß man gewaltige coniurationes tun gegen allen vier enden der welt, mit laut rufender stimm, und darzu gehören noch vil ceremoniae, circul machen, rauchwerk, casteien, auch reine heilige kleidung **Salomonis** und seine sigilla, das alles ein lauter affen spil und verführung vom teufel ist" (S 13:381). If his heritage is negative, it can be transformed by the Law/Gospel conversion. *Astronomia Magna* says of the supernatural powers and wisdom of the Hebrew ancients: "alle die sterke der alten, alle ire weisheit, Salomonis und andere, sind sterk und weisheit der neuen geburt ... durch wasser und den geist, der uns incarnirt von dem neuen Adam der Christus ist..." (S 12:330). Solomon's wisdom was God's gift revealed through him to human beings (S 14:224, 249, 345). Plausibly, V (337) has either "spil" or "sigil" [?] in place of "Spiegel" and "großes [not "Moses"!]" librum consecracionis."

^b *De Occulta Philosophia*, characterized as spurious but included by Sudhoff in volume 14, addresses "alle ceremonias, coniurationes, consecrationes" (513) Under "*De Consecrationibus*," a book is mentioned as a source for magic: "die ceremoniae nicht sollen daher gezogen und gebraucht werden, wie dan der jud Salomon beschriben hat in seinem buch, welches die nigromantici claviculam Salomonis nennen" (514). In the same context, consecration also refers to the sacraments of marriage, baptism, and the Eucharist (515).

to whom we had no authorization to cede them, God is an impartial judge who might still make use of all kinds, and [he is a judge] who takes into account (**ansicht**)¹ many things in his | 324 | instrument, [and who] allows much without regard for the servant, but rather for the human being himself. This is a powerful cause of his conceding faith to the one who has given it away: It resides in his divine will. No one should enter into temptation, no one demand salvation. All things should be sought in God. In accordance with this, whatever he commands of his saints will happen, whether by this agent or that, whether it [is by the agency of] a spirit <angel> or devil. For the spirits have been commanded to teach and to assist so that good should come to us from friends and enemies alike. It has become apparent to the light of nature that the spirits have brought the arts into the light of day. In this respect, since [this disclosure] has come about in good instruction, those same spirits have been summoned up as if they could do it of their own accord; and [people have] forgotten that it was the commandment of God which compelled them to do such things. Moreover, [people have learned] through the Chaldeans, Persians, and Egyptians from magical instructions, how to find out the names of those spirits and they have made them out to be gods.² It is the same as if one were to try to seek after many things with the saints; even though without God's commandment nothing could happen, and they would be without powers. For they are after all only servants. Thus, the names were retained, and since these did not deign to act the way they had thought, they instead played with their own spirits and built up the ceremonies involving fasting and praying and that sort of thing, as the Jew Solomon with his mirror and Moses with his *L[i]brum Consecrationis*,³ and so more and more was added on, [because they

¹ See Grimm, **ansehen** (9): the way God regards the creature may either forgive or condemn.

² In the Bible, the magic of ancient peoples is conceded, but also subordinated (as in the account of Moses, Aaron, and the Pharaoh's magicians) to the supreme power of God. For P., names and ceremonies appear decisive to the degeneration of licit magic into illicit **idolatry** or sorcery: the latter is equivalent to the false worship of saints and to a false use of sacraments and ceremonies, whether by Anabaptists or Catholics.

³ **Solomon** as "mirror" calls to mind *Ecclesiastes* and the mirror as an exemplary standard of conduct for members of an estate. See Grimm, "Spiegel" (4d) was used by Luther for the Decalogue. Negatively, a *specularius* is a "mirror-sorcerer" (MLLM). Moses and the "**Book of Consecration**" may refer to a work of magic (cf. vis-à-vis) or possibly to Leviticus. (See TRE, "Salomon II": in rabbinical tradition, Solomon struggles with Aschmodai, prince of demons (cf. H 1:289), in building the Temple.

vermeint hiemit etwas außzurichten. Was jhn aber begegnet/ ist eyttel Neßlen/ vnd dumm ding/ wie dann aller Knechten arbeit ist/ mit denen der Herr nichts zu schaffen hatt. Also erkennen vnsichtig vnnd sichtig Bäpst/ die Herren vnd nicht Knecht sein wöllen/ vnd wie ein jetlich Priesterthumb zuhalten sey.

