Paracelsus

Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim, 1493–1541

Cosmological and Meteorological Writings

Edited and translated
with a commentary and introduction by
Andrew Weeks and Didier Kahn

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Abbreviations

Aristotle *Met. IV* 2010 Aristoteles, *Meteorologica Liber quartus. Translatio Henrici Aristippi*, ed. Elisa Rubino (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

DMLBS *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. by Richard Ashdowne, David Howlett, and Ronald Latham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 3 vols. Available online: http://www.dmlbs.ox.ac.uk/web/online.html.

ETW Paracelsus, *Essential Theoretical Writings*, trans. Andrew Weeks (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008).

FEW Walther von Wartburg, *et alii, Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Basel: Zbinden, 1922–1967 and Supplements), now available online.

FEW Arveiller 1999 Raymond Arveiller, *Addenda au FEW*, XIX (*Orientalia*), ed. Max Pfister (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999).

FNHDW *Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, online version (https://fwb-online.de).

G see Goldammer II.

Goldammer II (or: G) Paracelsus, *Sämtliche Werke*, II^te^ Abt., ed. Kurt Goldammer *et alii* (Wiesbaden and Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1955–1995), 9 vols.: vols. 2 to 7; *Supplement* (*Kurzfassungen*); Register (index to vols. 4 to 7).

H (with indication of vol. and page, e.g. H 8:50) Paracelsus, *Bücher und Schrifften*, ed. Johann Huser (Basel: Waldkirch, 1589–1591), 10 vols.; online version: THEO at https://www.paracelsus-project.org.

H C (with indication of page, e.g. H C:50c–52a) Paracelsus, *Chirurgische Bücher und Schrifften*, ed. Johann Huser (Strasbourg: Lazare Zetzner, 1605, in-fol.); online version: THEO at https://www.paracelsus-project.org.

KJV King James Version, Authorized English translation of the Bible (1604–1611).

NCE *The New Columbia Encyclopedia*, ed. William H. Harris and Judith S. Levey (New York: Columbia UP, 1975).

NPE Urs Leo Gantenbein *et alii*, eds., *Neue Paracelsus-Edition*.

NPE 1 Paracelsus, *Theologische Werke* I: *Vita Beata—Vom Glückseligen Leben*, ed. Urs Leo Gantenbein *et alii* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008).

OED *Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. John Simpson and Edmund Weiner, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 20 vols. Available online.

OLD *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012). Available online: https://www.oxfordscholarlyeditions.com/page/the-oxford-latin-dictionary.

Palthen (also: Palthen 1603–1605) Paracelsus, *Opera omnia medico-chemico-chirurgi-*

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ca, trans. Zacharias Palthen (1603–1605), re-ed. by Friedrich Bitiskius (Geneva: J.A. and S. de Tournes, 1658), 3 vols. Digitized on the website of the BIUS (Paris), digital database Medic@: https://www.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/histmed/medica/cote?00369x01 and https://www.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/histmed/medica/cote?00369x02

THEO Searchable digitized edition of the Huser edition of Paracelsus, available at https://www.paracelsus-project.org

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Introduction to the Paracelsian Cosmological Writings

1 Pre-modern Cosmology

Medieval cosmology is perhaps as rich and varied in its outlines as Western musical tradition; and like any tradition, it has certain constant features. It characteristically takes its point of departure from the Bible, above all from the Genesis account of creation; and it fleshes out the biblical outline with the legacy of classical thought. Accordingly, medieval cosmology encapsulates the synthesis of a Western tradition which unites Judeo-Christian and classical sources in countless variations.

Within these parameters, a second, rather subtler but no less intriguing aspect comes to light. Viewed at a secular distance, the cosmological and metaphysical structures parallel and symbolize the historical worlds in which they emerged. This is true of the two cities of Saint Augustine. They recall his speculations on time and eternity and mirror his place in a Roman empire whose time is passing but in which a new spiritual community oriented toward eternity is coming into being.

This correspondence of the theological universe to its historical origin applies dramatically to the system elaborated by Johannes Scotus Eriugena (815–877) of a creation unfolding out of and returning to its divine source. *Exitus* and *reditus* reflect the synthesis of Eriugena's eastern authorities from Byzantium and Jerusalem, to which his system and universe return in a condition of enhanced enlightenment meant to crown and sanctify a restored Roman Empire and Carolingian Renaissance. *Exitus* and *reditus* of the intellectual *lux ex Oriente* are reflected in the cosmogony of a world created *ex Deo*, to whom it returns by reorienting itself through illuminated reabsorption in its divine source.

For the duration of the Middle Ages, the most imposing parallel of cosmology and society is embodied in hierarchy. Hierarchy bears out the creator's intention to assign each element and sphere its proper place. The hierarchy of elements mirrors the hierarchy of the estates. The improvisational character of medieval cosmology allowed for many variations. The fortified, embattled cosmic visions of Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1177) reflect an order challenged from within by shadowy heretics and without by Saracen infidels. Following the precedent of Augustine's *De Trinitate*, vestiges of the Trinity manifest themselves in Hildegard's threefold qualities of physical objects

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and in her spirit-like flame that enlivens nature.[1] Even the most sublime figure of thought in the sermons of Meister Eckhart, the proceeding out of and returning into God, evokes the monastic unity of *vita activa* and *contemplativa*.[2]

Scholasticism lent symbolic cosmology a more rationalistic configuration. In incorporating the physics and metaphysics of Aristotle who had taught that the universe is uncreated and eternal, Scholasticism rendered the conceptual cosmos so stable and intelligible to the human mind that its consolidation might well appear to disavow the mystery of its creation out of nothing, as well as its impending apocalyptic dissolution. When Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) takes up the question whether the post-apocalyptic world would be changed and renewed in accordance with Scripture, he admits that this can occur only insofar as natural laws are suspended and the divine will intercedes.[3] Nature is subject to its laws which in themselves harmonize neither with the *creatio ex nihilo* nor with the apocalyptic annihilation of all created things. According to the historian of medieval philosophy Kurt Flasch, this Scholastic stabilization of nature militated against the revolutionary eschatological warnings voiced by followers of Joachim of Fiore.[4]

Prior to Paracelsus, numerous variations of cosmology had been expounded. Their symbolic significance was legitimated by the scriptural tenet that the visible things of creation direct us toward the invisible powers and qualities of the Creator (Rom 1:20), the celestial Ruler whose handiwork is also adumbrated in the social order. The medieval cosmological tradition ranged from the mundane egg, which Paracelsus uses to illustrate the self-enclosed cosmos of the heavens and the earth, to the mathematically conceptualized enigmas of Nicholas Cusanus (1401–1464), influenced by Augustine's reflections on the incommensurability of the finite and the infinite and by a longing to overcome the rifts undermining the medieval world. The cosmology of Paracelsus is closer to the concrete terms of *De imagine mundi* of Honorius Augustodunensis (1080–1154) with whom he shares the details of the cosmic egg.[5] However, Honorius, though a simplifier, nonetheless recapitulates Eriugena's *De divisione*

1 See ETW 359, n. 2.

2 On the social basis of mystical visions and constructs, see Weeks 1993, 47–49, 70–71, 88–91.

3 Saint Thomas Aquinas, *The Summa Theologica*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, revised Daniel J. Sullivan. Vol. 2, Part 3, II (Treatise on the Last Things, Supplement, Question 91, Article 1), in *Great Books of the Western World*, 20 (Chicago, London, Toronto: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1952), 1016–1017.

4 Flasch 1986, 301.

5 See ETW 181, n. 2; cf. Honorius Augustodunensis, *De imagine mundi* (Patrologia Latina, vol. 172, p. 133).

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naturae (*Periphyseon*) for the High Middle Ages. To look back at the simplest models did not exclude a reception of the more complex. Though medieval cosmology did not advertise itself as human artifice to elevate in so doing human invention and diminish divine inspiration, the symbolism of hierarchy was nonetheless so obvious that it could be adapted for the popular sermon. The thirteenth-century Franciscan popular preacher Berthold of Regensburg (1220–1272) presented the hierarchy of celestial choruses as an index of the estates and their proper relations.[6] If to us the equation of the cosmological with the social and political order seems contrived, it surely came more naturally to the medieval mind that believed in and recognized a pervasive divine power and order.

2 Paracelsian Cosmology and Meteorology

In formulating his cosmologies, Paracelsus therefore had many prototypes to draw upon and many options for expressing his *Weltanschauung*. Given the paucity of empirical evidence on which he based his speculations, it was inevitable that the outlines of his cosmology should implicitly embody value judgments and evolving universalized tenets. His authority would have been undermined if he had qualified his cosmology as a mere construct or invented allegory of matters extraneous to nature. We, however, would be very inattentive readers if we ignored the connotations and recognized in his worldview only a disinterested exposition of secular and natural matters. Paracelsian cosmology had implications for medicine, theology, and political order. Compared with his medieval precursors, he tends to challenge authority and disregard hierarchy; but he also imports the triadic structures and the metaphysical principle of fire into nature to reconfirm the divine power and omnipresence, while at the same time revealing that creation is at its core transitory and in process of burning itself out. He draws heavily on the Bible but favors the literal exegesis and concrete interpretation over the abstract. Nicholas of Lyra (1270–1349), the most influential commentator of the Bible who advocated for a more literal reading of Scripture and gave it precedence over allegorical exegesis, had speculated that the abyss in Genesis 1 could be the elemental mixture out of which the world had been crafted. There is evidence of such affinities, as well as of free improvisation, in Paracelsus; and there are more than a few contradictions

6 Berthold von Regensburg, *Von zehen körn der engele und der cristenheit: simile est regnum celorum*, in: Regensburg, *Vier Predigten* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1983).

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among his theses. We hope to render the affinities, anomalies, and implications accessible to the modern reader.

Central to the thought of Paracelsus is his radical reform of medical theory and practice. Avicenna's *Canon* had long been foundational for academic medicine. It begins with a cosmology of the elements. To replace the *Canon*, a new elemental and cosmic theory was required. For the radical reformer of medicine, it is not enough to supplement the old medicine with new causes and cures. The accepted image of the world was in transition in Paracelsus's time. The understanding of nature and the content of all academic disciplines had to be re-constituted in order to encompass the evolving understanding of the elements, the heavens, the estates, and the Creator's relation to his creation.

This is what the cosmological-meteorological speculations in this volume undertake. They address the natural and metaphysical context in which the new Paracelsian medicine awaits its explicit formulation in the systematic compendia of the Sankt Gallen period of 1529–1531. The ambitions of Paracelsus, however, go beyond Avicenna's *Canon*. In some measure, the *Philosophia de Generationibus et Fructibus quatuor Elementorum* (henceforth *Philosophy of the Elements*) and *De Meteoris* usurp the place of Aristotle's *Meteorology* and *De Caelo* in the Paracelsian corpus.[7] The overthrow of the scholastic-Aristotelian worldview is evident enough to make this replacement a plausible objective

7 Paracelsus fulminated against Aristotle's *Meteorology* in alternative versions of the *Paragranum* (H 2:113: "Dann was ist das *Meteororum Aristotelis*? nichts als Fantasey"; see also H 5:174–175) and more generally against his philosophy in *De Meteoris* (H 8:204, 240): see ETW 874, note b. See also the *Grosse Wundarznei*, book 2, in H C:79a: "Der *Aristoteles* hat gemacht ein Buch / heißt *Meteororum*, darinn er die Himmlischen kräfft beschreibet / vnnd vom ersten biß zum letsten kein Warheit verfaßt." See likewise *De causis morborum invisibilium*: ETW 875. The overarching plan of a critique of Aristotle and the Scholastics is elsewhere clearly enunciated by the author: "Sie [his opponents] haben also Librum Meteororum gemacht: do sie beschreiben / herkommen Regens / Donners etc. vnd haben darbey vergessen jhr Natur / das dann anzeigt daß sie nit wissen gehabt haben / was das sey / daruon sie geschrieben haben. Erstlich haben sie gejrret in dem / daß sie auß der Erden alle Mineralia gesetzt haben / das nit ist / dann die Ertz sind in der Erden / seind des Wassers: haben weitter vergessen der Erden in jhrem herkommen / deß Graß vnd Baums. Also haben sie auch jrrig gesetzt den vrsprung des Regens / Donners / etc. den sie haben die erkanntnuß der 4. Element nit gehabt / als für ein Mutter. Dieweil sie nun also in solcher grosser jrrung gestanden seind vnd augenscheinlich ist / das jhr Lehr Aristotelis de Mineralibus falsch ist / vnnd was sie de Meteoris geschriben haben: so wissen hierinn das jhr sie nicht sollen annemmen: dann was auff solchen grund gebawen wirt / besteht nit / als Aristoteles, Auicenna, Albertus, Thomas [sagen] / De terra pura non fit Lapis, etc." (*Praefatio, Fragmentum* Paragrani—H 5:174). The phrase *Terra pura lapis non fit* is the incipit of Avicenna's *De mineralibus*, integrated by Alfred of Shareshill to Aristotle's *Liber metheororum*, the first Latin version of Aristotle's *Meteorology*. See Rubino-Pagani 2016, and Mandosio 2018.

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of Paracelsus in the cosmological and meteorological treatises. A similar intention to surpass Aristotle is no less evident in Paracelsus's choice of titles which mimic those of the former's *Parva Naturalia*[8] and in his bitter diatribes against the philosopher. Ironically, this philosophical, even ideological stance did not prevent him from sporadically using ideas of Aristotelian origin as well, e.g. the refutation of wind as a motion of the air (H 8:61 and 64), material fire distinct from the element of fire (H 8:65), the sun conceived as a white brightness (H 8:67), metals originating in water (H 8:124), or the rejection of the harmony of the spheres (H 8:294). This should not come as a surprise, given Paracelsus's academic background and the overwhelming preeminence of Aristotelian meteorology and physics in every standard explanation of natural phenomena.

Paracelsus was certainly the most vocal of sixteenth-century anti-Aristotelian philosophers. Yet he was only part of a larger opposition movement that, beyond Luther and Germany, soon extended to other countries as well. By the middle of the sixteenth century, Bernardino Telesio (1509–1588) had replaced the Aristotelian principles of matter and form with two principles: heat and cold—a tendency that can be observed in Paracelsus as well, although very differently (see below, on 36), and Girolamo Cardano (1501–1576) had unknowingly joined Paracelsus (see below, 381 n. 1) by excluding fire from the four elements in his *De Subtilitate*.

Paracelsus's endeavour to reshape the basis of natural philosophy led him to formulate new definitions of the elements. Whereas the elements were classically defined as the four indivisible bodies which, once mixed together, yielded all natural mixed bodies, Paracelsus firmly denied the mixture of the elements—as he had even earlier in his *Archidoxis* (H 6:9). Of course he came to replace the mixture of the elements with that of the three principles: mercury, sulphur, and salt. However, the notion of elements still mattered to him. Thus he defined an element as "that which gives birth," as a "mother," each of the elements yielding its specific "fruits." At least this was his definition in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:56), which can be found again in the *Opus Paramirum* (H 1:87). Prior to these treatises he already tried to define the elements, albeit differently. In a fragmentary treatise where he considered only two elements: "the warm and the cold," he wrote consistently: "An element is that which has the power to render cold or warm"; he added a few lines further, while speaking only of water and earth considered as a single element: "Their fruits are given to sustain the creatures which cannot do without them:

8 See some of the titles of the so-called *Philosophia magna* as listed by Paracelsus in his autograph list (H 9:A4^{r}), as well as his *De sensu et instrumentis* (G 2:83–91), mentioned by Huser in H 9:A2^{v}.

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this is what constitutes the element" (*De Elemento Aeris*, H 8:284). The latter part of this definition was found again in *De Meteoris*, when Paracelsus gave this new definition: "an *elementum* is characterized by its being a mother of things that sustain the human being" (H 8:178). This time the elements were entirely related to the human being. Later on, a different definition was given in the *Astronomia Magna*: the elements, Paracelsus wrote, are the thing in which life is set (H 10:12: "sie seind die ding / in die das *Vivum* gelegt ist"). The common ground of all these definitions is the notion of the elements as something giving life, which coincides with the vegetal language underlying the notions of "fruits" of the elements and their harvest—a vegetal language culminating specifically in *De Meteoris* (see H 8:182 and 249).

Not only did Paracelsus offer his own conception of the four elements: he also denied the traditional attribution to them of the elementary qualities, plainly stating that every element could be endowed with any of them. In the *Philosophy of the Elements* this argument revolved around fire, yet it was perfectly obvious that it applied to the other qualities as well: "Just as we understand that earth can yield heat and cold, being the *elementum terrae*: so, too, must we understand the element of fire" (H 8:65). In the *Opus Paramirum* the same argument was brought up about the possible transformations of sulphur and how it could bring coldness with it:

> 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. (H 1:130, ETW 475)

This philosophy to which Paracelsus referred was indeed fully explained in *De Meteoris* (H 8:178):

> Now let it be understood further what has been said concerning the four elements [...]. They are distributed among the four *complexiones*. But in this respect, it is not the way the ancients claimed in their writings. It is not the case that earth is cold and dry. Not so at all. Rather in certain places

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> it is cold and dry; in others cold and moist; in still others hot and moist, as well as others hot and dry. […] The same applies to water. We say that it is cold and moist. Yet it can also be hot and dry and cold and dry, and so forth. For water was not created in order to be cold and moist. It should be liquid. That is all that matters. […] The earthly realm is dry so that its fruits might proceed in it and from it. By the same token, the heavens are not constituted by one single complexion but by many. (H 8:178–179)

Thus Paracelsus managed to overturn the entire scholastic elemental theory, elements and complexions alike, not only on the medical level, but on the cosmological one as well.

Besides cosmology, meteorology itself was an integral part of the new medicine of Paracelsus. The striking comparison made in his *Liber de Caducis* between an epileptic seizure and the making of a storm[9] is not isolated. In *Das Siebende Buch in der Artzney De Morbis Amentium* Paracelsus first compared epilepsy to earthquake and referred the reader to his *Philosophia* for the explanation of these phenomena.[10] In the *Eilff Tractat* he compared the gas caused by colic to an actual wind, going so far as to ascribe the various kinds of belch and hiccough to one or the other of the four winds that occur in the four regions of the world (Eurus, Auster, Zephyrus, and Boreas—H 4:140). Then he described the various effects of the winds blowing on earth in different seasons, bringing too much dryness, coldness or moisture here or there, causing showers, hail, twisters or earthquakes. There was, thus, an austral colic, a boreal one, summer colics, winter colics: colic was a typically meteoric disease (H 4:237). What directly pertains to medicine, he added, is the knowledge of the origins of the internal winds. As for the origins of the outer winds, it is a matter more philosophical than medical which pertains, thus, to the astronomic medicine and its meteorology (H 4:143). Likewise, when Paracelsus discussed stroke, he declared it entirely similar to celestial lightning: "He who perfectly knows the generation of lightning, its operation and effects, will be a skillful physician for this disease, for *Meteorica* and *Physica* must come to concordance and must walk one and the same path" (H 4:147–148).[11] Although an

9 *Liber de Caducis*, "Der ander *Paragraphus*" (H 4: 330–339).