Nuhn ist des glaubens krafft vnd macht/ wen wir jhn also auß der handt geben/ so haben wir jhn nimmern: Das bleib nun stehn/ wie es erzellet ist. Aber weiter zuerzehlen die krefft/ die manncherley sindt: Als mann saget/ der kan ein Wundtsegen/ niemandts kan jhn weder hawen noch stechen/ der kan auff dem Schwerdt gehen/ der für schiessen/ etc. Das ist nuhn ein weg. Item ein ander weg ist: Der kan die oder die kranck|heit 325 |heit vertreiben mit Segen oder dergleichen/ als die Geschöß/ Gesücht/ Blut stellen/ Kaltwee/ etc. Also auch zum dritten: Der kan das oder jennes Kraut beschweren/ dz dises oder jenes thut. Item der kan Liebe zertrennen oder machen: vnnd wie sie dann vnter disen vier geschlechtern gefunden mögen werden/ wirdt hernach außgelegt. Nun aber vor allen am Ersten so wissent/ das viel vppiger *Superstitiones* hie mit lauffen/ die von den Alten nit gehalten seind worden/ sondern von verzweifelten Buben die viel vnchristlichs hierin gemischt haben/ ohn des Teuffels Rathschlag nicht beschehen/ das lästerlich wer hie zuerzehlen. Aber eins ist von Alters herkommen: Trifft an den Venusberg/^a darinn sie sich solche

^a P.'s theological polemics of this same era treat adherence to the "venusberg" as symbolic of the path that chooses damnation rather than the kingdom of God (G 3:212; cf. H 1:327, note on *De Secretis Secretorum*).

thought] that by this something could be brought about. But what they met with was nothing but nettles and silly stuff, as always happens with the labor of servants when the master is not involved in the matter. Thus arises the recognition of invisible and visible popes, who want to be both masters and servants, and [thus there arises the power through which] every sort of priesthood is maintained.¹

However, there is still a measure of the power and might of faith when we give it out of our hands in this way. We never have it from then on. Things then remain in the state of affairs I have explained. But more should be said about these powers which are of various kinds. For example, people say that this person masters a wound blessing² so that no one can strike or cut him. He can walk on a sword, and he can rush forward [in battle], etc. However, this is only the one modality. Here is another. Someone can ward off this or that disease [325] with a magical benediction or other such thing, for example rheumatic ailments (**Geschöb**),³ chronic circulatory ailments in the extremities (**Gesüchte**),⁴ the staunching of bleeding, the cold fever (**Kaltwee**),⁵ etc. Here is a third instance: Someone is able to invoke [the powers] of this herb or that so it has a particular effect. Someone else can cause bonds of love to be separated or conjoined. The way in which people are healed in these four categories [of magical healing] will be explained hereafter. But here you should first of all be aware that these things are accompanied by many lascivious *superstitiones*. The ancients did not harbor these; but many unchristian things have since been added by desperate rascally lads. These additions did not come about without the counsel of the devil. To recount them here would be blasphemous. Nonetheless, one thing in particular is of ancient origin. It has to do with the Mount of Venus in which [those ras-

The initially exemplary ruler later falls prey to hubris and becomes guilty of transgression. His foreign wives introduce idolatry.) The extended context is intended to position the emergence of corrupting ceremonies within a Jewish Law superseded by Gospel faith.

¹ The anticlerical denunciation of **priesthood** accords with P.'s radical assertion (H 1:322) that, "We all have equal powers, the one as much as the other."

² See **Wundsegen** (see H 2:92). Much attention was given to magical means of making soldiers invincible.

³ See Grimm, **Geschosz** (3): this very citation is given in the definition.

⁴ See Grimm, **Gesüchte** (5): the term is generalized and frequently used by P. in his surgical writings.

⁵ See Grimm, **Kaltweh**: commonly identified as a distinct ailment in the 16th century ("cold pain").