10 "Wir setzen die vrsach de *Terraemotu*, in vnser *Philosophia*: Vnd wie dieselbig vrsach ist / also ist auch die fallende kranckheit im leib" (H 4:42). What this *Philosophia* may have been, we do not know.

11 Although *physica* generally designates natural philosophy (as in the *Grosse Wundartzney*, H C:59b or 75c) whereas *physicus* generally means "physician," here Paracelsus uses *physica* in the sense of "medicine."

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approximation of this idea was already expressed by a number of physicians before Paracelsus, including the Hippocratic authors of *Airs, Waters, Places* (*De Aeribus, Aquis, Locis*) and *Fleshes* (*De Carnibus*),[12] Paracelsus understood meteorology in the sense defined by Aristotle one hundred years *after* Hippocrates, and took the comparison between the two fields much further, to unparalleled heights.

Furthermore, meteorology was the ideal context for presenting a new cosmology. Paracelsus therefore devoted to these topics a number of drafts and treatises substantial enough to fill most of volume eight of the Huser edition.

3 Meteorology in the Time of Paracelsus

Until modern times, meteorology had little to do with the sole purpose of weather forecasting. In his *Meteorologica* Aristotle discussed the celestial bodies and phenomena occurring in the middle region located between the moon and the earth.[13] His explanations were mainly based on the action of exhalations, whether dry or moist, caused by the sun's heat on earth, water, or moist soil. Hail, snow, winds, storms, lightnings as well as earthquakes and other such phenomena were explained along these lines in a seemingly rational, if often arbitrary, fashion.

In the Middle Ages and early modern times, meteorology was part of the university curriculum.[14] The Aristotelian tradition was represented by numerous scholastic commentaries. Sometimes their explanations of meteorological phenomena were not too distant from those of Paracelsus. For example, Avicenna's *De mineralibus*, an addition to Aristotle's unfinished *Meteorologica*,

12 See Hippocrates, *Airs, eaux, lieux*, ed. Jouanna 1996, 24–46, and Liewert 2015.

13 See Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, I, 1, trans. Webster 1923: "There remains for consideration a part of this inquiry which all our predecessors called meteorology. It is concerned with events that are natural, though their order is less perfect than that of the first of the elements of bodies. They take place in the region nearest to the motion of the stars. Such are the milky way, and comets, and the movements of meteors. It studies also all the affections we may call common to air and water, and the kinds and parts of the earth and the affections of its parts. These throw light on the causes of winds and earthquakes and all the consequences the motions of these kinds and parts involve. Of these things some puzzle us, while others admit of explanation in some degree. Further, the inquiry is concerned with the falling of thunderbolts and with whirlwinds and fire-winds, and further, the recurrent affections produced in these same bodies by concretion."

14 See e.g. Martin 2006, esp. 6; Mandosio 2018, 459–460.

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discussed the formation of stones in the sky out of fire, thereby addressing the falling of stony bodies (often similar to hooked arrows) during thunder.[15] But the whole point of Paracelsus's treatises was to construct an *alchemical* explanation of meteorology, which is both not so remote, yet still quite different from the exhalation-based Aristotelian theories. The modern reader must bear in mind that the precipitation of stones, crosses, frogs, or blood, and the appearance of fiery dragons in the heavens that Paracelsus reported were widely credited in his time and discussed in publications that spoke with the authority of tradition and Holy Scripture. An amusing acrostichon of 1665 by Johannes Praetorius on the word *meteorologus* equates meteorology with these weird precipitations:

> **M***assas et guttas sanguinis*
> **E***sculantum manna*
> **T***ela araneorum*
> **E***x metallis ferrum*
> **O***blongos crines*
> **R***anas*
> **O***picos mures*
> **L***ac*
> **O***nerosos lapides*
> **G***rana siliginis*
> **U***eram carnem*
> **S***ulphur*.[16]

Aristotle had been succeeded by many medieval philosophers following his example on natural phenomena. To Albertus Magnus and countless subsequent authors, fiery dragons observed in the sky were a mere illusion explained by fiery meteors, the shape of which was bent by the coldness of the air.[17] While raging against Aristotle (see above, note 7), Paracelsus ignores every learned explanation of such phenomena. This is especially striking with reference to the rainbow.

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15 See Martin 2011, 87 and 174 n. 11, along with its perceptive review by Borrelli 2014. For Avicenna's text, see Rubino-Pagani 2016, 37. The basis of studies on medieval and early modern meteorology is Hellmann 1914–1922.

16 Quoted by Michel 1998, 205. On the precipitation of crosses, see the rich documentation described by Möseneder 2009, 118–122, 345–349.

17 Vermij 2010, 653.

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Paracelsus was not the first to attack Aristotle's *Meteorologica* in the sixteenth century: Luther had denounced this treatise because the Greek philosopher made all celestial signs happen by natural causes.[18] It is interesting to contrast Luther's attitude to that of Paracelsus towards Aristotle's *Meteorologica*. Whereas Luther's concern was to highlight the action of God instead of minimizing it through natural explanations, Paracelsus replaced Aristotelian theories, along with the rational explanations offered by medieval theorists of physics or optics, with another purportedly natural account, that of the action of the *tria prima* within the stars, while at the same time including divine action in some cases (see esp. the end of H 8:84).

Assuming that the treatises comprised in this book are products of the period between the mid-1520s and the mid-1530s, they came into being against a background of often violent turmoil and productive intellectual renovation. The turmoil included in the vicinity of Paracelsus such events as the Peasants' War in southern Germany, the severe persecution of Anabaptists and other dissenters, and a religious war in Switzerland that climaxed in the death of Ulrich Zwingli at the battle of Kappel (October 11, 1531). The intellectual renewal included flourishing publications in the area of medicine, mineralogy, botanical studies, as well as prognostic writings published by Paracelsus during this period, and of course the tidal waves of religious and devotional works and pamphlets.

In the field of meteorology, besides the Aristotelian tradition represented by many scholastic commentaries,[19] there was a continuous current of small pamphlets devoted to weather prodigies ranging from violent storms or floods to wonderous celestial occurrences.[20] The latter could include the appearance in the heavens of multiple suns or moons, odd rainbows, the fiery figures resembling dragons, crosses and instruments associated with the Passion of Christ, as well as the aforementioned downpours of frogs, stones, or blood. As noted above, all of these phenomena were widely reported and discussed in many publications before Paracelsus in a tradition going back to the Middle Ages. In the spirit of his time, Paracelsus mixed theological reflections with his speculations on nature and at times explicitly elevated God and the Holy Spirit as the ultimate source of authority.

18 Vermij 2010, esp. 650–651.

19 See Martin 2011.

20 Hellmann 1921.

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4 The Problems of Authenticity

The *Philosophia ad Athenienses* (*PaA*) is of disputed authenticity. No manuscript of the work is known. However, no less significant are those components and concepts of the work that made it seem not only authentic but seminal for posterity from its first publication in 1564. Its authenticity was not questioned for centuries until Sudhoff expressed serious doubts in 1894.[21] Since that time, scholars have been suspicious or rejected the work as spurious, usually with a general assessment rather than specific arguments.[22] An important question is whether the work might possess a kernel of genuine content from Paracelsus. It undoubtedly does contain "genuine Paracelsian thought," in the words of Walter Pagel.[23] Doubts were raised by Sudhoff on at least three grounds: the absence of a manuscript source, the unfinished condition of the work, and the sense of strangeness one may feel when faced with the weirdest notions that it contains. Later, Pagel addressed the problem of an uncreated prime matter, a prominent topic in the *Philosophia ad Athenienses*. In Pagel's view, the idea of an uncreated prime matter could be found in numerous works of Paracelsus. Unfortunately, Pagel relied indiscriminately on authentic and spurious treatises.[24] It might be argued that Paracelsus did not hold any provocative position on the question of whether the world was created *ex nihilo*, since he made several clearly orthodox assertions on this matter. It seems in any case that the uncreated prime matter as such is found only in the *PaA*, though one can argue otherwise on the basis of authentic, though obscure, passages.[25]

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21 Sudhoff 1894, 102–103; Sudhoff 1922–1933, I/13 (1931), XII: "Keine einzige handschriftliche Überlieferung dieser Schrift […], auch nicht das kleinste Fragment. […] so weiß kein Mensch zu sagen, […] ob man überhaupt einen echten Kern annehmen kann oder soll".

22 See the excellent discussion on the historiography of the work by Gunnoe 2011, 311–312, n. 141.

23 Goldammer favoured, at first, the authenticity of the work. See Goldammer 1953, 33: "Es enthält aber zweifellos paracelsische Grundideen, die sich weithin mit den unbezweifelt echten Aussagen über die Weltentstehung decken"; ibid., 40, n. 51: "m. E. echt". Goldammer, however, later changed his mind and went back to Sudhoff's opinion in two papers published in 1971: see Goldammer 1986, e.g. 276–278 and 310. For Pagel's opinion, see Pagel 1960, 143; see also Pagel 1982, 88–91. Giancarlo Zanier expressed the same opinion in his interesting book (Zanier 1988, 57 n. 17). It must be noted, however, that serious questions have been raised about the ideological biases of both Sudhoff and Pagel. On Sudhoff, see Weeks 2013, 93–96; on Pagel, see ETW 107, n. 1, and Daniel 2015.

24 Pagel 1963, 79–85.

25 See e.g. *De mineralibus* (H 8:337); *Liber de imaginibus* (H 9:389). These excerpts and a few others are interpreted by Kahn 2023, according to which they do not imply a denial of the idea of *creatio ex nihilo*.

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We are now in a position to better understand the relationship between the *PaA* and the other works of Paracelsus. This does not mean that we can provide satisfying answers to all the questions raised by this treatise. In part, it presents certain ideas and topics found in the *Philosophy of the Elements* as well.[26] Those comprise a kernel of genuine material acknowledged as such by most scholars, although they did not recognize that this material stemmed from the *Philosophy of the Elements*. Moreover, the elementary beings well represented in the *PaA* are found in abundance and prominence only in the *Liber de Nymphis* of Paracelsus.[27] Furthermore, the structure of *PaA* with its prefaces and conclusions (*Vorred, Beschlußred*) to each of the three books was already found in the *Grosse Wundarznei*, a new edition of which appeared in Frankfurt in 1562, two years before the publication of *PaA*.[28] Despite this common ground, however, there are many discrepancies between the *PaA* and other texts by Paracelsus. The prominent topic of the *Evestrum* for instance is found only in the *PaA* and in uncertain treatises.[29]

How can we interpret this state of affairs? Did Paracelsus write the *Philosophia ad Athenienses* using both materials found in his other texts and topics specifically intended for this treatise? Was it composed by some Paracelsian who made good use of authentic passages, while adding content of his own? Or did some Paracelsian read the manuscripts of the *Philosophy of the Elements* and *Liber de Nymphis* (which were only published, respectively, in 1590 and 1566), as well as other authentic treatises such as the *Grosse Wundartzney*; a reader who found them unsatisfactory—perhaps too similar to the scholastic cosmological scheme—, and decided to forge a more Platonic Paracelsian philosophy, more directed towards the divine than the *Philosophy of the Elements?* This is an opinion expressed most recently by certain scholars,[30] although it is not the only possible one.

Should we consider, however, the *PaA* to be an outright forgery, we must keep in mind what authorship, authenticity and forgery meant in medieval and early modern times. Followers of famous authorities did not see themselves as forgers when they completed the works of their master with their own principles and ideas. They considered themselves purveyors of the work of the master. Countless examples of this attitude can be given, beginning with pseudo-Aristotelian literature (e.g., the *De mundo*), not to mention the monks

26 Kahn 2019, 464–466 (Kahn 2022, 52–54); Kahn 2016, 115, n. 168. See below, e.g. 239 n. 1.
27 Kahn 2019, 455–456 and 466, n. 77 (Kahn 2022, 43–44 and 54, n. 77).
28 Sudhoff 1894, 76–77.
29 Kahn 2019, 468 (Kahn 2022, 56).
30 Kahn 2019, 470–472 (Kahn 2022, 58–60); see also below, H 8:34.

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and theologians who completed such unfinished works by Thomas Aquinas as his commentary on Aristotle's *Meteors*, or added new treatises to his corpus (e.g., *De eruditione principium*).

Unlike the *PaA*, the two substantial, albeit unfinished writings, the *Philosophy of the Elements* and the *De Meteoris* were preserved in autograph manuscripts, although not a single manuscript copy has come down to us. The precise dating of these works, however, remains a matter of speculation.

Sudhoff dated the *Philosophy of the Elements* back to the years 1525 or 1526 on the basis of its close similarities with the fragmentary fifth book of *Von den natürlichen Wassern*, a text he dated from those years.[31] Indeed, the latter treatise expressly invites the reader to find more information "in den *Meteoricis, etc. Fructuum quatuor Elementorum*."[32] Benzenhöfer admits that *Von den natürlichen Wassern* can be dated either before or after the Basel period (1527–1528).[33] Moreover, Goldammer wondered whether the *Philosophy of the Elements* might not be situated in the years 1530 rather than 1525–1526, without explaining why.[34] He probably noticed that echoes of the *Philosophy of the Elements* are found in both the *Paragranum* (1530) and the *Opus Paramirum* (1531). In the Preface to the *Paragranum* and other passages of the work, we find the typical cosmological scheme of an upper and lower sphere, each containing two of the four elements,[35] a distinctive feature of the cosmology expounded in the *Philosophy of the Elements*. The detailed comparison of the four elements with the components of an egg (whereby "chaos" is identified with the egg-white) is also a topic in both works.[36] As for *Opus Paramirum*, suffice it to say that the *Philosophy of the Elements* provides the full theory of the elements and the three principles at the root of the relevant pronouncements of the *Paramiran* work, contrary to what has been generally assumed.[37] Actually the *Opus Paramirum* stands out as the treatise systematically applying this theory to medicine and the human being, which Paracelsus expressly states when explaining in chap. 2 (H 1:74) how alchemical separation demonstrates that the human being is composed of the *tria prima*: "Thus I do not speak here of *prima materia*, for I do not intend to treat of *philosophia* here but rather of *medicina*"

31 Sudhoff 1922–1933, I/13 (1931), VI.

32 H 8:415.

33 Benzenhöfer 2005, 91–92 and 213.

34 Goldammer 1980, 94–95.

35 E.g., ETW 80–82, 170–172.

36 Compare ETW 170–172 with H 8:61–62.

37 As an example, compare ETW 476 with H 8:64–65, 68 and 71–72. See also ETW 432–434, 500, 618 and 630.

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(ETW, 321). The philosophical part is the *Philosophy of the Elements*, the medical part the *Opus Paramirum*.

Aside from this internal evidence, the most conclusive argument that we have on the dating of the *Philosophy of the Elements* is a statement in student notes (perhaps notes taken by Oporinus himself) on *De Gradibus*, dated 1527. There we read: "The remainder, which is missing here, is contained in our philosophy on the elements and things elementated from the four matrices" [that is, things made from the elements].[38] This alludes explicitly to the *Philosophy of the Elements*. We can safely conclude that the work was at least in progress in 1527. As always with Paracelsus, however, we cannot exclude the possibility that the work had been begun as early as 1526[39] and completed sometime after 1527. This is as close as we can come to an approximate dating. As stated above, the work was first published by Huser himself in 1590. It is obvious, however, that some Paracelsians read it in manuscript. Aside from the hypothesis that it was the main source of the *PaA*, Michael Toxites published in 1570 its fourth part, on the element of water, in his collection of Paracelsus's tracts entitled *Ettliche Tractatus* (see Sudhoff, *Bibliographia Paracelsica*, 198).

Whereas the *Philosophy of the Elements* deals with the "fruits" of the four elements, i.e., with everything produced by them (light and darkness; cold and heat; rain and snow; trees and plants; minerals, etc.), *De Meteoris* focuses on the heavens and their "fruits."[40] Sudhoff deemed this treatise to have been written around 1529–1530. He based his opinion on allusions to "*Meteoricis*," "*nostra Meteorica*," "der Metheoric," or "mein *Meteorica*" in the *Liber de Caducis* written around Easter 1530 and in *Opus Paramirum*, dated 1531.[41] It has been demonstrated, however, that all these allusions refer to the *Philosophy of the Elements*

38 H 7:347: "reliqua quae hoc loco desiderantur, habentur in philosophia nostra de elementis et elementatis ex quatuor matricibus." Quoted in ETW, 712, note a. This text is dated by Sudhoff 1922–1933, I/4:77. See also Benzenhöfer 2005, 176–177.

39 In *Das sechste Buch in der Artzney* (ca. 1524), Paracelsus explains that everything we can taste and use is composed of three material things, "as we state in *De Generationibus*" (H 4:16). In the *Archidoxis*, book 3, which may have been written, or begun, between 1523 and 1525 and was certainly partially rewritten and corrected several times thereafter, Paracelsus refers to a *De Generationibus Elementorum* (H 6:9), although its content (if it was a treatise already begun rather than a project) had very little to do with the actual *Philosophy of the Elements*. Likewise, in the seventh book he mentions a treatise *De Generibus Salium* (H 6:72) otherwise unknown, if not for the *Tractatus secundus* from the fourth book of the *Philosophy of the Elements*, which bears this very title (see below, H 8:129–136). On the uncertainty of the dating of the *Archidoxis*, see Kahn 2024. Gantenbein 2020a, 18, suggests to date it back to 1524 or before, which seems very plausible as for its first redaction.

40 H 8:178.

41 Sudhoff 1922–1933, I/8, 18–20 and I/13, VII. See H 4:329–336 and 404; ETW 434, 500, 606–608 and 612.

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or to related fragmentary meteorological treatises, and not to *De Meteoris*.[42] It therefore seems quite likely that *De Meteoris* is not prior, but posterior to both *Liber de Caducis* and *Opus Paramirum*. This hypothesis gains strength from the internal evidence of *De Meteoris*.

The most conspicuous feature of *De Meteoris* is the replacement of the element of fire with the element of the heavens. In *De Meteoris*, Paracelsus expressly denies that fire is an element, doing so based on the biblical account of Creation. In its place, he proposes the heavens, since they are the first element named in Genesis. This shift is found again in the *Astronomia Magna* (1537–1538), along with other features from *De Meteoris*.[43] Later on, several Paracelsians, especially Petrus Severinus, Helisaeus Röslin and Joseph Du Chesne,[44] noticed and highlighted it in such a way that it clearly influenced the development of new cosmologies freed from the Aristotelian view of unchanging celestial spheres. Tycho Brahe himself not only read his fellow countryman Severinus,[45] but Paracelsus's *De Meteoris* as well, which he expressly used to argue that comets may be born in the heavens.[46]

This spectacular replacement has a longer story in the works of Paracelsus than we can exhaust in this context. In the *Paragranum*, for instance, sometimes the heavens are named instead of the element of fire, although not systematically.[47] Thus Paracelsus must have had this replacement in mind for several years, but nowhere did he express it on a theoretical level except in *De Meteoris*. Another piece of evidence is the meaning of the word "firmament." In *De Meteoris*, *firmamentum* and *caelum* are one and the same, contrary to the *Philosophy of the Elements*, where the firmament is the element of fire and the heavens the element of air.[48]

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42 Kahn 2016, 68–69.

43 Kahn 2016, 109.

44 Severinus 1571, 40–45, 50, etc.; Hirai 2005, 240–241; Kahn 2004, 671–672, 676–678.

45 On the relationships of Severinus and Tycho, see Shackelford 2004, 63–75 and *passim*, and 123–129.

46 Tycho's text (translated by John Christianson) and the relevant bibliography can be found in Kahn 2016, 59–60.

47 See ETW 80: "des Himmels vnd des Luffts"; ETW 170: "der Himmel vnnd der Lufft" (but on the same page, below: "Lufft vnd Fewr"). See also the heavens named as an element, yet identified with air in *De Elemento Aeris* (below, H 8:294).

48 Kahn 2016, 95. Compare H 8:190 (*De Meteoris*) with H 8:54, 57 (*Philosophy of the Elements*: "Das Fewr ist dz Firmament [...] In das Fewr / das ist dz Firmament"). In the *Paragranum*, likewise, the firmament is a synonym of fire (ETW 170: "dz Firmament/ das ist/ das Element fewr"). See also H 8:297 (*Liber Tertius Meteororum* [...] *De Meteoricis ex Elemento Ignis*): "Ein Einführung oder Vorred Theophrasti, der Impression deß Element Fewrs / das ist / auß dem Firmament."

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Another point to consider is the absence of the difficult notion of *Yliaster* in *De Meteoris*. In the *Philosophy of the Elements*, Paracelsus explained that the four elements had been created out of a prime matter that he called *Yliaster*, although he also defined it as a "nothing"—thereby alluding to the creation *ex nihilo*. The *Yliaster* was both "nothing" and yet something, since it has a name. It was the result of an ambiguous interpretation of Genesis—and more generally, of a long-lasting ambivalence in the very concept of the creation of the world.[49] In *De Meteoris*, this dubious notion has entirely disappeared, as if Paracelsus tried to move closer to a literal interpretation of the Bible. This aspect resonates more generally with a strong emphasis on Biblical and theological issues in *De Meteoris*, as opposed to the *Philosophy of the Elements*. Thus *De Meteoris* seems to take place on an evolutionary path leading to the decidedly Bible-based philosophy of the *Astronomia Magna* during a decade in which Paracelsus indeed drew much closer to theological issues and began to call himself a teacher of Holy Scripture ("der Heyligen Schrifft Professor").[50] For all these reasons, it makes sense to date *De Meteoris* to 1532 or after, at a later stage of Paracelsus' cosmological thought than the *Philosophy of the Elements* and the other treatises dependent on it, especially *Opus Paramirum*. However, the reader must bear in mind that in the present state of our knowledge of Paracelsus this is our best working hypothesis rather than a definitive conclusion.

5 Methodology

Our juxtaposition of the best original text with the English translation and with correlated, distinct sets of commentary serves several purposes familiar to philological tradition. Presenting the best available source text meets the humanist demand of *ad fontes*. The commentary based on the full Paracelsian corpus beneath the source text serves the directive of *pars per totum:* the difficult passage or term must be interpreted in the light of the usages and intentions of the whole. The right-hand commentary provides relevant information from contemporary sixteenth-century usage to present-day interpretation. Finally, the translation juxtaposed with its source serves the ultimate objective of an interpretation which does not disguise the intractable language of the source. It fulfills the duty of translation without replacing one obscurity

49 See Grant 1994, 89–90.

50 Goldammer 1986, 34–57; Daniel 2006, 134. Of course, Paracelsus had always worked on theology according to the principle of *sola scriptura*, though not always in the same manner, nor with the same consequences as on his treatises of natural philosophy.

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with another yet respecting the exegetic principle of *lectio difficilior potior* (the more difficult reading is the more potent or at least worthy of serious attention). The juxtaposed translation does not conceal the problematic text behind a free and fluid rendering which necessarily involves a portion of guess work. One aid in making sense of difficult passages in Paracelsus's texts was the Latin translation of the Frankfurt publisher Zacharias Palthen (1603), which stands out by virtue of its meticulous care and perspicuity. However, even this circumspect and more contemporaneous translator could not always come to terms with intractable passages. For the first work incorporated here, not only Huser and Palthen but the initial published version of the *Philosophia ad Athenienses, drey Bücher* (Cologne: Heirs of Arnold Byrkmann, 1564) was consulted. In doing so, we were able to assess Huser's observations and choices, confirming his editorial acumen in amending or interpreting text passages which made no sense in the 1564 printing.

In a previous volume of Paracelsus's *Essential Theoretical Writings* (ETW), virtually every term of the texts was explicated in the left-hand commentary by means of cross references to the full corpus of the writings and on the right using sources, early modern or contemporary, extraneous to the texts. Here, the corpus-based commentary need not be as exhaustive, since every reader can gain immediate access to all occurrences of a Paracelsian term by consulting the database THEO created by Urs Leo Gantenbein (University of Zurich/Paracelsus Project) with support from the Theophrastus Stiftung. We have consulted the database and full corpus more selectively, bearing in mind that certain common terms are used in a special sense by the author. In contrast to ETW, we have placed unproblematic glosses of Latin terms in square brackets within the translated text and we have avoided duplicating the glosses of ETW in the expectation that the two volumes could be consulted together or in succession.

Our purpose of juxtaposing the translation with the best available source text has been served by relying on Huser's edition—a testimony to the high standards of early modern text edition. Huser seems to have published a bundle of thematically related materials consisting of two nearly completed treatises and several drafts or fragments. We have included all, preserving the editor's arrangement. Huser, who compiled this bundle from multiple sources, merits the respect of scholars for the clarity of his organization and the fidelity of his reproduction, confirmed whenever manuscript sources have come to light.[51] Fidelity, however, could mean leaving the inconsistencies of his manu-

51 See Goldammer 1971.

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script sources intact. The treatise which we refer to as *The Philosophy of the Elements* lacks the usual title page and is headed by "PHILOSOPHIA PHILIPPI THEOPHRASTI PARACELSI," as if what was to follow were either generic or comprehensive. Yet the first section that immediately follows is entitled "LIBER PRIMVS DE ELEMENTO AERIS." It is only the *Liber Secundus*, "PHILOSOPHIA THEOPHRASTI, DE GENERATIONIBUS ELEMENTORUM," that comes closer to the title by which the work is often known and cited in Huser's table of contents: "PHILOSOPHIAE de Generationibus & Fructibus Quatuor Elementorum LIBRI QVATVOR." He likely derived this title from a mention in the fifth book of *Von den Natürlichen Wassern*.[52]

While remaining faithful to his sources, Huser is meticulous in specifying their status, carefully differentiating between autographs and copies and noting precisely which materials he was publishing for the first time. Nearly all of *The Philosophy of the Elements, De Meteoris*, and what his table of contents calls, somewhat misleadingly, the *Opusculum de Meteoris* are based on autographs; the first and third were published for the first time by Huser. Of the remaining materials most are non-autograph-based but published for the first time by Huser. Johannes Montanus is a second, relatively minor manuscript source, as well as some other unknown copyists.

Huser's placement of two prologs along with some fragments and variants only after the two main treatises reproduced here is his own choice as we shall see later. This involves some inconsistency with his Table of Contents where the prologs are cited as "Zwene *Prologi* in die gantze *Philosophiam de Generationibus Elementorum*." After carefully paying attention to the latter denomination and considering the possibility of moving the two prologs forward as prefaces to all meteorological treatises, we were persuaded to ignore that denomination and retain Huser's arrangement in his volume. The two prologs appear to actually go with the subsequent "*De Elemento Aeris*," so that changing the order would have brought with it the corollary of placing a number of less finished texts in front of the more completed ones. Moreover, the prologs and fragments that follow it bear out the same inconsistency of titles, alternating between "meteoric" and elemental "philosophy" (H 8:283: "Das Erste Buch *Meteororum* […] *de Elemento Aeris*"; H 8:297: "*Liber Tertius Meteororum* […] *De Meteoricis ex Elemento Ignis*").

The reader might also notice other inconsistencies: the lack of subheadings in the first book of *The Philosophy of the Elements*, on air, which contrasts with

52 H 8:415: "Darumb was wir hie nicht beschreiben / in den *Meteoricis, etc. Fructuum quatuor Elementorum* beschreiben."

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the plethora of subheadings in the books on earth and water. The overlap of themes such as rain, thunder, and lightning in *The Philosophy of the Elements* and *De Meteoris;* and the repetition of the same themes (the rainbow, the flying dragons and figures in the heavens, or the precipitation of frogs, stones, blood, or other wondrous objects), in alternate drafts and fragments, without, however, verbatim repetition—as if we were confronted with multiple free performances on popular themes, each of value for its virtuosity. The reader interested in investigating Paracelsus's creative processes might begin by comparing these thematically parallel but developmentally unequal expositions. For our part, we have considered it editorially advisable to reproduce them following Huser's judicious arrangement. The reader will find below our informed speculations about the internal relationship and relative dating of the material presented in this volume.

In providing commentary on the edited and translated writings, we were of the opinion that the reader is well served by our evocation of a wider context. What this means in practice is that in explicating Paracelsus's terms we target not only the specific context of the usage but also the general structures of his thought. For example, in explicating some tree or herb by marshaling passages from his corpus, we aim to elucidate his disparate principles for classifying such things. Cross-references for his unusual term *emunctorium* show how his use relates to his transition from a medicine of the elements to one of microcosm and macrocosm. In searching the database for relevant cross-references, we found that certain works were richer sources of explanatory passages: the writings on syphilis from the late 1520s for *Philosophy of the Elements* and the major surgical writings of the early 1530s for *De Meteoris*. As for the commentary from external sources, it is even more difficult to connect particular notions with a specific source or influence. Paracelsus did not provide us with footnotes or a bibliography of works consulted. Nonetheless, we will use our commentary to indicate that what seems bizarre or unheard-of often echoes such precedents as those outlined in Gustav Hellmann's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Meteorologie* (1914–1922) and the subsequent scholarly works on this topic cited above.

As an aid to the reader and a principle for guiding the construction of the commentary, it is helpful to draw attention to the implicit coherence of Paracelsus's terminology and argumentation. His manner of explaining events is said to rely on analogy or metaphor. Even if this can indeed be said, it is misleading insofar as to us such constructs are inventions. Analogy is construed, metaphor invented by the mind. In contrast, his likenesses are thought to be inherent in a world in which each discrete sphere or entity is at root equivalent to every other. The tree is truly equivalent to the world's great and ramified bodies of water. The human microcosm equates to the natural macrocosm. The herb

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is like the wound or malady it heals. These likenesses are in essence family kinships: they are rooted in common origins. All things have one of the four elemental "mothers," all beings the same divine father.[53]

And yet things hardly *appear* the same. The assertion of the unlike likeness therefore requires a second set of postulates: entire realms of forces and essences invisibly anchor the unlike likenesses, like the DNA that governs growth, structure, and appearance for us. And isn't the seed after all an unlike microcosm of the macrocosmic plant which it becomes and is? The principle of unlike likeness, anchored in the *tertium comparationis* of invisible forces; the transferrable equations of microcosm and macrocosm; and the final consequence that in a sense all things are in all other things—these notions were so widespread and so steeped in tradition that an author did not need to justify them as a new teaching or rationalize them in the manner of Nicholas of Cusa whose syllogistic formulation reasoned that if all things are in God and God is in all things, then perforce all things are in all other things, each part and particle containing the whole.[54]

Accordingly, our corpus-based commentary will endeavor to emphasize that Paracelsus adopts unwonted and conflicting criteria of classification while at the same time using common terms to refer to objects that exist simultaneously in distinct realms. Focused attention will also be accorded to concepts such as *arcanum* or *impressio* which represent the invisible forces and entities that underlie the unlike likenesses and realize the harm or healing powers of stars, herbs, or substances.

6 Summaries of the Writings in This Volume

6.1 *Philosophia ad Athenienses*

For readers and researchers who require orientation in the writings of this volume, we will offer summaries of their content. The first in order of inclusion is the unfinished treatise of disputed authenticity, *Philosophia ad Athenienses* (*PaA*), first published in 1564 and only re-edited by Huser himself in 1590. The title alludes to the episode in the Acts of the Apostles (17:34) where Paul's preaching in Athens converts an Athenian man, Dionysius the Areopagite. In

53 See below, 29–30 and 33.

54 See Cusanus (Nikolaus von Kues), *De docta ignorantia* (2:5) in *Philosophisch-Theologische Schriften* (Vienna: Herder, 1966), vol. 1, 344: "*Nam cum manifestum sit ex primo libro Deum ita esse in omnibus, quod omnia sunt in ipso, et nunc constet Deum quasi mediante universo esse in omnibus, hinc omnia in omnibus esse constat et quolibet in quolibet.*"

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his *Astronomia Magna*, Paracelsus discusses the episode. As Dionysius abandons astronomy and becomes a follower of Paul, the convert recognizes the priority of the divine or supernatural over the natural and is led to embrace Christianity (H 10:22–23). There is, however, more to it. In Acts 17:28, the Apostle instructs the Athenians that the true God cannot be confined to shrines or physical sites of worship: "'In him we live and move and have our being'; as even some of your own poets have said, 'For we too are his offspring.'" This well-known *locus* evokes the invisible omnipresence of a deity unknown to the heathen astronomers or philosophers of nature. From the title of our disputed work, the reader can expect to find a Christian philosophy which will maximize the divine presence and minimize an accounting of nature that relies mainly on secular reasoning or material reality. This is indeed what *PaA* delivers.

After a grandiloquent preface which refers to the author of *PaA* in the third person ("Prince Theophrastus"),[55] the First Book introduces what it calls "*Mysterium Magnum*" (*MM* for short). *MM* is the "mother of the elements" and the "grandmother of all stars, trees, and creatures of the flesh" (H 8:1). Despite such generation-based terms, however, all things came into being "in a single creation, substance, material, form, essence, nature, and inclination" (H 8:1), as in Saint Augustine's explication of the "six days" of creation in Genesis. Remarkably, however, *MM* itself is "uncreated," an *increatum*, though it had been "prepared by the highest artist" (*vngeschaffen von dem höchsten Künstler zu bereittet*—H 8:2, 3). To the posthumous heresy-hunting opponents of Paracelsus, from 1570 onwards, this assertion was proof that the author denied the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* and was therefore guilty of affiliated infamies.[56] If such was the intention of *PaA*, its author did not highlight it. Nor was the thesis that God made the world from something preexisting and eternal utterly alien to Christian tradition. Influentially, Augustine and Eriugena had posited that prototypes of nature had existed in the divine being or mind prior to creation. *PaA* indeed seems to depart from their tradition by asserting that the uncreated source is material rather than a primordial immaterial cause, idea,

55 The title "Fürst" applied to Paracelsus is highly unusual. Paracelsus was once referred to by this title in the 1563 Basel edition of his treatise *Von ersten dreyen Principiis* (*Deß erfarnesten Fürsten aller Artzeten Aureoli Theophrasti Paracelsi von ersten dreyen principiis*; see Sudhoff 1994, 84–85). Whereas this treatise was edited by Adam von Bodenstein, Bodenstein himself did not call Paracelsus "Fürst" in his dedication letter, but rather "doctor". The word "Fürst" occurred in the title of the treatise: it must have been written by the scribe of the manuscript used by Bodenstein.—Of course, Aristotle was currently thought of as prince of the philosophers, Avicenna or Galen as princes of the physicians: the title "Fürst" can have been applied to Paracelsus with the same intent.

56 See Gantenbein 2019, 185; Kahn 2023.

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or intention in the mind of God; however, the author soon relativizes the distinction between the material and the spiritual by maintaining that even the elements are in essence vital spirit or soul.

Whereas on the one hand all things came into being "in a single creation," on the other hand this claim seems to contradict the subsequent descriptions of creation in *PaA*: creation occurred by successive separations from the *MM*. *First* ("im anfang der scheidung"), the four elements were separated; *then* ("alsdann") all the "fruits" of each element were separated from their element (H 8:6–7). However, it is expressly stated that all this occurred "in the work of a day" (H 8:9).

The first several "texts" or paragraphs of *PaA* explore implications of *MM* which are tangential to the *creatio ex nihilo*. The cosmogonic process from the *MM* is irreversible. Created nature can no more return to the pristine state of the *MM* than cheese can return to the condition of milk. As its designation proclaims, the *MM* is first and foremost a "great mystery." The emergence of the world is a mystery and the "procreation" of all beings and classes of beings constitutes *Generalia Mysteria* and [*S*]*pecialia Mysteria* (H 8:2, 8). The author emphasizes the riddle of creation and procreation by citing unfamiliar creatures and forces, designating them with neologisms for which we were sometimes at a loss to provide glosses.

Since all things had been encompassed within the *MM*, the key mode of differentiation is *separation*. All things emerge by separation out of the *MM*. Not only were all entities and elements encompassed in the irreversible matrix of process and being known as the *MM*. Mysterious beings and classes of beings not commonly experienced, prodigies and monsters, indeed still exist. This was common thinking of the age. Even the practical-minded French surgeon Ambroise Paré (1510–1590) knew that the existence of "monsters and marvels" was testimony to the inexhaustible generative power of the deity.[57] *Separatio* is associated both with alchemy and with the first act of creation in Genesis 1. The emergence of unfathomably diverse and untold entities testifies that the *MM* was replete with *"Essentia* and Deitet," "essence and deity" (H 8:6). Medieval elemental theory had envisaged a more constant elemental substance which could combine and recombine in empirically transparent compositions. In contrast to the underlying elemental stasis, the "great mystery" of *MM* is expressed in metaphors of unique emergence, of birth, growth, and blossoming, of seed and fruit, as well as of the transformational alchemy of metallurgy, food processing, cooking, and digestion. The ambience of alchem-

57 See Paré-Pallister 1982, xxvi–xxvii.

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ical transformation would offer a paradigm of the visible emerging from the invisible (thus each element has a visible and an invisible part), of a creation *quasi ex nihilo*, yet also *ex mysterio* and ultimately *ex Deo*—in the beginning yet repeated in the mystery of all natural processes. A last separation shall occur at the end of time, when all things revert back to what they were in the beginning—all except the *MM* which never returns. After the destruction of the world, there is to be, however, a new *Mysterium Magnum ultimum* ("a final *MM*").

The Second Book emphasizes the opposition of mortal versus immortal, rather than visible versus invisible, thus pursuing the spiritualization of nature so essential to Paracelsus and to the author of this disputed work by attacking the notion of elemental compounding. Each created thing is the product of only a single element (H 8:21), a recurrent idea in Paracelsus, most notably in the *Archidoxis*, the *Philosophy of the Elements*, and *De Meteoris*. The author is concerned with the active force or spirit within the elemental object without which it would be inert or dead. What renders the elements active is invisible and intangible: an innate force, akin to virtue, spirit, life, or soul. The point is that the true element is an active quality which takes precedence over passive substance: "The element should not be defined by the corpus or substance or tractability" (H 8:21). What matters is not defining what each element is but which quality it has (H 8:22). As it appears, each has only one quality: heat for fire, cold for earth, etc. Such qualities can no more mix in Galenic composition than a spirit, anthropocentrically understood, could divest itself of its individual identity. Each spirit is single and integral in nature, not composite. So, too, are the invisible elements single and integral worlds unto themselves.