Characteres erlangt zu haben/ angesagt haben. Nuhn ist nicht minder/ es ist etwas daran: Dann wie die Vnholden jhr Bulschafft haben auff dem Höberg/^a vnnnd da zusammen kommen/ vnd erlangen von den Geistern/ künst/ damit sie vmbgondt. Also haben auch die Mann ein Höberg/ den sie den Venusberg heissen (ist aber nicht der Venusberg/ vonn dem das Carnüffel spilen stehet). Da sie dergleichen zusammen kommen vnd der Teuffel in einer Frawen gestalt/ zu einer Frawen wirdt/ der jhn auch solche Character anzeigt vnnnd fürhelt mit jhren *Ceremoniis*. Was sie für krafft haben/ oder wo sie genommen werden/ das wirdt nachfolgendt außgelegt. Also wissent/ dz jhr auff solche ding kein glauben sollendt setzen/ dann es ist nit der grundt in diser kunst/ sondern ein Ablaß gesucht ohn tugent vnd krafft: Solcher Ehebrecherischen^b vnd Venerischen Bossen richtent die Apostitzler vielfaltig auff.

Das ich aber dise krafft endeck: Meinen jhr/ das der Teuffel auß seinen krefftten machen kündt/ das mich niemand möge hawen oder stechen? Das ist nicht möglich: Niemand kan oder mag das/ dann

^a *Fragmentum Libri de Sagis et Earum Operibus* (S 14:5-27) gives a more extensive account of the term **Hö(w)berg** which seems at times to be a real place and at times a proverbial way of referring to the evil it symbolizes. Seduced by the devil to an unnatural copulation with monsters (“unholden”), the witches fly on pitchforks or capes up chimneys (23, 25). In a full horde known as “Wütis hêr,” they convene at their breeding ground, the Höberg, to conceive or hatch out their monstrous offspring; the morning ascendants scatter them like a sack of feathers in the wind (27). P. mentions the confiscation of material by the devil for the incubus and succubus; the bath or bathhouse as a place for illicit copulation (24); bestial offspring (23); a salnitrous dragon that burns itself up (24); and verbal excitation as the true planetary influence (23).

^b Sudhoff (348): “höbergischen”; V (338): “höbergerischen.”

cals] claim to have attained *characteres* of this kind. Despite everything [false], there is something to this [claim]. For just as the demons [of nature or illness]¹ celebrate their lusts on the Höberg² and convene there in order to acquire from the spirits the arts with which they operate, so also do men have their own Höberg, which they call the Mount of Venus (but it is not that Mount of Venus on which the “Karnöffel” game (**Carnüffel spielen**)³ takes place. There is a convening of this kind, together with the devil [who appears] in the figure of a woman: [the devil] thus turns into a woman, and it is he who shows them those characters and demonstrates them with their [attendant] *ceremoniae*.⁴ As to the powers they possess and where they come from, these things will be explicated in the future. But you should in any case be absolutely aware that you are to place no faith in such things. They are not the foundation of the art, but rather a matter of seeking after an indulgence⁵ which lacks virtue and power. From these adulterous and venereal pranks the superstitious hypocrites⁶ have done a great deal of harm.

But let me tell you the truth about this power. Do you really think that the devil could make use of his powers in such a way that no one would be able to strike or stab me? That is not possible. No one could

¹ See Grimm, **Unhold**: rooted in a mythical thinking, the term could designate various manifestations of supernatural spirit or monster of nature or illness, before it was extended in Luther’s time to a monstrous human type. The transition is captured in mythological form in P.’s elliptical expression.

² Peuckert edits the word as “Heuberg.” See HDA, **Heuberg**. The context suggests a folk superstition of lascivious spirits or goblins that dance on a mountain, associated with the harvest or the midsummer “hay month” (Heumonat) of July. Strebel identifies Höberg with the German mountain(s) northeast of Eisenach in Thuringia, “Hörselberg(e)”; legend knew it as the location of Purgatory, Hell, and the German gods, and the site where Tannhäuser visited Venus, for which reason it was also known as the “Venusberg” (BROCK 1954; cf. H 2:48).

³ See Grimm, **Karnöffel** (1, 2): the term refers both to a rupture in the groin area caused by sexual activity (also called by P. *hernia carnosae*) and to a popular card game of the 15th and 16th centuries which had the name because of an association with the sexual malady. P. refers to the game in order to evoke the primary meaning.