Pursuing this reasoning, the author arrives at the comparison of an element to a "soul" (H 8:21 and 24). Not only is the material element spiritualized; the abiding essence of the human being is rechristened as the *arcanum*. The *arcana* ("that which is secret or hidden") are somehow above the elements (H 8:30–31): they are a sort of unfathomable life-force, giving life everywhere. The light of the heavens is not, as might be expected, a product of the element of fire, but an extract from the four elements coming from the *arcanum*. Everything eternal comes from these *arcana* and is identical with them (H 8:31). They make the four "worlds" (the four elements) hold together and cohere. Whereas the four elements are perishable, the *arcana* shall remain even in the *MM ultimum*, where everything is to be renewed. The essential division between human and animal is obfuscated by the assertion that, just as the human is survived by its *arcanum*, so is the dog by its *arcanum* (H 8:31). The spiritualization of elemental and animal nature issues in pan-psychism, an array

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of hitherto unknown agencies and spirit-like intelligences denoted with novel designations (*trarames, evestrum, dalni, lorind, caleruth*, etc.). Without abandoning the discussion of mortal versus immortal, the second book shifts to the topic of prophecy by introducing the new concept of *evestrum*, defined as a prophetic shadow accompanying every created entity and disappearing with it after its death. There are innumerable sorts of *evestren*; they perform all sorts of operations without corporeal movement and are a mother of all things in the prophets, astronomers, and physicians. There is no knowledge of nature without an understanding of the *Evestren*.

The fragmentary book three returns to the distinction of visible versus invisible, dealt with in book one. In the process of creation, all visible things were generated from a vaporous spirit, a *spiritus fumosus*—even man himself (H 8:42, 44 and 45). There still remains an invisible spirit which lingers with every created entity. The penultimate texts of *PaA* are concerned with the relations and agencies of so-called *evestra*. The *evestrum* is a cognitive spirit. The *arcana* act: the *evestra* know. They also account for the appearance of apparitions at the graves of the deceased; and they enable the foreknowledge of prophets and the marvels of saints (H 8:36–37).

Whether authentic or not, *PaA* captures one of the most remarkable features of Paracelsus's speculation: its capacity and inclination to conceive reality as replete with multiple interpenetrating worlds which cohabit invisibly, whether the four elements and their native species or the cognitively keen spirit-milieu of the *evestra* or the invisible, charged force-fields of the *arcana*. Two distinctions set *PaA* apart: its lack of interest in the three principles and its focus on the *mm*. The fragment reads as if its speculation were breaking free of restraint. In one place, the author chances to affirm that within the body there are after all Galenic *composita* such as the combination of the warm with the moist. The author then recalibrates his argument by taking aim at the perennial enemy of Paracelsism: the ancient Galenic physicians who erred in their humoral thinking. Against their errors, *PaA* states that *colica* stems from the fiery element without admixture (H 8:22). Without renouncing elemental thinking altogether, the work thus transitions from humoral theory toward the Paracelsian understanding of all disease as particular in cause and cure.

The author must in any case contend with a fundamental challenge to Paracelsian alchemical medicine: how can the inanimate medication act upon the animate patient, given that for Paracelsus likeness is the criterion of truth and healing? The author attempts to bridge this gap by spiritualizing nature, only to find himself creating a new order of agencies within the spirit realm. The treatise then breaks off at a juncture that proves essential for the introduc-

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tion of Paracelsus's *De Causis Morborum Invisibilium* of 1531: The philosophical physician must proceed from the visible world to the reality and agency of an invisible world, a precept associated in the latter authentic work with Dionysius the Areopagite (ETW 729–731; cf. H 8:47).

When we ask why this fragmentary and puzzling little torso cast such a long shadow, notably in the writings of Jacob Boehme, the answer must surely lie more in its implications than in its limited and obscure exposition. To ask what the world and the human being were made of, or to accept the *creatio ex nihilo* and then ask how the *nihil* from which creation had been crafted acquired its peculiar character and direction, is to implicate the question of the free will of the human creature, a question raised early in the work (H 8:6), an issue of great consequence for those swayed by it. For it further implicates the problem of evil in a creation constituted by an omnipotent good Creator. The nature of creation and creature was essential to the understanding of freedom and of evil. If the elements of Aristotle and the Scholastics were too passive for the Paracelsian mind-set, the immanent qualities and indwelling spirits better embodied their interactivity. If elemental stasis betokened a changeless world, the passivity of matter could be rethought in light of the mysterious prime substance of the *MM*, much as the flame-like substrate of the three principles implicated transience, innate agency, and apocalyptic entropy. The sixteenth-century mental world of Paracelsus was chaotic, individualistic in its anarchic willfulness of belief, yet obsessed with the beginning and end of time. The fragmentary work promised a new approach to perennial and topical questions.

6.2 *Philosophia de Generationibus et Fructibus Quatuor Elementorum. Libri Quatuor* (*Philosophy of the Elements*)

This next work included here, first published by Huser in 1590 with the exception of some passages already printed previously (see above, on 14), counteracts any notion of the elements as passive or immutable by integrating them into a cosmology based on Genesis and relegating their stability and predominance in favor of their innate forces. Their forces are above all the dynamic of the three principles, *sulphur, mercurius*, and *sal*. We have said that the cosmology of Paracelsus is an assault on the philosophical and cosmological theory of the elements foundational to Avicenna's *Canon of Medicine*. The radical new approach is marked by an implicit neglect of the cosmic hierarchy, by an aversion to the attendant understanding of elements that passively obey blind necessity because they are fixed in their nature, as well as by the rejection of the composite nature of the elements, humors, or medications, whereby susceptibility to composition—which might seem dynamic—is merely another

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token of passivity.[58] As if to counter any lingering odium of elemental passivity, Paracelsus posits spirit agencies at work in nature.

The first of the four books of his *Philosophy of the Generations and Fruits of the Four Elements* is devoted to the air. The book begins with the prime matter of the elements. It is called *yliaster* and is said to be "nothing." The mystery and ambiguity of the creation are thus reconfirmed. The mixing of elements is denied. What grows out of each element embodies that element. It is an error to claim that each of the four is present in every entity (H 8:56). Nature is an array of objects, each of which follows its own trajectory which passes from primal nothingness to the embodied entities back to nothing. The trajectory of created things is therefore organic, with its birth, growth, and death, following their initial separation from the element of which they are a fruit. The elements are "mothers" of all things pertaining to their geniture.

We need to reflect on some distinguishing aspects of this approach to the cosmos. Mathematics was a progressive force in the era's science of the heavens, but it plays no role in the nature theory of Paracelsus. Without the distance-projecting abstractions of mathematics, his cosmos is compact and organic. His entities are informed by the non-elemental substrate of the dynamic three principles, sulphur, mercury, and salt (H 8:60). Unlike the elements, the three occur in every entity. Their variable relations account for the specificity of the entities and their transformations. No great perspicacity is needed to recognize that they are *vestigia Trinitatis*, vestiges of the Trinity in medieval and Augustinian tradition. This connection, though ignored by many scholars, was anticipated in the early writings and confirmed in autograph-based texts by Paracelsus.[59] His cosmos thus mirrors a social structure in which the estates still appear as segregated realms, even as the divine omnipresence heralded by the new religious ferment informs all things, making them what they are and transforming them into new things: "The three have within themselves all the energy and power of the transient entities." (H 8:58). The outlook of

58 Interestingly, the commentary of an older Avicenna translation plays off Paracelsus against Saint Thomas Aquinas. See Avicenna-Gruner 1973. The commentary suggests that even in opposing the *Canon*, Paracelsus was unable to escape its limits. A close examination reveals that Paracelsus borrowed from Aristotle and Avicenna, even while rejecting them vehemently. Kurt Flasch's *Philosophisches Denken im Mittelalter* summarizes the epochal importance and provocations of Avicenna's *Canon*, its elevation of hierarchy and necessity, and the resultant implicit alleviation of the need for personal salvation (Flasch 1986, 276–281).

59 For much of the twentieth century, this association was either ignored or suppressed in German scholarship in favor of the implausible notion of Paracelsus as a practical *medicus* and alchemist rather than a theorist with mystical leanings. See Weeks 2013.

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the Paracelsian cosmology is therefore ambiguous and transitional. The author reifies insubstantial *yliaster*. It is at first called a "nothing" and later a "clump" (*Klotz*—H 8:58). The element is defined as that which gives birth (H 8:56). The non-elemental forces of the three principles are named as entities and therefore appear substantial.

The ambiguity was probably deliberate. Paracelsus's terminology alternates between the concrete entities of Genesis and an improvised Latinate technical vocabulary. He combines the model of the cosmos as egg with that of the three principles and with the elemental conception of the air (H 8:63), which is not only a domicile or retainer of the other elements, but the very structure of the elemental world, the all-encompassing heavens separating the elemental world from the realm of God (H 8:57 and 289–290). The first element to have been extracted from *Yliaster* (H 8:54, 64–65), air is that which gives life to all beings (H 8:61): it is the most essential element. Hence Paracelsus makes it the subject of the first book of the work. The rotund egg-like cosmos knows no absolute above or below (H 8:62). Instead of an ascending hierarchy of spheres, the author invokes inner realities latent within our outer reality. The stars exert direct control over meteorological and metallurgical phenomena. In the works of 1530–1531, the stars reappear in the omnipresent agency of invisible astral forces (*astra*).[60]

After the air, Paracelsus turns to the element of fire. Fire qua element is identical with the firmament first mentioned in the creation account in Genesis 1:6. The banal "material fire" that we know is renamed *tristo*, a remarkable term for this common entity, and a term used only once, namely in this passage (H 8:65). Perhaps the underlying etymology is the Latin *tristis*, meaning "sad," but also, more fittingly, "threatening." The counterintuitive notion of fire serves the larger cosmological context by allowing the author to dissociate material fire from his conception of the *element* of fire—as Aristotle himself did (see above, on 5). The scholastic scheme of the four elemental spheres, each above the other (fire being the highest) is thus abandoned. Instead, the world is made of two concentric globes: the lower comprising the elements of earth and water, the upper those of fire and air (H 8:57 and 61–62).

While accounting for the sun, moon, and stars following Genesis, the author pursues his idea that every single thing is made up of the three principles: *mercury, sulphur* and *salt* (H 8:58). Out of the composite clarity of the created light ("Heytteri vnd Schöni/ in Einer vermischung"), a distinct white *candor* is extracted to become the sun, while a subdivided red *candor* or "Diaphanitet"

60 See ETW 330, 343, 346.

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becomes the moon and stars (H 8:67). Paracelsus accounts for the red of *candor* in terms of the three principles (H 8:72). The winds proceed from the stars as surely as warmth proceeds from the sun, all thanks to the action of the three principles. All meteorological actions—dew, fog, winds, tempests, clouds, rain, snow, downpours, thunder, lightning, and thunderstorms—are ascribed to the action of the three principles within the stars. More precisely, the stars often purge themselves: "just as the human being emungates (*emungiert*) *phlegma* from the nose with its natural course and flow, so do the stars and elements yield a natural superfluity" (H 8:75). This superfluity originates from the very matter of the stars: the three principles. The result depends on which kind of stars emungates: rain stars, wind stars, thunder stars, and so on (see our note on Huser's text, H 8:77). Sometimes the topic of the stars expelling an analog of organic waste almost sounds like *Dreckapotheke* applied to meteorology, as in the case of winds (H 8:74).

After these natural phenomena, including the rainbow, the author considers irregular and portentous celestial phenomena. These range from natural "flying dragons" which have alchemical properties once fallen to earth (H 8:85–86), to the precipitation of worms, frogs, or toads. These likewise result from the stars in Paracelsus's compact and organic cosmos (H 8:87). To account for the flying dragons, which one might imagine as lightning bolts in a mountainous terrain as he suggests elsewhere,[61] he combines the three principles with the explosion of gunpowder. This association recurs in these chapters and more generally in his writings and links the alchemical with the meteorological, the divine, and the technological (H 8:86; cf. *De Meteoris* 8:213, 215; *Liber de Caducis* 4:329–336). From winds and prodigies, the exposition of the fiery element proceeds on to the metals falling from the sky.

Since alchemy can only be conceived as the work of a craftsperson, Paracelsus assigns this role to the *adech* in discussing the actions of the three principles—a notion found again in the surgical treatise *De Apostematibus*, in *De vita longa* and the *Astronomia magna*, although the vast majority of its occurrences are found in the *Philosophy of the Elements*.[62] Elsewhere, the same role is assigned to the *archeus*. Immediately after the metals falling from above, he moves on to discuss what he calls *impressiones fati*. The *fatum* possessed by each human being is a spirit residing in the upper stars (H 8:92). It is susceptible to *praesagia* and can play tricks on men too confident in the powers of the stars. The notion of *fatum* reflects the authority of astrology and suggests

61 Cf. *De Meteoris* (H 8:247).

62 See *De Apostematibus* (H C:426–429); *De vita longa* (H 6:194, 197); *Astronomia magna* (H 10:68b, 300), and below, H 8:74–94.

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deviant paths onto which the individual might be led by an errant compulsion. Omens sent by the *fata* include the appearance of comets, triple suns, new stars, and prophetic crosses that descend from the sky (H 8:92–96). The three principles effect these rare occurrences, but they are actually prompted by the *adech*: they are a medium behind which the *adech* conceals its agency (H 8:94). As noted above, nature is replete with spirit agencies.

The third book, devoted to the "material and being of the element of earth," offers Paracelsus's full gamut of innovative terms typical of the Basel writings: notably the *yliaster* and the *aniadus* (but not the *adech*). Earth is the element endowed by the *yliaster* with the power to nurture all living beings. To the element of earth pertain the seeds of trees, vegetation, herbs, and domesticated nutritional plants. Like that of the other three elements, its matter was composed from the three principles. Accordingly, every species of plant is made from the three principles according to arrangements as diverse as there are differing species. The presentation is organized by groups and species, but the enumeration is incomplete. The selection reflects the author's interests and the medicinal value of certain species. The organic, botanical aspect of his alchemy is apparent in his discussion of the sap, balsam, and other properties of trees. An agency must oversee and effect growth and distribution. The agent is the *aniadus*.

The role of the *aniadus* in the distribution of vegetation is, however, ambivalent. At the same time, growth and fruition reflect the dual nature of Christ as both divine and human (H 8:100). Vegetation brings the vitality of paradise to life in the realm of transience and death. Vegetative rebirth is a visible token of the omnipresence of the Redeemer, a perception shared in Paracelsus's time with Luther and later with Jacob Boehme.[63]

After Huser's page 123—the last of the third part, on the element of earth—, the terms *aniadus* and *adech* disappear from the text and the more common *archeus* makes its debut (H 8:128ff.) and subsumes the processing functions of the now absent *aniadus*. The *archeus* appears, thus, only for the element of water, which corresponds with its extensive use in the treatise *De mineralibus* (H 8:334–364), where the metals and minerals are also considered as fruits of the element of water.

The element of water, like the element of earth, is a "seed" in its prime matter (its *fabrica* or "workshop": H 8:124; cf. 98). The true element sprouts, grows, and bears fruit like a tree.[64] The organic language is intended to apply to all bodies

63 See Martin Luther, *Daß dieses Wort Christi "Das ist mein Leib" noch fest stehen*, in *Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 23:133–134.

64 See below, on 33.

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of water. This organic nature is conditioned by ancient and medieval cosmologies of the microcosm and macrocosm. It could have been inspired by Seneca, Honorius Augustodunensis, or Hildegard of Bingen. Seneca's *Naturales quaestiones* regards the sea and its tributaries as an organic whole, analogous to the reservoir of fluids in the human body: "*Mare unum est, ab initio scilicet ita constitutum; habet suas venas, quibus impletur atque aestuat*" (III.14[3]). Paracelsus identifies the world's seas and rivers with a tree; however, the explanatory function of the veins or arteries is similar in either case. The element is vitalized and understood as part of an organic cosmic whole. It must be added that Paracelsus's theories of the metallic or lapidary fruits of the element of water are essential to his critique of Aristotle and the Scholastics and to the overarching concept behind his *Philosophy of the Elements*, his *Meteorology*, and his related *Mineralogy*. The passage on H 8:144–145 offers a particularly cogent account of these theories. One may argue that Aristotle himself almost considered metals as born from water, as they originated from the vaporous exhalation: "they are water in a sense, and in a sense not. Their matter was that which might have become water, but it can no longer do so."[65] However, Paracelsus's words as quoted above, note 7, are unequivocal in their rejection of, and attack against the standard view that metals come from the element of earth.

After pursuing this holistic notion of the waters and seas of the earth, there follow detailed and concrete expositions on the salts (H 8:129), including sweet and sour waters, warm baths, and saline waters (H 8:130–134), vitriol and alum, "copper water," and "stone water" (H 8:134–135). This is followed by a similarly detailed treatise on minerals and metals (H 8:136–144), one on stones and gems (H 8:144–154), and finally on the glutinous materials of the aqueous element (H 8:154–159). The exposition is encyclopedic rather than theoretical, though the three principles lend a constancy to the mode of explanation.

6.3 *Liber Meteororum* (*De Meteoris*)[66]

Turning from Paracelsus's *Philosophy of the Elements* to his *De Meteoris* is like entering a familiar place after several years: the external frame is familiar, but the whole furniture has been changed and the design of the place has been altered. *De Meteoris* is not aimed at describing the "fruits" of the four elements, but of one element only—the heavens (H 8:178), and the work is much shorter. An element is not—as in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:56–57)—that which gives birth, defined by the way that it acts as a mother: an element is,

65 Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, 378a, trans. Webster 1923; see other quotations from Aristotle below, H 8:124.

66 First published—twice—in 1566, first Latin trans. in 1569: see Kahn 2016, 67 n. 28.

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rather, "the mother of the things that sustain men's life" (H 8:177–178). In *De Meteoris*, man is at the centre of the creation; the elements are only defined with regard to the human beings.

The ten chapters of the treatise successively cover the elements, the prime matter of the heavens and stars, the species living in the stars, and the "fruits" of the heavens: winds, rains, hail, snow, lightning, frogs, blood, and other material not belonging to the heavens but occasionally falling from them, and finally "exhalations," i.e. natural or prophetic signs such as rainbows.

Fire as a whole, considered as a mere "matter" produced by the heavens and a tool to bring things to their "ultimate matter", bringing about death, not life (H 8:182), is thus excluded from the number of the elements and replaced with the element of the heavens, which bring about everything necessary to life: night and day, summer and winter, that help the other elements bearing fruits. The heavens were the first element named in Genesis, for they contained the other elements (H 8:183). Instead of the two concentric globes where earth and water were enclosed by fire and air together (fire floating within air, H 8:66), here we find air surrounding only water and earth, and the heavens as element enclosing them all. Thus, contrary to the *Philosophy of the Elements*, the treatise *De Meteoris* establishes the heavens as the most important element; air is only presented as the element in which man has been placed.

The elements, as well as everything created, are made up of the three principles, along a Trinitarian scheme issuing from a Trinitarian God uttering the Trinitarian word *Fiat*. In *De Meteoris*, any art based on another number than three "is false and errs in nature by seeking for something that does not occur in nature" (H 8:186). In the *Philosophy of the Elements*, it was stated that "God thus created the world in a fourfold form and was satisfied with it as such" (H 8:60): a striking contrast. Even more so if we consider the fragmentary draft *De Elemento Aeris* which will be discussed further below: "Uncouth is the *philosophus* who speaks of four, that is, hot and dry, hot and moist, or cold and moist, cold and dry, as if there abided four elements. That is not the case. Only two exist" (H 8:283–284).

As in the *Philosophy of the Elements*, the meteorological effects (winds, rains, etc.) are produced by the stars. Just as a specific tree bears specific fruits, each star yields either rain, or snow, hail, etc. (H 8:193). A few pages later, Paracelsus goes into more details: meteorological effects are actually produced by the three principles working *inside* the stars. Whereas they were described as excretions from the stars in the *Philosophy of the Elements*, in *De Meteoris* they are prepared by spiritual natural workers (or forces) within the elements: the *Vulcanus*, who produces rains, snow, winds, etc.; a vegetative power named *Yliaster* (a word used here with an entirely different meaning than in the *Elements*),

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and the *Archeus*, which separates things and makes them become individuals. Even if excretions from the stars could be seen as a distant echo of the Aristotelian double exhalation,[67] it really was an undignified process. In *De Meteoris* Paracelsus seems to have preferred a causation based on personified natural forces within the stars, certainly because they fitted in well with his conception of elementary beings about which he speaks at length in chapter four. Of all the places where they are mentioned, only *De Meteoris* and the *Liber de Nymphis, Sylphis, Pygmaeis et Salamandris* accord them topical attention.[68] Elementary beings live *inside* one of the four elements: by contrast, man is not attached to one single element, but is free to dwell everywhere. They are "living, rational creatures in the manner of spirits" (H 8:200), without a soul. Paracelsus's presentation of these creatures leads him to extoll their knowledge of the prime matter, far superior to ours. This is how he comes to speak of the *Vulcanus* and the other spiritual workers within the elements, especially within the heavens (H 8:203–204): they set the three principles in motion and guide them towards the goal decided by God. That the human being enjoys a special status as a creature with a soul destined for salvation is highlighted by those spirited or humanoid species of a soulless elemental kind (H 8:201). As if the elements were hereditary estates, it is only the human being who is subject to no element and therefore free (H 8:202).

The whole treatise—devoid of the terms typical of the Basel treatises—shows a new stage of Paracelsus's interpretation of creation with a strong emphasis on intermediary, non-human beings helping set nature in motion within the elements. It makes far more references to the Bible than did the *Philosophy of the Elements*. The *Liber de Nymphis* was probably composed not much later than *De Meteoris*. Many features of the cosmology of *De Meteoris* are found again in the *Astronomia Magna*, completed later still.

By offering a systematic explanation of meteorological effects through the agency of the three principles working through the stars, Paracelsus is seeking a model in which invisible, astral and chemical, actions and reactions determine the visible or palpable occurrences experienced by all. His readers or auditors did not need to be convinced that winds exist and have an impact. But they did need to be convinced of the reality of the three primary species and their processes. To this end, Paracelsus appropriates the authority of Jesus's parables which, the author says, served to make the celestial ("das Firmamentische") as accessible as the earthly (H 8:212). The whole of creation pertains

67 As suggested by Zanier 1988, 71 n. 42.

68 See Kahn 2021, 215–219, 222–226, 233–234.

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to the inaugural actions of "the Divine Alchemy" (*die Göttliche Alchimisterey*), namely the separation of day from night, hot from cold, etc. (H 8:214). Meteorological events are the fruits of a divinely purposed tree, which is the same as the stars in which the three primary things operate invisibly to produce their spectacular effects (H 8:229–230).[69]

Chapter eight arrives at a meteorological topic to which Paracelsus assigns unparalleled importance. Lightning is an action of the firmament that seemingly surpasses all human understanding. Yet the author can readily explain it in terms of God's having placed the three primary things in the stars of the firmament (H 8:231). How does their action differ in the case of lightning and thunder? *Sulphur* stands at its highest degree; *mercurius* in most extreme contrariety; and, as for *sal*, it is designated here as well as "Salpeter in der höchsten Feiste," saltpeter at its fattiest, *nitrum* (H 8:231). It is thus identified unequivocally as the common, industrially produced ingredient of gunpowder, the nuclear power of the late medieval and early modern era. With this, the author accomplishes several things. He marshals his expertise in practical alchemy, while citing a dramatic example sufficiently familiar to all to lend plausibility to his theoretical framework. At the same time, he offers a naturalistic explanation for an awe-inspiring meteorological occurrence associated with none other than Christ heralding the end of the world (H 8:237–238). In the same way that nuclear blasts expose an inner power and fragility of our natural world, threatening it with a plausible apocalypse, the three primary materials reveal the essence of nature as a transient process of combustion which bears the seed of explosive destruction, the certainty of an apocalyptic finality. (It is said of any violent storm: "Es seind sorgliche *Praesagia*, das machts/ daß ein Exempel ist/ wie *CHRISTUS* kommen wirdt"—H 8:238). If elemental theory could be associated with the stasis and predictability of nature, thunder and lightning betoken the hidden powers of an eschatological, occult nature. The chapter shifts from alchemical explanation to Christological, apocalyptic reflection.

Following this thematic trajectory, chapter nine is devoted to prodigies; it discusses the strange creatures and signs which descend from above.

Chapter ten, the last in the treatise, projects a cosmic panorama of natural and unnatural creatures, all derived from the premise—inherited from the *Philosophy of the Elements*—that nature and the stars, like all other living entities, must exude, exhale, or defecate a kind of *excrementum* in a form that is commensurate with their vitality. Quite fittingly given the relevance of meteorology to the medical thinking of Paracelsus, this peculiar model emerged in direct,

69 On this tree, characterized as a "metaphor without metaphor," see Leprêtre, forthcoming.

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albeit tacit, dependence on his medical treatises. Those on syphilis repeatedly explained the body's need to cleanse itself through emunctories. There is accordingly a transfer of the human microcosm to the natural macrocosm, a common mode of explanation for Paracelsus, but one which appears inexplicable when terms such as *excrementum* or *emunctorium* are severed from their context of pathology: macrocosm *is* indeed the model for the microcosm.[70] There are the shooting stars (H 8:246). We read again of fiery flying dragons, as well as of crawling vermin and swarming insects. They appear to be generated spontaneously from the element (H 8:247). Two or three suns or moons can manifest (H 8:247). The whole whirring, creeping, glimmering panorama is operated by the *pennates*, the nondescript cosmic servants which are actually the elementary beings of the heavens who evidently do the dirty work for God. To the end of *De Meteoris*, the three primary things reassure the reader that the order of God bears out the divine providence (H 8:249). The confusion and chaos of nature can only accentuate the certainty which is granted by faith.

6.4 *Additional Fragments Comprised in This Volume*

Like several other volumes of the Huser edition, but more extensively, volume eight provides both completed or nearly completed treatises and drafts.[71] Besides the two most complete and refined ones discussed above, which are not entirely complete but have been carried to a state of near completion,[72] all other treatises in this volume are mere fragments. The most developed of these is the *Buch Meteororum* composed of two prologues already discussed above (H 8:278–282), of a first and of a third book: *Das Erste Buch Meteororum* […] *de Elemento Aeris* (283–296) and *Liber Tertius Meteororum* […] *De Meteoricis ex Elemento Ignis* (297–322).[73]

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70 See *Von Ursprung und Herkommen der Franzosen sampt Heilung acht Bücher:* "Dann im Menschen ist die gantze Welt / nicht von aussen hienein / sonder in jhr als wol / als in der Welt" (H C:197c); "Biß hiher ist der brauch der Artzten gewesen / das sie gelegen sind an den *Emunctorijs* der Artzney / also das sie dieselbigen vnderstanden haben zu enthalten / vnd die kranckheit durch dieselbigen *Emunctoria* auß zu treiben / darinn jr den grösten jrrsal diser kranckheit sollen mercken / vnd aller kranckheit die von jhn vngeheylet bleiben" (H C:206c).

71 Other noteworthy examples of the drafts and alternate versions typical for Paracelsus include the *Paragranum* (H 2:99–142: *Ein ander Paragranum*; see Huser's note to the reader, on 98: "[…] Reader, know that this book *Paragranum* has been twice or thrice composed and written by Paracelsus"), the *Fragmenta Medica* in the end of vol. five (H 5:286–332), and the *Astronomia magna* (H 10:398–434: *Erklärung der Gantzen Astronomey*, 442–479: *Ein ander Erklärung der Gantzen Astronomey*, 480–491: *Fragmenta Astronomica*).

72 See esp. our footnote below, H 8:159.

73 This treatise has been assembled by Huser from both a Montanus manuscript (for the

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6.4.1 *Das Erste Buch Meteororum* [...] *de Elemento Aeris; Liber Tertius Meteororum* [...] *De Meteoricis ex Elemento Ignis*

It seems that Huser must have recovered the entire bulk of surviving, entirely unpublished drafts and fragments pertaining to meteorology. He undoubtedly spent time deciphering them and putting them in order. This can be inferred from his note: "The little works that follow here, esteemed reader, in which for a fourth time the author renders account of meteorical *generationes* of the fiery element, are not complete but rather fragmentary, recovered here and there and ordered together in this way."[74]

The challenge presented to the reader is to determine a chronological order for all these fragmentary treatises and isolated chapters. Most offer conflicting characteristics and features evoking significant overlaps in Paracelsus's process of writing and theorizing. It seems safe to assume, however, that most relate to the *Philosophy of the Elements*, although some of them are clearly close to *De Meteoris*. The obvious example of the latter is *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* in five brief books (H 8:250–277; we return to it below). The obvious example of the former is the so-called *Buch Meteororum* with its first book (*De Elemento Aeris*) and third book (*De Meteoricis ex Elemento Ignis*): there is a strong kinship between *De Elemento Aeris* and the book with the same title opening the *Philosophy of the Elements*. Even a fragment on Adam and Lucifer's fall (H 8:295–296) echoes similar passages in the latter treatise (H 8:54, 57–58). As for the third book on the element of fire, it offers likewise many parallels with the corresponding chapters of the *Philosophy of the Elements*.

This kinship must not obfuscate an equally strong difference: in the book *De Elemento Aeris* we do not find the purpose of the corresponding book of the *Philosophy of the Elements*, namely to establish the origin and relevance of the three principles.[75] Only in the last preserved chapter of *De Elemento Aeris*, entitled "*De Coloribus*," are the *tria prima* evoked, in a casual fashion (H 8:294–295). There are, however, several chapters missing at different places before "*De Coloribus*" (see H 8:288, 291, 293), so that probably the *tria prima* were evoked in pages now lost. It is nevertheless obvious that the main focus of *De Elemento Aeris* is not on the *tria prima*, but on the nature and creation of the elements, the relevance of the element of air, the nature of "chaos" within this element,

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two prologues and the first book: 278–295) and manuscripts from others (*ex Manuscriptis aliorum*) for the fragment on Lucifer and Adam and the third book (295–322). Parts of this ensemble were first published in 1567. See Huser's Table of contents (H 8:A4^{v}–A5^{v}) and Kahn 2016, 66 and n. 27, 72 and n. 42.

74 Huser, note to the reader preceding the first *Prologus in die Bücher Meteororum* (H 8:277).

75 We thank Urs Leo Gantenbein for pointing out this difference.

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and the difference between the Earthly Paradise and the elemental world. In addition, the unclear cosmology of *De Elemento Aeris* offers only two elements: the heat and the cold, represented respectively by fire and air, and by water and earth, the former being the superior globe—i.e. the heavens, and the latter, the inferior globe—i.e. the earth (H 8:283–284). This statement might be a primitive formulation of the brief cosmology in the second redaction of *De Gradibus* (first months of 1528?): there Paracelsus writes that every single thing produced by any of the four elements is either cold, or warm (H 7:346). This remnant of the notion of complexions was entirely rejected in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (see H 8:59 and the corresponding footnote).

In other words, the book *De Elemento Aeris*, while undoubtedly an early draft of the first book of the *Philosophy of the Elements*, displays a very distinct state of Paracelsus's reflections, where Paracelsus is more open to complexions theory and does not focus on the *tria prima*.

Furthermore, we find at the beginning of *De Elemento Aeris* an invocation to the Virgin Mary, who appears not only as part of the Holy Trinity, but even as the inspiration and the protector of sciences: two distinctive features already found in very early works of Paracelsus. The passage about the Virgin Mary as part of the Trinity and as the eternal Wisdom from Sirach (Ecclesiasticus), 24, is very close to Paracelsus's commentary on the *Salve Regina*, a treatise dating back to 1524 at the latest, while Mary as the inspiration and protector of the sciences already appears in an equally early treatise, *Das Sechste Buch in der Artzney*.[76] We are, thus, strongly led to believe that the book *De Elemento Aeris* belongs to the same period, a very early one in the chronology of Paracelsus's treatises.

If we now turn to what is supposed to be the third book of the same treatise, namely *De Meteoricis ex Elemento Ignis*, we are faced with an entirely different context. Now the three principles are the main focus. What is more, Paracelsus's introduction to this third book begins with a reference to prefaces that we do not find anywhere: "As we have stated in the first prefaces regarding the three principles and how all the phenomena of meteorological action are brought about by them […]" (H 8:297). It thus seems that this supposedly third book has little to do with *De Elemento Aeris*. As for the two prologues placed by Huser at the beginning of—or rather before—this ensemble, they do not correspond in the slightest with the prefaces alluded to in the sentence we just quoted. Huser himself actually forewarned the reader that this "other book on meteors" was

76 Urs Leo Gantenbein drew our attention toward these strong similarities. See Gantenbein (2020), 15–18; Paracelsus's commentary *Super Salve Regina*, ed. Gantenbein, forthcoming in NPE 2; and *Das Sechste Buch in der Artzney*, e.g. H 4:15.

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"not put by the author in the same sequential order as we have put it here, for it has been found only as fragments discovered in different places and then put together."[77] From this valuable statement, not isolated in Huser's edition (see e.g. H 8:48), we can safely infer that there was no such thing as a *Buch Meteororum* composed of two prologues, a first chapter *De Elemento Aeris*, and a third chapter on the impressions of the element of fire. These three parts are, in fact, independent. The two prologues cannot be related to one particular treatise in Huser's volume eight, hence the peculiar, all-encompassing title Huser gave them in his Table of contents: "Two prologues on the whole philosophy of the generation of the elements."[78] The fragmentary book *De Elemento Aeris* is the first book of a very early treatise on the elements, now lost. The fragmentary third book on the impressions of the element of fire must be considered as the only book preserved of an early version of the *Philosophy of the Elements*—a version clearly posterior, however, to *De Elemento Aeris*, judging from its focus on the three principles. A good example of this interrelation is the chapter on lightning and thunder in the *Liber Tertius* [...] *de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:304–306). A comparison with the two chapters on these topics in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:80–82) reveals, in our opinion, a more elaborated, more consistent version in the latter, with very recognisable topics in both treatises.

6.4.2 Fragments with a Weak Theoretical Elaboration

Among the other texts printed by Huser—actually for the first time ever—, two fragments reveal a low level of theoretical elaboration. The most primitive one is a non-autograph table preserved by Johannes Montanus that offers a rather basic tentative classification of meteorological phenomena (H 8:333), possibly witnessing the first attempts of Paracelsus at discussing meteorology as such. More elaborated, yet quite early within the chronology of Paracelsus's meteorological texts, is an autograph fragment "*De Cometis*" (H 8:331–332). This perhaps isolated fragment has a counterpart in a treatise composed of five small books entitled by Huser *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8:250–277, on H 8:258): in both cases comets appear as omens fabricated by spirits (*Geister*) in the heavens. The same spirits occur in those fragments described by Huser, in the Table of contents of vol. eight, as "Concerning *praesagia* made of mete-

77 See Huser's Table of contents (H 8:A5^{r}): "Noch ein anders Buch *Meteororum*, welches zwar nicht gantz / auch vom *Autore* nicht in solcher ordnung disponiret / wie wirs hie nach einander gesetzt. Dann es nur Fragmentenweiß an vnterschiedtlichen orthen gefunden vnnd Colligirt worden." The same statement appears, in an abridged version, on H 8:277.

78 "Zwene *Prologi* in die gantze *Philosophiam de Generationibus Elementorum*" (H 8:A5^{r}).

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oric impressions of rare occurrence" (*De Præsagiis impressionum meteoricarum rarius contingentium*), which appear to be the last part of what we have from the *Liber Tertius* […] *de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:318–323). These "spirits," indicated and named vaguely without further specification, clearly reveal a more primitive stage of theorization than the *fata* and elemental beings in the *Philosophy of the Elements*—not to mention the *pennates superi* in *De Meteoris*.

A separate autograph-based, unfinished chapter belonging to the *Fragmenta Meteorica* (H 8:329–331: *De Iride. Aliter*) explains the rainbow as "a vegetation of the heavens" growing from a seed within a special star. This can be considered one of the earliest stages of elaboration about the rainbow. In all other occurrences its origin is related to the action in the heavens of the three principles, often within a cloud, as in another autograph-based, separate chapter (H 8:327–329),[79] or to the action of the spirit of salt or the liquor of salt.[80]

6.4.3 *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris*

A clearly transitional fragmentary treatise is *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8:250–277) just evoked above, printed from an autograph manuscript. Supposedly composed of five books and a non-extant theoretical part, it sounds rather basic and poorly theorized concerning the rainbow, often does not go into much detail and lacks clarity of composition.[81] In the explanation of the lightning bolt the mention of the salt providing all colours (H 8:251) distinctly evokes both the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:84) and the *Liber Tertius* […] *de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:310–311). Later in the same work, the explanation of winds, shooting stars, and other strange figures combines the purgation of the stars with their blossoming (H 8:254), which illustrates the shift from the topic of purgation to that of blossoming that distinguishes spectacularly the explanation of the rainbow in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:84) from that of *De Meteoris* (H 8:249). The vegetal language is even carried to an impressive extent in a further chapter on lightning (H 8:275). More surprisingly, the chapter on "dragons" (H 8:256–257) clearly differs from its counterpart in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:85–86) and sounds like an obvious draft of the corresponding passage in *De Meteoris* (H 8:247–248). This *Anders Opusculum de Meteoris*

79 This chapter is described by Huser as *Fragmentum ex alio Libro Meteororum ex Autographo Theophrasti. Vom Regenbogen*.

80 See H 8:250–252, 310–311.

81 On the missing part on theory, see below, H 8:262. In this treatise the generation of the rainbow is merely said to be caused by a seed and compared to the human birth (H 8:252). Likewise, the generation of strange phenomena in the heavens is compared to the birth of monsters among humans.

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can be placed at the crossroad of the evolving ideas of Paracelsus. Finally, a cross-reference should be mentioned: at some point Paracelsus hints at his *De Thermis* (H 8:273) with a precise reference that we have been able to identify in his *Von den Natürlichen Bädern*. Further study may offer more insight into the respective dating of these two works.