⁴ See HDA, “Liebesegen,” “Liebeszauber”: the love potion or ritual magic for inducing desire is intended.

⁵ See Grimm, **Ablasz**: though the term previously meant remission, in the 16th century it was strongly associated with the venal papal “indulgence of sins” that aroused the reforming ire of Luther.

⁶ See Grimm, **Apostützler**: a term for the paired concepts of “hypocrite” and “superstitious” was common in the Southwest but not used by Luther (cf. FNHDWB, “apostützler,” derives from Latin *apostasia*).

Gott allein. Der Teuffel vermag nit so viel/ das er ein Hafen mög machen/ der nicht brochen werd/ ich geschweig einen Menschen: Er vermag auch nicht den wenigsten Zan außzubrechen/ ich geschweig ein Kranckheit heilen: So ist jhm auch nit müglich ein Kraut anders zu machen dann wie es ist/ weder herzu noch daruon zuthun: Er vermag auch nicht zwen Menschen zsammen zugeben/ ich geschweig | 326 | das er sie kündte machen ein ander hold oder feindt. In denen vier Artickeln versteht viererley grundt. Der erst/ für Hawen vnd Stechen/ ist also: der S. Lorentzen bewaret/ das er nicht verbrannt auff dem Rost/ der S. Johansen im Oel versieden errettet/ der die drey Kinder im Bachofen ohn verletzt herauß bracht: Derselbige kan die kunst vnnd wirdt denen/ den ers vermeint.^a Vnnd so es dem begegnet/ der die Character braucht/ so ist es ein zeugnuß des am Jüngsten Tag beystandes von Gott/ vnd stand bey Göttlichem vrtheil/ worumb er jhnen jhren Aberglauben bestätt. Das solch Character krankheit heilen/ wer kans/ als allein Gott? Er mags die Geister heissen/ die gleich zu sein/ wie die Kreuter verstanden sollen werden. Warumb es aber Gott in der gestalt zugibt/ stand auch bey jhm: Den Geistern ist [nicht] müglich/ Gott verhengs oder heiß. Das ist die Kreuter beschweren/ ist kein ander krafft oder macht/ dann wie sie vor war: Obs sichs aber mehr erzeugten^b dann an jhn selbst die Natur were/ als die gemelten stuck inhalten/ so messens in die vorgemelten artickel. Darauff jhr wissen sollet/ dz solche zugelegte krefft der Artzney/ der Artzney allein zu jhrem Deckmentein genommen wirdt. Vnd holdschafft oder feindschafft zumachen auß krafft solcher Charactern/ ist die Imagination. Dann es ist ein zusammen gesamlet kunst/ die von allen künsten bletz außreist/ vnnd ein geflickten Mantel darauß macht. Ihr werd weniger oder mehr/ so ligt es allein an dem zusammen klauben aller der vorgemelten Puncten/ wie diß Buch

^a These saints embody the proper attitude toward the magic of images which is disavowal in favor of faith. P.'s *Liber de Imaginibus* observes that it was God himself, "der **Sant Johans im ölsieden behüt**, der **Sant Lorenz auf dem rost bewart** ...der **die drei menner im feurigen ofen behütet**" (S 13:362).

^b Sudhoff (349): "erzeugte."