6.4.4 *Fragmenta Meteorica*

Other autograph, equally unpublished "*Fragmenta Meteorica*" are likewise best situated somewhere between the *Philosophy of the Elements* and *De Meteoris*: a chapter on winds (324–325) combines rather basic statements with one feature to be found again in *De Meteoris* ("But there are other winds that arise from the vapor of the three primary things": compare with H 8:210).

Other fragments among these *Fragmenta Meteorica* can be easily identified or at least situated. The first two fragments, on hoarfrost and dew (H 8:323–324), are later, more refined redactions of the corresponding chapters in the *Liber Tertius* […] *de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:299–300). They were most probably supposed to replace them. The second of two fragments on rainbow (*De Iride. Aliter*, H 8:329–331) is clearly another redaction of the corresponding chapter in *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8:250–252), although it is difficult to say which was written first. As for the first fragment on rainbow (H 8:327–329), it is close to the passage on rainbow in *De Meteoris* (H 8:222). Identifying all these interrelations not only brings some measure of order into the apparent chaos of Paracelsus's drafts: more generally, it also shows the benefits of a close attention for our understanding of the chronology of Paracelsus's works.

6.4.5 *Von den Natürlichen Wassern*, Book Five

To these explicitly meteorological fragments we have added the fifth book of a fragmentary treatise: *Von den Natürlichen Wassern* ("On natural waters"), that must be contemporary to the *Philosophy of the Elements*. Of this unpublished treatise Huser only recovered the third, fourth and fifth books, mostly from autographs (see our note on H 8:414). He placed them in an Appendix to vol. 8 of his edition (see H 8:A5^{v} and 365–428). Contrary to the other texts translated in this volume, this treatise is entirely directed toward a medical purpose. Whereas book three deals with "physical waters" ("Von Leiblichen Wassern") and book four with "growing waters" ("Von Wachsenden Brunnen"), i.e. all sorts of tree, plant, etc. saps ("ein jeglicher Safft / der in dem Gewechs der Erden ist," H 8:401), book five is about "falling waters" ("Von Fallenden Wassern," H 8:414–428), a topic also discussed in nearly all of P.'s meteorological treatises. Moreover, this kind of waters is expressly said to originate from the element of fire (H 8:414); the origin of rain is discussed there at length. The link to the other

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texts that we translate here is obvious. Yet this fifth book is written in a prolix, redundant manner, and offers rather poor rationales to account for the formation of rain, deprived of the systematic chymical explanations always present in the meteorological treatises. We are led to think of it as a draft, perhaps left over, much more than a completed work. What makes its presence, however, necessary in the present volume is this striking statement on its second page: "Accordingly, what is not described here is in the *Meteorica,* etc., of the *Fructus quatuor Elementorum*; likewise, what has been omitted in them is completed here" (H 8:415). In other words, this text was meant by P. to complete the *Philosophy of the Elements* on specific topics. Furthermore, this interdependency is cemented by the last sentence of the transitional *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8:277)—a sentence Huser took care to authenticate as faithfully copied *ad verbum* (word for word) from the autograph: "As for the remainder, find it in the book on falling waters" ("*Caetera quaere in Libro de Aquis praecipitantibus*"), which explains further the presence of the treatise *Von den Natürlichen Wassern* in Huser's vol. eight. As it happens, several passages of *Von den Natürlichen Wassern* have a close parallel in *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (see H 8:417, 427). Once more we must admire Huser's precise editorial work, which we can only feel compelled to emulate.

7 Questions Posed by the Authentic Writings

In editing the cosmological-meteorological writings of Paracelsus, we had to come to terms with their peculiarities. Some questions had to do with the fragmentary yet repetitive aspects of Paracelsus's work, its projection of multiple principles of causality, and finally the relationship of these features to the immediate or wider social-historical context of his writing. The relation of the *Philosophy of the Elements* to *De Meteoris* and to the thematically related drafts or fragments confronts us with a peculiarity of many of the extant writings which has received too little attention from scholars. It has to do with the inordinate amount of repetition with variations throughout his corpus. The thematic repetition is represented by numerous fragments, drafts, and alternate versions addressing the same theme, as well as by content repeated under different topical headings. Judging by their titles, the *Philosophy of the Elements* and *De Meteoris* are distinct works; yet both begin with a similar, though in many ways variant, interpretation of the creation of the elements and stars. Both works address topics of meteorology and associated prodigious phenomena, and both do so in much the same way, via the action of the *tria prima*, though also with significant differences.

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The question arises, why can we expect so much repetition with so many surprises in the works of Paracelsus? We can hypothesize three distinct (but not mutually exclusive) paradigms for his active authorship. In the first, we can imagine him sitting down wherever he might dwell in mental repose to develop and revise his perennial themes. Like other writers, he is prone to false starts and abortive drafts. Hence the repetitions. It is surprising, however, that a man who was forced to travel light did not discard his superseded autograph materials. It is also surprising that his repetitive alternate versions rarely took anything verbatim from previous drafts.[82] How could those drafts have a value that required their retention—by him or by those to whom he entrusted them—during his constant journeys, but not a value requiring a verbatim transferal of their wording? Even when writers rewrite, they tend to make use of the language of prior drafts. Yet verbatim incorporation is a rarity in the parallel versions, even when the content hardly changes at all. Why reinvent the same content when you can copy it?

One possible answer lies in the way Paracelsus left successive residences. He may have done so in haste, barely planning his departure and abandoning belongings. Among the latter were perhaps the manuscripts. These were then either discarded by his hosts or carefully preserved (due to an almost clairvoyant prescience), to find their way decades later into Huser's hands. A more likely possibility is that Paracelsus lent manuscripts to friends or offered them as payment to hosts or innkeepers. In this scenario, he might have begun a meteorological work only to lose it, or he might have entrusted it to an acquaintance, possibly expecting to recover it, which his evolving itinerary did not allow. He would therefore have had to begin anew, having perhaps changed his thinking in the meantime. This process could have occurred several times. Hence the fragments, drafts, and repetitions.

We can imagine an alternative paradigm. As has been argued elsewhere, Paracelsus, for whom stable residence was the exception, is known to have composed by dictation, as did many in his time. It is possible that even his autographs were copied by him from dictated transcripts. The spoken voice in any event shaped the pattern of his authorship.[83] From travel reports of more

82 Two easy, striking points of comparison are the brief chapters on hoarfrost and dew, on both H 8:299–300 (probably a first draft) and 323–324. The second text is longer, with additional repetitions as well as inconsequential elaborations. The respective texts on dew (*Vom Thaw*), however, that follow those on hoarfrost and are directly linked to them, are less close one to the other. They begin with the same sentence but then diverge substantially.

83 See ETW 40–41.

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established sixteenth-century sojourners such as Erasmus or Montaigne, we can surmise that he might have had little choice but to dictate in the common rooms of the inns he frequented.[84] Under such circumstances, dictation would have been public improvisation, influenced by momentary factors. Like a musical performance, this would have involved repetition of themes with variations. It would have drawn on inspiration and adapted itself to the receptivity of each chance audience. The uneducated would have appreciated the orientation from a familiar point of departure like that of the Creation. Such an audience would have been unaccustomed to learned discourse, yet susceptible to erudite Latinate coinages and sensational assertions, with the ailing among them eager for new insights and promising cures. In turbulent times, wayfarers would have sought spiritual guidance, perhaps having been primed by the bold sermons of itinerant lay preachers. Repetition would have been keyed to a fluid and untutored public. Declamation under such circumstances would have

84 See Weeks 1997, 59–60; cf. Montaigne, *Journal de voyage* [*en Italie par la Suisse et l'Allemagne en 1580 et 1581*]: Montaigne traveled through the same southwest German and Swiss regions a half century later during a time of peace and prosperity and was accorded the deference owed to his station. Yet despite many admirable facets of the material culture of the inns, his remarks confirm the inconvenience that would have frustrated any author. Meals are taken at a crowded table, "c'est-à-dire en salles communes" (Montaigne-Gavarini 1983, 92), while the dormitories ("très malpropres au service des chambres") provided the guest neither privacy, nor comfort for reflection, nor warmth, nor a desk for writing (p. 93). As for Erasmus, see Milt, "Paracelsus und Zürich" (1941). Milt quotes Erasmus's report of a much-frequented inn of his day which confirms the same inconveniences: "Oft kommen achtzig bis neunzig Fussgänger, Reiter, Kaufleute, Schiffer, Fuhrleute, Weiber und Kinder in einer Stube zusammen, Der eine wäscht sich, der andere kämmt sich, der dritte zieht sich aus und um, der vierte putzt seine schmutzigen Stiefel und der fünfte legt sich zum Schlafen nieder. Zur Stunde der gemeinsamen Mahlzeit breitet man Tischtücher über die Holztafeln, welche aber so schmutzig sind als wären sie eben erst von einer Segelstange herunter genommen worden. Im buntesten Durcheinander setzen sich nun meist acht Personen um einen Tisch. Jede erhält einen hölzernen Löffel und Teller. Ist das Essen vorbei, fällt es niemandem ein, die Tische abzudecken. Dann wird Wein aufgetragen, und nun erscheinen Schalksnarren und Hanswürste und belustigen die Gäste mit ihren Künsten; ein Teufelslärm geht los, dass man sein eigen Wort nicht versteht und befürchten muss, taub zu werden, Die Spassmacher singen, jauchzen und springen, pochen und machen solch gräulichen Lärm, dass die Stube einzufallen droht. Man muss wohl oder übel bis in die tiefe Nacht ausharren, wenn man das Spiel nicht verderben und Schaden haben will. Sollte sich einer vor Müdigkeit gleich nach dem Essen niederlegen wollen, wird er gebeten, zu warten, bis alle zu Bette gehen. Dann zeigt man jedem seine Schlafstelle oder seine kahle Kammer; ausser dem Bett, dessen Überzug meist nur jedes halbe Jahr einmal in die Wäsche kommt, gibt es darin keine Gegenstände der Bequemlichkeit" (Milt 1941, 322–323).—Dictating in crowded inns, perhaps in the hope of recruiting patients in order to pay his way, Paracelsus might indeed have favored drama and repetition.

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resulted in works very much like those that Paracelsus left us. Draft manuscripts handed over under such circumstances would have had a demonstrated significance for the recipients who had witnessed their presentation and therefore knew of their worth.

Haven't all of us in academia had the experience of adapting a lecture for a new set of auditors? Performative lecturing can be repetitive, but it can also be creative, which could make recordings or transcripts seem worth retaining. There is something jazz-like in Paracelsus's relentless recapitulation of theme and variation, in his startling turns of phrase and syncopated progressions. Both the itinerant preacher and the jazz musician acquire authority from "inspiration," a term with a religious root which is manifest in Paracelsus's citations of the Holy Spirit. Of course, even the jazz artist whose medium is guided by free expression passes through a career trajectory. Since the pattern of improvisation does not exclude gradual or abrupt development, it is worthwhile to chart the evolution of the thinking and writing of such an author. One should bear in mind, however, that the improviser is more given to disjunctive delivery than the scholar who works steadily without clamor and diversion. We sedentary scholars with easy access to libraries and digital records should avoid casting the tormented, itinerant polemicist-theorist too much in our own image.

A characteristic inconsistency also results from Paracelsus's conflation of distinct orders of causality. Causal ambiguity results less from empirical confusion than from conflicting sources of authority. As a public-performative composer of his oeuvre, Paracelsus was eager to co-opt every source of medical or philosophical authority, except, too openly, that of his perennial rivals, Aristotle, Galen, Avicenna, and scholasticism. He embraced second-hand knowledge and the lures of the fantastic and prodigious which awed his listeners and the readers of kindred pamphlets. We must therefore expect to read of marvels and to encounter non sequiturs and contradictions. The latter echo the contending voices of authority in his historical context, where rival humanists and competing medical experts published and debated furiously. His very inconsistencies might have implicated a disregard for established authority and thereby granted license to free speculation. Here was a voice unafraid to challenge every received opinion, yet a mind open to nearly every voice, including that of popular hearsay and rumor.[85]

If his multiple causality and his plethora of principles of explanation reflect the multi-centered, fragmenting political-ideological order, rent by religious

85 On the limits of the notion of popular culture in this very context, see Vermiij 2010, 651.

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and learned schisms, there is in Paracelsus a corresponding and kindred ambiguity in the *vertical* aspect of power and authority. What are the lines linking the sovereign power of God with the execution of the divine will in nature? Why the many indistinctly characterized intermediaries between the unquestioned supremacy of the divine will and the actualization of that will in the realm of experience? Why, for example, does the *aniadus* act like a laborer anonymously fulfilling a higher design? It seems that no being possessing the majesty of God could be expected to sow and tend his own garden. God's servant should be efficient and self-effacing. Moreover, the servant needs to be the one sowing the seeds; for they include not only the good wheat but the evil weeds or tares (*zizania*). The latter must be separated and burned only after the Judgment in the parable told by Jesus in Matthew 13, a *locus communis* for early modern advocates of tolerance.[86] Beneath the heading of *De Cibariis* Paracelsus's final example addresses the problem of the *zizania* or weeds, as well as the diversity resulting from the "tincture of the earth and the heavens in all lands" (H 8:120). The biblical cast of the language of this passage suggests that Paracelsus has read Christ's parable both literally and allegorically. Pluralism in society, variety in nature, evil in a world made by a good Creator, and tolerance for human error—these were several implications of a single theoretical paradigm.

Not only did Paracelsus deliberately ignore explanations of meteorological phenomena from medieval or early modern physics or optics in favour of a chymical interpretation—the rainbow is the most striking example of this. His observations often disregard empirical evidence. More precisely, we see him theorizing instead of trying to make sense of empirical data. His book on the fourth element of water is as counterintuitive as the one devoted to the fiery element. Paracelsus rejects the notions of complexion and quality in favor of a counterintuitive holistic concept (H 8:125). To appreciate the peculiarity of his notion of the aqueous element, one need only compare two alternate views which were readily accessible. The first is that of a hierarchy in which everything seeks its proper place. For Paracelsus, however, the relationship of water to earth has to do with the reciprocal support of the elements. Just as what grows from the earth is contained in the *corpus* of the *chaos* or air, what grows from water—the springs and bodies of water, as well as of the metals—is supported by the earth (H 8:124).[87] As in an organic division of labor, air (and fire within it), earth, and water sustain one another. The upper does not indolently

86 Kamen 1967, 11–12, 27.

87 "Der *Chaos* tregt die *Impressiones*, dz Element Fewr tregt dem Erdtrich sein Frücht / das Erdtrich dem Wasser / das Wasser dem Lufft / also / das jedes Elements Frücht in dem andern Element getragen werden."

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lord it over a supine underling in hierarchical domination. Paracelsus would likewise have witnessed the hydraulic power of water that could overpower land by flooding if not resisted by weirs. No theory was needed to recognize that water could be converted to mechanical power by mills or harnessed to navigable vessels by rudders. Instead of this commonsensical approach to the aqueous element, Paracelsus rejects the immanent function or force in favor of the transcendent one. Blind physical force is as antithetical to his vision as is inert elemental passivity.

The medieval world valued order. The valorized order of the cosmos was visible to the naked medieval eye insofar as God and the angels resided above and the peasant was bound to his soil down below. Paracelsus, however, offered his vision of a cosmos without any self-evident "above" and "below," one in which seemingly inert surfaces opened to reveal vital forces and the seemingly remote stars elicited earthly dew, rain, and snow, as well as unearthly, yet naturally produced, wonders. The centrifugal, anarchic forces of the cosmos were circumscribed by his capacious symbols of growth and life. These rendered the world whole by integrating its mysterious transformations with the image of the triune God and his Word, and with a vividly posited and fervently believed beginning and ending of all things, announced in Scripture and echoed in alchemical transformations. Just as, in the wake of Luther, a new order was arising in which each individual soul was bound externally in this world while remaining inwardly free in the realm of God, the natural world of Paracelsus was liberated from the weight of hierarchy, even while preserving within all things the transformative essence of a triad reflective of the Holy Trinity.

By ignoring Aristotle's clearcut division between the sublunar and celestial region—the former subjected to generation and corruption, the latter composed of incorruptible aether—, Paracelsus directly linked up with twelfth-century cosmology.[88] Instead of accepting, however, the Platonic notion of a world soul ruling the cosmos—a common topic in the twelfth century—, he merged the early medieval cosmological scheme of a homogeneous cosmos with the Biblical account of creation.

The direct link between Paracelsus and twelfth-century philosophers free of any Aristotelian influence does not come as a surprise. Paracelsus himself mentioned Hildegard of Bingen.[89] Parallels with Honorius Augustodunensis, Hugh

88 See e.g. Lindberg 2010, 255–256.

89 H 9:457. See Pagel 1982, 210–212 (despite Pagel's obsessive emphasis on so-called "gnostic" topics); Laurence Moulinier, "Did Paracelsus read Hildegard of Bingen?", in *Paracelsus*

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of St. Victor,[90] or William of Conches[91] have already been suggested. His unified cosmos can only be seen as the epitome of this strong intellectual kinship in cosmological matters.

If Paracelsus's nature theory seems to consign him to mystical or retrograde speculation, we nonetheless reject such a simple evaluation. A no less persuasive case can be made for his anticipation of nature theories one considers more advanced. Paracelsus without a doubt assaulted and undermined the hegemony of medieval scholasticism, as well as the backward-facing humanist's focus on antiquity, on Aristotle, Avicenna, and Galen. Medieval Aristotelian cosmology distinguished sharply between the being of the celestial spheres and that of the earthly elements. Paracelsus, even at his murkiest, contests such distinctions. The medieval cosmology of perfect unchanging celestial spheres was rooted in the Aristotelian understanding of an uncreated, and thus essentially permanent, nature. Paracelsus instead imputed the core transience of his three principles modeled on combustion, a model which is both reflective of his transitional era and of the more dynamic physics and social being of our own.

The relevance of early modern cosmology extends beyond any anticipation of modern science. The latter delineates sharply between the moralized sphere of human sentiments and activities, and a value-free understanding of the environment. The moralized natural world of the medieval or early modern era does not draw these sharp distinctions. The true medicine in Paracelsus's *Paragranum*, for example, rests as much on virtue as on philosophy, astronomy, and alchemy. Lightning can allude to the Apocalypse (H 8:235–236). Early modern moralism was therefore arguably prescient. For in the Anthropocene, we no longer live in a nature untouched by human iniquity. The blindness of the human microcosm darkens and distorts the natural macrocosm.

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and the Forgotten Reformation, ed. Urs Leo Gantenbein, Andrew Weeks and Didier Kahn (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

90 ETW 181, n. 2 and 113, n. 1.

91 Kahn 2016, 81–82.

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Text and Translation

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PHILOSOPHIA THEOPHRASTI BOMBASTI AB HOHENHEIM, SVEVORUM Arpinatis,[a] *Germani, Eremi, AD ATHENIENSES*[b]

Vorredt[c] In den Andern PARAS[d] deß Fürsten *Theophrasti.*

Hierinnen beschreibt der Fürst *Theophrastus*, die ander[e] *Paras* mit dreyen Bücheren deß ersten Volumens seiner *Philosophiae* : Vnd meldt darinnen den Vrsprung aller Geschöpff ihrs ersten Anfangs : Vnd nennt den Ersten Anfang *Mysterium Magnum*,[f] vnd setzt / dz alle Geschöpff auß disem *Mysterio Magno* geboren vnd entsprungen seind : Vnd gibt mit zu verstahn / das die Geschöpff nit geboren seind / sondern von Einer Geburt hie seind / vnd theilt in die vier

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a In a writing of 11 June, 1528, "Arpinas," the birth-place of Cicero, is mentioned thus: "Theophrastus ist ein Medicus, so jhr Poeten in der Medicin sind. Dem ist er kein Graecus, sed tamen Germanus. Einem andren / non est Latinus, tamen **Arpinas**. Non est trilinguis, da will er nicht Leut bescheissen wie jhr." *Von den Blatern,* [...] *vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen*— H C:265a. This writing reflects a post-Basel era when P. is suffering from his humiliation by humanist opponents who had invoked the shade of Galen in Latin satirical verse.—The original edition had a slightly different wording: *Philosophia Theophrasti, Bombast Hohenhaim Suevi Arpine Germani Eremi, ad Athenienses*. Huser changed it to a more standard Latin.

b P. elsewhere cites the Athenian converted by Paul, Dionysius Areopagita, an exemplar of the wise astronomer who looks beyond nature to the divine source of all (H 1:242, cf. vis-à-vis).

c The only other writing in the works of P. that systematically includes a "Vorred" and "Beschlußred" before and after each of its books is the *Grosse Wundartzney*, first published in 1536 and often reprinted.

d The novel noun *paras* calls to mind the work titles prefixed by *para-* that laid out P.'s most encompassing ideas between 1529–1532; at the same time, it suggests "paragraphs."

e Despite the reference to the "second ("ander") Paras," nothing suggests that this is not the beginning of the treatise. For a hypothesis on what might be the first "Paras" in the author's mind, see Kahn 2019, 446–448 (Kahn 2022, 34–36).

f A possibly early occurrence of the term *M⟨ysterium⟩ magnum* in P.'s work is in *De Ente Astrorum*, a part of the *Volumen Paramirum* (*"Entienschrift"*), where it designates an omnipresent, life-giving entity that both contains and sustains the elements: "Also merckt hinwider / das noch eins ist / das den leib halt / welcher leib das leben halt : dasselbig ist nicht minder zuuerlieren / als der lufft. Der lufft wirt in demselbigen enthalten / vnnd auß demselbigen : vnnd [so] das nit were / so zergieng der lufft. Das Firmament lebt auß dem : vnd so das nicht im Firmament were / so zergieng das Firmament : vnd wir heissen das M. [*sic*]. Dann nichts ist in allen beschaffen vber daß / nichts ist mehrers / nichts ist dem Artzt nützer zubetrachten. [...] Aber also mercken in euch / das diß M. alle geschöpff enthalt / in Himmel vnd Erden : vnd

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THE PHILOSOPHY AD ATHENIENSES[1] OF THEOPHRASTUS BOMBASTUS VON HOHENHEIM, THE SWABIAN Arpinate,[2] German, Einsiedler

Preface To the second PARAS of Prince[3] THEOPHRASTUS.

In this treatise, Prince Theophrastus gives an account of the second *Paras* in three books of the first volume of his *Philosophia*.[4] There, he explains the origin of the first beginning of all created things. He calls this first beginning the *Mysterium Magnum* and declares that all created things were born and have emerged from it. He thereby makes it known that the creatures are not born in any other way but from One Birth, and he details the four mothers out of which

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alle Elementen leben auß jhm vnnd in jhm. Wie aber dasselbige euch zuuerstehen ist / solt jhr eingedenck sein *de primo creato*, was da angezeigt wirdt / vnnd die jetzigen meldung vom M. wie hernach volgt" (H 1:18).—On the next page this entity was named "*M. magnum*," if we can credit Huser's autograph-based edition: "das ist *M. magnum*. Vnd sagen dir daß also an / daß dieses *M.m.* ein solch ding ist / das alle geschöpff darauß leben / vnd jhr leben in dem vnd auß dem endthalten" (H 1:19). Sudhoff, no doubt influenced by the *Philosophia ad Athienienses*, suggested that "*M. magnum*" stands for *Mysterium magnum* (S 1:183). Another excerpt of the same section *De Ente Astrorum* has a close parallel in the *Philosophia ad Athenienses*: see below, H 8:8, note c. We should note, however, that the word *mysterium* (without the adjective *magnum*) also appears in *Archidoxis* more prominently than elsewhere in P.'s works.

1 Huser offers an alternate reading of the title ("ubi alii legendum putant, ad *Uticenses*"); but this makes little sense. As the title stands, it calls to mind P.'s boasts of surpassing such philosophers as Aristotle as well as the preaching of the Apostle Paul to the Athenians in Acts 17:16–34. This accords with the Bible-based metaphysics of this work. P.'s authenticated writing knows the **Athenian man** thought to have been converted by Paul, Dionysius Areopagita, as an exemplar of the wise astronomer who looks beyond nature to the divine source of all things (ETW 728–729).

2 See vis-à-vis.

3 The title "Fürst Theophrast" was only applied to Paracelsus once, one year before the *PaA*, in 1563 (*Deß erfarnesten Fürsten aller Artzeten Aureoli Theophrasti Paracelsi Von ersten dreyen principiis*, [Basel], 1563). The Basel publisher probably added it: the editor, Adam von Bodenstein, always called Paracelsus "Doctor" and never "Fürst" in his preface.

4 See vis-à-vis.

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A6v Mütter[a] / auß denen alle ding geboren | seind. Aber diser vier Mütter anfang bewert er nit Ein Geburt : will also da in der *Paras*, dz alle ding wiederkommen in jhr Erst Wesen / vnnd zeigt vrsach an warumb : Befindt sich durch sein Schreiben / das durch dz Ewige / so da mit dem Zergenglichen verwandt ist / solchs geursacht wirdt : Vnnd gibt do zuverstahn ein Gemächt der Ewigkeit / vnnd vns Tödtlichen gantz verborgen : Gibt do anzeigung der Seel Herfart vnnd Hinfart / vnnd was sie sey. Durch solche dieses *Paras* beschreibung / mag der Fürst *Theophrastus* ein Wegweiser aller *Philosophiae* genannt werden / vnd ein anzeiger der Philosophischen Warheit / mit gantzem natürlichen Grund : Dann er allein die Bewerung setzt zu der Warheit gnugsam zu sein.

1 *TEXTVS PHILOSOPHIAE THEOPHRASTI*
PARACELSI BOMBAST ab Hohenheim.

Aller geschaffnen dingen / die da in zergenglichem Wesen stehen / ist gewesen ein einiger Anfang / in welchem beschlossen gewesen ist alles Geschöpff / so zwischen den Etheren eingefangen vnnd begriffen seindt. Vnnd soll verstanden werden / dz alle Geschöpff auß Einer Materien kommen / vnd nit eim jedlichen ein eigens gegeben. Diese *Materia* aller ding / ist *Mysterium Magnum*, vnnd nicht ein begreiffligkeit auff keinerley Wesen gestelt / noch in kein Bildtnuß geformiert : Auch mit keiner Eigenschafft jncliniert / dergleichen ohn Farben vnnd Elementische Natur. So weit sich die Etheren[b] eingeben haben / so weit ist gewesen der Kreiß *Mysterij Magni*. Diß *Mysterium Magnum* ist ein Mutter gewesen aller Elementen / vnd gleich in solchen auch ein Großmutter aller Stern / Bäwmen / vnnd der Creaturen deß Fleischs : Dann auß dem / wie von einer Mutter Kinder geboren werden / also auch vom *Mysterio Magno* geboren seindt alle Geschöpff von Entpfindtlichen vnd Vnentpfindtlichen : vnnd

a The elements as "**mothers**" are a fixture of P.'s nature philosophy. See the citation on H 8:28, note a, and H 8:56, note c.

b The plural form "Etheren" only occurs in the present work. P. uses "aethereal" ("etherisch") as a synonym for celestial or "of the heavens," but with an increasing tendency to go beyond the analogy of earthly and celestial operations to posit an animate agent carrying out such operations in the heavens. Thus, *De Meteoris* persistently equates processes in the heavens with those carried out in the laboratory (see H 8:211, 213, 215, 216, 218, 221, 229, 233, 236, 244). *Astronomia Magna*, however, posits an independent agency in speaking of ethereal spirits or arts. (See H 10:13, 17). Thus, "Es seindt aber nicht Artes Humanae, sondern Artes Aethereae: Das ist / der Himmel ist selbst Astronomus, ist selbs derselbig der es thut / vnnd vollbringt / vnd macht das Werck" (H 10:97). For more occurrences in Paracelsus and authors related to him, see *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch*, 2:440–441.

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all things are | born. But the beginnings in the four mothers are not shown to be One Birth.[1] In the *Paras*, he contends that all things return to their first being and he demonstrates why this is so. It is stated in his writing that this happens by virtue of the eternal which is related to the transient. He lets it be known that this is a work of eternity, utterly concealed from us mortal creatures. He offers an indication of the soul's provenance and return,[2] and of what the soul is.[3] Because of the account of this *Paras*, Prince Theophrastus may be regarded a guiding light of all philosophy and a herald of philosophical truth, quite naturally so. For he alone proves himself adequate to the truth. A6v

TEXTVS PHILOSOPHIÆ THEOPHRASTI PARACELSI BOMBAST ab Hohenheim 1
[Text of the Philosophy of Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim]

⟨First Text⟩

Of all created things that are transient there was only one beginning. It comprised all of creation hemmed in and encompassed by the ethers.[4] This means that all created things are from one material. There was not given to each its own. This *materia* of all things is the *Mysterium Magnum* and [it was] not constituted as something tangible, nor formed into any image. Nor was any property peculiar to it. Accordingly, it was without colors or elemental nature. The circle of the *Mysterium Magnum* extended as far as the ethers made room for it. The *Mysterium Magnum* was a mother of all elements and, equally within them, a grandmother of all stars, trees, and creatures of the flesh. For in the same way that children are born of a mother, all creatures, sentient or insentient, are born from the *Mysterium Magnum*, and all other things as well. Accordingly, the *Mysterium Magnum* is a single mother of all transient things;

1 The contradiction whereby all things are of "one birth," yet the four elements are not, can only be obviated if the author means not the elements themselves, but rather means that the things born form each element have their own distinct elemental birth.

2 The departure of the soul is obvious, but the provenance or arrival of the soul raises questions. Perhaps a Platonic view is intended here (the soul coming from the *anima mundi*).

3 This account is a bit optimistic. The text of the *Philosophia ad Athenienses* is not as straightforward on the matter of the soul as it seems here. See below, H 8:14. Like the prefaces to the next two books of the work, this first preface promises more than the text delivers.

4 See vis-à-vis. A similar statement, mentioning the heavens instead of the ethers, is found in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:57–58).

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aller andern gleichformig. Vnnd ist *Mysterium Magnum* ein einige Mutter aller tödtlichen ding / vnnd haben jhren Vrsprung in jhr genommen / nicht nach einander / sondern in Einer Schöpffung / Substantz / Materi / Form / Wesen / Natur vnnd Inclinierung gegeben seindt.[a]

Der Ander Text.

Alß[b] nuhn ein solches *Mysterium* gewesen ist / das dann keinem Geschöpff gleich gesehen hatt / vnnd dasselbige auch nicht gewesen / vnnd ist doch
2 die Erste Materi gewesen / | auß der alle Tödtliche jhren Vrsprung haben : Ist solches nicht anders zuverstehen / dann wie ein Menschlich Vrin[c] auß dem Wasser / Lufft / Erden vnnd Fewr wirdt / vnd deren keim gleich sicht / noch ist / vnnd alle Elementen mit sampt der andern gepierung darauß entspringen mögen in die drit Generation. Wiewol der Vrin ein Geschöpff ist / nimbt sich do die theilung zwischen jhm / vnnd dem. Also ist *Mysterium Magnum* vngeschaffen von dem höchsten Künstler zu bereittet / vnd wird jhm keine nimmer mehr gleich / vnd kommt auch nimmer wider. Dann gleich wie ein Käß nimmer zu Milch wird / also wenig wird die Generation in jhr erste Materien widerkommen. Wiewol das ist / das alle ding widerumb in sein erst Wesen kommen / aber nicht in dz *Mysterium :* Dann was da verzert ist / mag nicht wider gebracht werden / es geschicht auch nicht : Aber in das wol / das vor dem *Mysterium* gewesen ist.

Der Dritt Text.

Vnnd wiewol *Mysterium Magnum* ein Mutter ist aller Creaturen / Entpfindlichen vnnd Vnentpfindtlichen : So seindt doch nicht alle gewächs in jhr geformiert gewesen / noch Thier / noch dergleichen viel anders mehr : Aber in

a No passage in P.'s authentic work quite matches this terse reduction of the creation; however, an astute imitator might have known P.'s inclination to treat the successive days of creation as the key to the structures of being understood as relations of power and authority, as at the outset of *Astronomia Magna:* "Daß euch fürgelegt werde / Erstlich der anfang der dingen allen / ist von nöten inzugreiffen das Werck in der Ersten Schöpffung / wie Himmel vnd Erden / vnd alle Creaturen erschaffen sein worden / dieselben Ordnung merck also. Erstlich der Leib / nach dem Leib der Regierer / nach demselben den empfindtlichen Leib : Nach demselben sein König der jhn regieret / demnach ein König der den Menschen regiert : Solches verstehet also. Erstlich ist ein Leib erschaffen der Obern vnnd Vndern Spherae, also daß das Firmament ein Leiblichs Wesen hab / auch die Element in beyden Himmel vnd Erden. […] Also haben ein Endt genommen die Tag der Erschöpffung / vnd Ordnung aller Creaturn" (H 10:10).

b The original text has "Also." Huser has "Alß," which does not do justice to the sequence of sentences from first to second "texts."

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and they have their beginnings in her, not one after the other; rather they have been yielded in one creation, [in one] substance, material, form, being, nature, and inclination.[1]

Second Text

So there was a *Mysterium* of this kind that resembled no creature, and no such thing had existed, yet it was the prime matter | from which all transient things 2
would have their origin. We must think of it as like human urine[2] out of which water, air, earth, and fire emerge, which looks like nothing else, nor indeed is anything else; yet out of it arise all the elements in the second world-creating generation, out of which all other things arise in the third level of generation. Urine is of course a created thing, which is the difference between it and the other. Thus, the *Mysterium Magnum*, though uncreated,[3] has been prepared by the highest Artist and will never have its equal nor be found again. For just as cheese never returns to milk, neither can the generation return to its first *materia*. It is true that all things will return to their first being, but they will not return to the *Mysterium*. For what has been consumed[4] cannot be brought back. But it can be returned to what was prior to the *Mysterium*.[5]

Third Text

Moreover, although *Mysterium Magnum* is a mother of all creatures, sentient or insentient, not all things that grow were formed in it, nor were all animals, nor many other things of the kind. But we do know in this regard that

c Though **urine** has always been of interest to the diagnosing physician and P.'s interest conforms generally to his profession, two transformative aspects of urine lend it a heightened appeal: its capacity to generate saltpeter or *salniter*, a key component of P.'s three principles with their explosive and transforming power; and the relationship of urine to the malign consolidation of the *tartarus* or stone. This metaphoric role of urine in the genesis of the world is not, however, a widespread association in P.'s works.

1 ***Inclinatio*** is used astronomically, meaning to direct something immaterial toward a particular object (see OED, incline, 4c).

2 The prime matter of creation as **urine** proposes a nuance in the debate whether such material was preexisting and natural or divine and eternal. The age of the physician Rabelais and of German Grobianism favored coarse humor.

3 See H 8:3, note 7.

4 See Grimm, **verzehren** (II D 1), the term can refer to consumption both in the sense of eating something and burning something up.

5 This description of the *Mysterium Magnum* is extremely close to that of *Yliaster* in the *Philosophy of the Elements*. See below, H 8:55, 57–58, 59, 98, and our Introduction, p. 12.

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solchem zu erkennen ist / das sie allen *Generalia Mysteria* verlassen hatt : Den Menschen dz *Mysterium*, vnd den Thieren / sich selbst zu mehren in jhrer Form / den Einfüssigen[a] jhr Wesen / der gleichen andern sonderliche *Mysteria* auff jhre Form geeignet. Also auch in solcher gestalt *Mysterium* von solchen auch Vrsprung nemmen / von welchem anders mag geboren werden / dann dz *Mysterium* geordnet hatt : Dann der *[b] Stern ist ein *Mysterium* (Poff)[c] der [Kefer][d] / der Mucken / der Fliegen : Die Milch ist ein *Mysterium* deß Käß / der Butter / vnd Zigers / vnnd dergleichen : Der Käß ein *Mysterium* der Maden vnd Würm / so in jhm Würme wachsen : vnd widerumb die Maden[e] ein *Mysterium* seiner *Faecum*. Also sind zweyerley *Mysteria*, dz groß / als ein *Mysterium increatum*, die andern als Kindskinder / *Mysteria specialia* geheissen.

Der Vierdt Text.

Dieweil vnnd nuhn auß dem *Mysterio Increato* alle andere todtliche seindt
3 gewachsen vnnd entsprungen : Ist nuhn zuverstehen | / dz kein Geschöpff früer / spater / oder sonderlichen geschaffen sey / sondern alls mit einander. Dann das höchst *Arcanum*,[f] vnnd groß Gutt / deß Creators / hatt alle ding in dz *Increatum* geschaffen / nicht Formlich / nicht Wesenlich / nicht Qualitetisch / sondern es ist in dem *Increato* gewesen / wie ein Bildt in eim Holtz ist : Wiewol dasselbige nicht ersehen wirdt / es sey dann / daß das vberig Holtz hindan

a This is the only occurrence of this word in the entire Huser edition, whether in German or a Greek-Latin equivalent.

b * f⟨orsan⟩ Stercus (note by Huser in the margin).

c In the original edition the publisher put an asterisk both before "Stern" and "poff," thus indicating an uncertain reading. Huser placed "Poff" in brackets but maintained the asterisk before "Stern."

d The original edition has "Risen." Huser replaced it with "Kefer" between brackets, an astute correction.

e The physician P. knows worms and magots as infestations of wounds which can be caused by celestial influence, as in the *Eilff Tractat. Von Würmen:* "Als jhr secht / das alle die Keß vndter den warmen Sternen in der zeit Augusti, Iulij, etc. zu Würmen werden oder Maden / vnd sunst zu andern zeiten nicht / das vrsacht der Himmel / deß Lauff also ist" (H 4:168). Though specific to celestial action in causing illness, the generation effects a particular material, notably cheese for maggots: "so viel mehr kan er Bericht geben / dann Grillen im Laymen / dann Maden im Käß / dann Würm im Holtz" (H 10:101; cf. *Archidoxis, Liber octavus, De Elixirijs*—H 6:90).

f The ***arcanum*** lies at the heart of P.'s Christian-naturalistic-herbal medicine as in *Von den natürlichen Dingen:* "Dorumb nuhn so wissend / das Gott den Menschen mit aller notturfft versorgt hatt / vnnd sein Willen gegen Menschen in die Natur geben / vnnd derselbige Will Gottes ist das **Arcanum**, das in den natürlichen dingen ist : Vnd so viel seindt der **Arcana**, so

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it[1] preordained[2] all *generalia mysteria:* to human beings is given their *mysterium*, to the animals their directive to procreate in their form, to monopeds[3] their particular being, and so on with other particular *mysteria* suitable for their respective forms. So, too, there are kinds of *mysteria* from which stem the generations that give rise to other things not preordained by the *mysterium*. Thus, the star (*perhaps dung) is a *mysterium*[4] of [bugs],[5] gnats, and flies. Milk a *mysterium* of cheese, butter, and curds,[6] and so on with other things of the kind. Cheese is a *mysterium* of maggots and worms if these grow in it, and maggots a *mysterium* of feces. Hence you can see that there are two kinds of *mysteria*. The great one is *Mysterium Increatum*, while the others are like children's children and are called *mysteria specialia*.