possibly do that, except God. The devil does not even have the capacity to make a pot that could not be broken, much less a human being. He could not even extract the weakest tooth, much less heal a disease. Therefore neither could he alter an herb from the way it is; [he could] neither add anything to nor subtract anything from it. Nor would he have even so much as the capacity to join two people together, not to mention | 326 | being able to make them well or ill disposed toward one another. With respect to these four articles, many things can be understood. The reason with reference to striking and stabbing is this: He who preserved St. Laurence so that he was not burned on the grill; he who saved St. John from boiling in oil; who saved the three children from the fiery furnace so that they came out of it without injury¹—he is the one who masters the art; and it is reserved for those whom he intends it. If it happens to accrue to one who makes use of the characters, this is a testimony of the one [who will give] divine counsel on the Judgment Day, and it is for the divine judgment to decide why [God] should have confirmed their superstition. If it is the case that such characters can heal diseases, then who has this capacity other than God? Perhaps he commands the spirits to act effectively in the same way we understand of the herbs. But why God should have conceded it in this form would only be known to him. The spirits would <not> have that capacity unless God were to permit or command it to be this way. If someone happens to conjure with herbs, there would be no other power or strength in them except what was already there. However, if it should be the case that they demonstrate more [power] than they have in their own nature as contained by the things we have mentioned, then you should ascribe this to the articles mentioned above. Furthermore, you should be aware that the supplemental powers or medicine serve for the most part only as a camouflage for the medicine itself. To effect either love and affection or enmity by the power of such characters is [the role of] the imagination. For it is an eclectic art which snatches up bits and pieces of all the arts and fashions them into a patchwork coat. Whether you succeed in less or in more will depend on nothing but your gathering up of all the points alluded to in accordance with the capacity of this book. Thus,

¹ **St. Laurence**, martyred in Rome, was condemned by the emperor to be roasted on a gridiron. **John the Evangelist** was cast into a vat of boiling oil in Rome but emerged miraculously unscathed. The **children** are Shadrach, Meschach, and Abednego, who were saved from death in the fiery furnace into which they were cast by Nebuchadnezzar (Dan 3:19ff.).

vermag. Darumb sich ein jedlicher erinnern sol/ ehe er abtret vom Brunnen/ vnd fall in das mittel/ wie erkleret ist.

Das ist aber wol war/ so die mügigkeit der Natur je soll auff das höchst außgelegt werden/ das die vnsichtbaren Geist vermügen/ was der sichtbar leib vermag. Kan der sichtbar leib jhm selbst ein Harnisch für hawen vnd stechen machen/ vnter welchem Harnisch der sichtbar vnd vndsichtbar leib beschützet werden: So kan auch in solchen nöthen der vnsichtbar leib ein vnsichtbarn Harnisch machen/ vnd sich als den vnsichtigen Cörper/ vnd den sichtigen mit jhm auch beschützen vnd bewaren: Dann das gibt die Natur in jhrem liecht zu verstehen. Es | 327 | mag auch der vnsichtig leib dem sichtigen sein kranckheit anweg nemmen/ mag jhm auch ander dergleichen mehr zufügen/ vnnd durch solche *Magnalia* eim andern die ehre gegeben werden. Dann also schneit mann/ da man nicht geseet hatt/ vnd also findt mann/ da man nicht hin gelegt hat. Dann also wo die bösen Geiste vermügen/ sich auff solch raub einrichten/ das thundt sie: Vnd wo sie sehen die leichtfertigkeit des Menschen/ da sind sie der gselschafft gemeß. Vnd wz sie vns thun vnd beweisen/ es sey in lernung der künsten/ oder sey in hülff beweisung: So nemmens dermassen an/ das auß Göttlichem befelch vnd geheiß gang/ vnd nicht auß verhengnus. Also starck sollen wir in die herrligkeit Gottes halten/ vnd von derselbigen in keinerley dingen weichen/ vnd darbey vns bewaren. Dieweil also die Geist lerner der künst seindt/ das sie sich viel malen falsch hereinflicken/ vnter dem schein eins befelchs/ vnterweisen groß subtil ding/ scharffe/ hohe gedanken/ in allen künsten groß ansehen/ viel geschwetz vnnd klugheit. Damit hüten sich die/ die in sünden schweben/ vnd wollen Apostel darbey sein. Sie werden leichtlich in die Schul gebracht: Vnnd die/ die jhren Geist für den Heiligen Geist setzen/ deren lust vnd begeren ist zubrechen/ das da nicht zubrochen mag werden. Da sehen auff jhre eigenrichtige köpff in den Secten/ die da erhalten Artickel/ vnnd machen sie groß/

everyone should remember [and think twice] before stepping away from the font and falling into the intermediate realm (**in das Mittel**),¹ as has been explained.

In any case, it is certainly true that the capacity of nature must be understood [as possessing] the highest degree, so that the invisible spirits are capable of [effecting] the things that the visible can. If the visible body is capable of crafting itself a set of armor for [protection against] blows and stabbing beneath which the visible and invisible body are likewise protected, then in cases of dire need the invisible body might also fashion for itself an invisible armor in order to protect and preserve its invisible body, and with it the visible one as well. For nature in its light makes it possible to understand such things. It | 327 | is also possible for the invisible body to take away the disease of the visible body; [it] can accomplish for [the benefit of the visible body] other things besides, and in effecting these things by virtue of *magnalia* of this kind, it can accord to someone [or to something] else the honor for having done it. In this sense, it is possible to reap without having sown² and to find without having deposited. For wherever the evil spirits unfold their capabilities in this manner [and] apply themselves to this sort of theft, they will do so. Wherever they recognize a credulous frivolity of human beings, they will find good accommodation. Whatever they do for us or reveal to us, whether it is a matter of our learning the arts or of their giving us assistance, they will represent this as if it resulted from a divine order and call, and not from [a mere] permission [of God]. Hence, we should be all the more steadfast in adhering to the glory of God, and not be swayed from this in any affair whatsoever, and we should persist in this way. Furthermore, though the spirits are teachers of the arts, they often adulterate what they teach with falsehood. Making it appear that this is a matter of commandment, they instruct about great [and] subtle things, sensitive and exalted thoughts. In all the arts [they reap] great admiration, [and display] empty eloquence and cleverness. Therefore, those swayed by sins [yet] claiming to be apostles should watch out. They are easily taken in by the school [of the evil spirits]. Moreover, [as for] those who claim that their spirit is the Holy Spirit, the[ir] pleasure and desire is vulnerable, [though it] should remain firm. Those in the sects that adhere to [their own] articles and exaggerate [the tenets which]

¹ On **Mittel**, see H 1:318, note.

² Lk 19:21, “you...take what you did not deposit, and reap what you did not sow.”

so die Apostel haben in der einfalt bleiben lassen: Als jhr Tauffischen/
Böhmischen vnd Trinischen.^a Damit wil ich also dz Fünfft Buch
beschlossen haben/ was von den Charactern zu verstehn sey/ genug-
sam fürgehalten.

^a The abrupt conclusion is reminiscent of the sweeping antisectarian polemics in the theological work dated by Goldammer as of around 1530-31 (G 3:xxxviii), P.'s *De Secretis Secretorum Theologiae Theophrasti* (G 3:167ff.), with its summary condemnation of various "sects" that include not only Baptists, "Hussites," and "Picards," but also the followers of the pope, Luther, or Zwingli (195, 209), of Butzer, Lambert (207), and unspecified "false prophets," "seducers of the people" (227), and "false martyrs" (228).

the apostles adhered to in all simplicity are guided by their own obstinate heads. So it is with Baptists, Bohemian [Brethren], and Trinitarians (**Tauffischen/ Böhmischen vnd Trinischen**).¹ With this, I conclude my Fifth Book, concerning the proper understanding of the characters, [my argument having now] been sufficiently demonstrated.

¹ “**Tauffischen**” (i.e., Anabaptists) indicates that these are three doctrinal deviations. The **Böhmischen** are no doubt the Bohemian Hussites, Utraquists, or Taborites. The **Trinischen** must be those who deviate from the orthodox view of the Holy Trinity. Most likely this means the so-called “Anti-Trinitarians” or “critics of the Trinity doctrine.” But which ones? In discussing P.’s theological writings on the Trinity of this period, Goldammer (G 3:xlviif.) rules out Bernardino Ochino, Fausto Sozzini, and most of the other adherents of this tendency, leaving only the fascinating figure of the Spanish physician and theological dissenter, Miguel Servetus who had visited or interacted around 1530 with an erstwhile acquaintance of P., Oecolampadius in Basel, and with prominent Protestant reformers, Bucer and Capito in Strasbourg, and whose controversial *De Trinitatis erroribus libri septem* was printed in 1531 in Hagenau. A figure with interests comparable to those of P., Servetus was condemned as a heretic and burned at the stake in Geneva in 1553, scarcely older than P. at the time of his death (see G. P. Wolf, “Michael Servet,” in *Metzler Lexikon Christlicher Denker* (Metzler: Stuttgart, 2000). Clearly, however, the present reference is intended as a broad generalization.

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