Fourth Text

Now, furthermore, since all subsequent perishable things arose and grew out of the *Mysterium Increatum*, we should understand | that no created thing was 3
created earlier, later, or separately, but rather they all came into being together.[7] For the supreme *Arcanum*, the great goodness of the Creator, constituted all things in the *Increatum*, not formally, not substantially, not qualitatively; but rather it all lay in the *Increatum* the way an image yet to be carved is latent in wood. The thing to be carved cannot, however, be seen until the extraneous

viel vnd dem Menschen Noth zustehndt / so viel hingegen der Arcana : Vnd so viel Arcana, so viel auch Willn Gottes." (H 7:153). The fifth book of *Archidoxis* defines the *arcanum* as uncorporeal and eternal (H 6:43).

1 The *MM* as "Mutter."

2 See Grimm, **verlassen** (8), to leave behind orders for something.

3 The mention of one-footed creatures intimates avant-garde knowledge of newly discovered or imagined creatures, publicized in *Elucidarius, Von allerhand Geschöpffen Gottes* (1544), and equally admired by the French surgeon Ambroise Paré.

4 Dung was supposed to spontaneously generate bugs and flies (see vis-à-vis). Huser's suggestion is perfectly consistent with the notion of *Mysterium* as a prime matter of created things.

5 One must admire Huser's clever corrections to this passage. See vis-à-vis.

6 See Grimm, ***Zieger***-; "curds" is used to avoid the repetition of "cheese" and because the context suggests the stages of processing milk.

7 If there is to be no contradiction with the previous exposition of a succeeding hierarchy of births, then the point of this statement is its affirmation that the days of creation were not a literal sequence: all hexaemeric creations were simultaneous, as Saint Augustine had influentially argued. This is not to say that the creatures, be they elements, animals, or plants, did not continue to recreate and procreate the "children's children" of the Third Text.

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geschnitten werd / darnach so wirdt das Bildt erkennt.[a] Also auch das *Mysterium Increatum* nicht anders zuverstehen ist / dann daß das Fleischliche / vnnd das Vnentpfindtliche in seiner Scheidung / jedlichs in sein Form vnnd Gestalt kommen ist. Dann do ist kein Span abgeworffen / sondern es ist alles zur Form vnnd Wesen kommen / vnnd deßgleichen. Einer solchen Theilung wirdt kein Schnitzer[b] zu Ewigen Zeiten mehr erfunden / der also den minsten Gran / vnnd vnnützlisten / zu Nutz vnnd in etwas Lebendigs enden kan.

Der Fünfft Text.

Also soll verstanden werden / das nicht ein Hauß gezimmert ist worden auß dem *Mysterio Magno*, auch nicht zusammen getragen die Thier / etwann außgemacht / deßgleichen auch nicht das ander gewächs : Sondern wie ein Artzt zusammen setzt ein *Compositum*[c] mit viel Tugenden / wiewol das ein einige Materi ist / vnnd erscheindt der Tugendt keiner gleich / als in jhr verborgen ligt in solcher gestalt. Darumb zu gedencken ist / das allerley Geschöpff so in Etheren begriffen werden zusammen geordnet seindt in das *Mysterium Magnum :* Nicht das vollkommen in seiner Substantz / Form vnnd Wesen / sondern auß einer vollkommen subtilen Arth / die vns tödtlichen vnwissendt ist / also in Ein beschlossen. Dann wir alle von dem tödtlichen geschaffen sein / nicht anders gewachsen dann wie die *Procreationes Saturni*, der in seiner Scheidung alle Farben vnd Formen gibt / vnd deren keins sichtiglich in jhm seind.[d] Vnd dieweil die *Mysteria Saturni* solche *Procreationes* erzeigen : noch mehr dz groß Wunder *Mysterium Magnum* in jhm hatt / so in seiner Scheidung alle ding von seinen

a The same idea occurs in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:58, v1). See also *Liber de Podagricis et suis speciebus* (H 4: 265): "Dann der *Corpus* vnd Ampt ist Ein ding / vnd ohn die Formierung deß *Corpus* mügen nit sein die *Arcana* vnd *Mysteria*: Dann die Form deß *Corpus* geth auß der Form der Arcanen. Zugleicher weiß als ein Schmid / der hatt im Sinn / dz das Eisen werden muß: Nuhn ist die Form in ihm / dieselbige muß in das Eisen / vnd dieweil das Eisen nit ist / vnd wird / wie ers im Sinn hatt / dieweil ist das Ampt nicht im Eisen."

b See below, H 8:60. The carver or sculptor of wood is a perennial metaphor of P. for the Creator. The carver can be interchangeable with other craft laborers, all of whom are inferior to the divine archetype, as in *Eilff Tractat. Von Würmen*: "So das ist / vnd ist also / so ist derselbige Schnitzer / Giesser / Goldtschmid / etc. der das macht / vnd so viel meisterlicher / auß Dreck vnd Koth macht ers / vnd erzeigt sein Meisterschafft. Wer ist der / der auß solchen faulen dingen etwas gutts könne machen? Der Mensch muß gutt Metallen / gutt Holtz han: Der Himmel aber / der jhr meister ist / der nimbt faul ding vnd macht lebendig Bilder dorauß" (H 4:170).

c Though this context is conventional, P. elsewhere equates the human creature to a *compositum* crafted by God: "wie das der Mensch Quintum Esse ist auß den vier Elementen / ein Außzug auß der gantzen Welt / ein Compositum von allen Essentiis Extrahirt / Colligirt / vnd

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wood is cut away: then at last the image is recognized. Therefore, the *Mysterium Increatum* cannot be understood in any other way but the sense that in its separation the carnal[1] and the insentient came each to its own form and figuration. As yet, no wood chips have been cast aside. Everything has attained its form, being, and the like. For such a division as this, there will be no other carver in all eternity who can take the least grain and the most useless thing and finish it for use and as something that lives.

Fifth Text

What should be clear from this is that it is not as if a house had been hammered together out of the *Mysterium Magnum*, nor were the animals constructed or made out of it. The same holds for the other things that grow. Instead, imagine how a physician compiles compounded medication having many virtues. The medication is a single material; yet none of its virtues is like the other in its latent properties. Thus, you should assume that all sorts of created things comprised in the ethers were arrayed within the *Mysterium Magnum*. Not that they were already perfected in their substance, form, or being, but they were arrayed along a perfectly subtle arrangement unknown to us mortals, comprised all in One. For we are all made from mortal stuff: we have not grown in any other manner than have the *procreationes Saturni*, which in separating yield all their colors and forms without a one having previously been visible.[2] If the *Mysteria Saturni* yield such *procreationes*, the great wonder of the *Mysterium Magnum* must contain all the more in itself. In its separation, all sorts of

Fabricirt. Also in solcher gestalt / so Gott will ein Creatum machen / nach der ersten Schöpffung / so nimpt er auß denselbigen / deren art es sein soll / Materiam vnnd Essentiam, wie er dann den Menschen auß der grossen Welt genommen hatt" (*Das Dritte Buch der grossen Wundartzney*—H C:142a).

d See other texts such as *Das Buch von allen offnen schäden* (H C:387a): "Vnd zu gleicherweiß / wie jhr sehend / das im Saturno iij. farben ligen / roth / weiß / vnd gelb / vnd ist doch der Saturnus an jhm selbs dieselbigen farben nicht / noch seind sie in jhm : Also auch im Eysen / braun / roth / vnd schwartz / vnd ist es an jhm selb doch nicht. Hierauff mercke das Exempel zu verstehen / wie dise Farben geöffnet werden durch die Separatz / also werden auch die Salia in der scheidung erkennet. Vnd wie roht vom Saturno roth ferbet / gel dz gel macht / auß krafft der Separation : Dermassen auch ist der Alumen ein Alumen, Sal ein Saltz hie in Vlceribus."

1 Palthen glosses "the carnal" as "the sentient": "carneum seu sensibile, et insensibile [...]."

2 See vis-à-vis, and the reference to various colors contained in lead in the *Philosophy of the Elements*, below, H 8:140.

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vbrigen erschnitten sind / vnd doch nichts vbrig in dem erfunden / als ein Werck in dem nichts zu verlust gehet / es gebiert nach jhm ein anders Gewächs oder *Materiam*.

4 Der Sechst Text.

So ist zu erkennen / das in dem Schnitzwerck deß *Mysterij magni* mancherley Abwerffen gewesen sind : Etlichs in Fleisch / vnd das in wunderbarlich viel Gestalt vnnd Form : Etlichs in Meerwunder / mit vielerley Form vnd Ansichtung : Etliche zu Kreuttern / etlichs zu Holtz : Etlichs in Stein vnnd Metallen : Dann nicht zu ermessen ist / wie solches der Allmechtig Gott beschnitzet hatt / anderst / dann das erfunden wirdt / das er sein Kunst in zwey Wege / vnnd auff zwey Handtwege gebracht hatt : Der Ein Weg / das es das Leben vnd das Wachsen vnuerlassen verordnet hatt : Der Ander Weg / dz nicht allein ein gleiche Materien ist : Als so ein Bildt vonn Holtz geschnitzet wirdt / so sein die Späne alle Holtz / das dann do nicht gewesen ist / aber sein Handtarbeit / Form / vnnd Bewegung geben hatt.

Der Siebendt Text.

Also ist das *Mysterium Magnum* getheilt worden / vnnd darauß geschnitten wz da vbrig ist von dem anderen. Auß dem vbrigen ist ein anders geworden : Dann *Mysterium magnum* ist nicht Elementisch gewesen / wiewol die Element in jhm gewesen seindt. Es ist auch nicht Fleischlich gewesen / wiewol alle *Genera* der Menschen darinnen begriffen werden. Es ist auch nicht Holtz vnnd Stein gewesen / sonder also ist es ein *Materia* gewesen / die da hatt mögen in jhr haben alles tödtlichs ding / ohn Erkanntnuß in seinem Wesen / vnd in der Theilung jedlichem ding sein Wesen vnnd Form gegeben. Als ein Speiß die gessen wirdt / nimbt sie der Mensch / so wirdt Fleisch darauß / vnnd sicht doch keim Fleisch nicht gleich : Nimbts aber die Feulung / so wird Graß drauß / dem es auch nicht gleich siehet. Noch viel mehr *in Mysterio Magno* solchs Wunder zuverstahn ist / dieweil die Mysterien also anzeigen / eins zu Steinen / das ander zu Fleisch / das dritt zu Krautt / vnd das in viel wunderlichen Formen.

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things are carved away from the rest. Nothing remains in the end but a work without waste. If there were waste, it would give birth to another growth or *materia*. | 4

Sixth Text

Thus, it seems that in the carving of *Mysterium magnum*, many things issued. Some are carnal, and indeed there are wondrously many figures and forms. Some are prodigies of the sea of many forms and appearances. Some in vegetation, some in wood, some in stones and metals. For it is beyond our calculation how the almighty God carved it all up. This differs from the precept that he only exercised his art in two ways: the one that supposes that he brought about life and growth without any continuing mandate; and the other that supposes there was not one single material.[1] If a picture of the kind we intend is carved from wood, all the scraps are wood as well; and there is nothing his craft, form, and exertion has not brought about.

Seventh Text

Thus, out of the *Mysterium Magnum* was divided and carved what is left over from the rest. Out of the rest something different came into being. For *Mysterium Magnum* was not elemental, though the elements were comprised in it. Nor was it carnal, though all *genera* of human beings were encompassed in it. Nor was it wood or stone. It was rather a *materia* capable of bearing all transient things within it, without awareness, capable of giving in the division to each its own essence and form. In the same way, a nourishment eaten by human beings becomes flesh which does not resemble any meat. If putrefaction takes place, it may turn into grass which it also did not resemble. Many more wonders can be known of *Mysterium Magnum*. The mysteries show how one thing becomes stone, a second flesh, a third vegetation, all in many wondrous forms.

1 Notice that these two "ways" in either case address the homogeneity of creation: the first by hypothesizing that the creation was set in motion to go its way creating further things; the second by positing that there was more than one primal stuff. The exposition of the *M.M.* rejects both modalities. The seventh text acknowledges that the *M.M.* was both a *proto*-material and *non*-material and suggests that the wondrous creatures which fascinated Paré or Paracelsus did not contradict the monotheistic tenet of a single creator of all things.

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Der Acht Text.

Vnd so do gescheiden ist gewesen ein jeglichs in seine Form vnd Eigenschafft / also das es in freyem Willen / vnd in seim Eignen gestanden ist / alsdann ist die Substantialische *Materia* erkannt worden. Dann was da von der Compaction ist gewesen / hatt sich Compactiert / das ander ist leer blieben / der Substantz halben. Dann da sich zusammen gehauffet haben die *Compactiones*, hatt es nit mögen alles Compactirt werden / sondern des mehrer theil leer : Als dann in dem Wasser ersehen wird / so es Coaguliert wird / so ist Compactirt ein kleine Quantitet : deßgleichen in der scheidung der Elementen. Dann alle Compaction ist zu Stein / Metallen / Holtz / vnnd Fleisch worden / vnd deßgleichen : das ander ist leer blieben / ein jeglichs nach seinem Wesen / vnd Eigenschafften der Planeten. Vnnd solchs *Mysterium Magnum* ist in der Compactierung nit anders gewesen / dann wie ein Rauch der groß ist vnd weit / vnd hat in jhm selber nichts von der Substantz / dann ein kleine Quantitet des Ruß : die andere weitte so der Rauch begreifft / ist ein lautter Lufft / als dann in der scheidung des Rauchs vom Ruß ersehen wirdt.

Der Neundt Text.

Am anfang aller gebierung / ist gewesen die Gebiererin vnd Erzeugerin *Separatio*[a] : dann *Separatio* der Philosophien das groste Wunder ist. Wiewol nicht Menschlich von solchem zu Philosophiren ist / dann mehr dann Menschliche tödtliche Vernunfft innehalt. Aber zu erkennen / in was wege solchs zu beschehen ist / vnd geschehen / ist also : Nicht anders als gleich wie ein Essich / der vermischt wirdt in ein lawe Milch / so erhebt sich ein scheiden in viel wege[b] : oder als ein *Truphat*[c] der Ertz / ein jeglichen Metall in sein Wesen schlecht vnd kompt. Also ist auch etwas gewesen. Dann wie ein Tinctur des Silbers eingebeitzt / also auch in das *Mysterium Magnum* durchgangen / vnd ein jeglichs in sein Wesen verordnet / vnd also wunderbarlich do gescheiden hat / das ein jegliche Form ist in seim Wesen. Was aber solch Magy[d] gewesen ist / das sol-

a ***Separatio*** in P.'s work has its synonyms (Scheidung, spagyria), its generalized use (see *Von den natürlichen Bädern*—H 7:296, 298–299, 399), which P. acknowledged as *scientia separationis* (*Opus Paramirum*, H 1:74–75), its particular medical uses (H 5A:132–134), and its use for the process of creation (H 8:59, 224).

b This otherwise standard comparison is found in *Das sechste Buch in der Artzney* (H 4:22) as well. There P. mentions a kind of podagra never mentioned, he says, in any book: it is caused by the salt contained within the blood, which separates from the blood to coagulate into something similar to fine sand. He explains it by the blood's acidity: "Solche scheidung kommt

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Eighth Text

Moreover, as each thing is separated into its peculiar form and property to abide in free will on its own, substantial *materia* was recognized. What arises through compaction has been compacted. The others remain vacuous in substance. When things were aggregated by the *compactiones*, not everything could come together in that way. The greater part remained empty. You can see this from water. When it is coagulated, it is compacted into a smaller quantity. The same is true of the separation of elements. For all compaction became stone, metals, wood, flesh, and things of the sort. The other things remained vacuous, each in accordance with its being and the properties of the planets. The *Mysterium Magnum* in its compaction is no different than the smoke which is voluminous and expansive yet contains nothing of substance but a bit of soot. The rest of the smoke is pure air, as we can see when the air is separated from the soot.

Ninth Text

In the beginning of all generation there was the birth-giving and creating *separatio*. *Separatio* is the great marvel of philosophy. One cannot philosophize about it in a human manner, for more than human transient reason pertains to it; but we do need to recognize in what way such things happen and come about. It is thus. It is as when vinegar is mixed with warm milk to cause a complex parting. Or like a *Truphat*[1] of mineral ore that casts or induces each metal to its essence. That's how it was. Just as a tincture penetrates silver, the *Mysterium Magnum* cut through and separated each thing to its proper being, dividing everything so marvelously that each form had to abide in its own substance. The kind of magic that could effect such *ingressum*[2] remains a parti-

auß sewre deß Bluts / so sie unter das Blut kommt / wie ein **Essig** der in eine **Milch** gegossen wirdt […]."

c The original edition had *Truphat* in the text marked with an asterisk and the alternate reading *Trahfath* in the margin. See below, n. 1.

d In *De Meteoris* the whole process of creation is not called a divine (or natural) **magic**, but a "divine alchemy" (H 8:224: "Göttliche Alchimisterey"). In *Astronomia Magna*, P. speaks of a "heavenly magic" and defines it as pure divine power: "Das *Coelestis Magia* kein Kunst ist / allein *Potestas Diuina*" (H 10:330). But it is not related to the creation. Cf. below, H 8:7, note c.

1 In offering *Trahfath* as a gloss, the editor of 1564 may have in mind the root of the Latin verb *traho, trahere*, meaning to pull, attract, or cause something to acquire properties; it is possible that the author of *PaA* is using a metallurgical term of regional origin. It is also entirely possible that *Truphat* is a misreading for *Frucht*, which would make perfect sense in this context.

2 Here: penetration.

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6 chen *Ingressum* gehabt hatt / ist eins sonderlichen Wunders gewesen. Ist es | Göttlich geschehen durch sein Gottheit / wöllen wir nit Philosophieren / dann die Gottheit vns solches nit zu erkennen gibt : Ists aber natürlich gewesen das Magy / so ist es ein wunderbarlich Magy gewesen / geschwinder Durchgang / behender Scheidung / vnnd grosser Tugendt / deren gleichen vnmüglich ist der Natur mehr solchs zu geben oder machen. Dann do ist ein theil zu Elementen gescheiden / der ander zu dem Vnsichtbarn / der dritt zu den Vegetabilischen / das nemlich ein sonder Miracul ist vnd anzeigen.

Der Zehendt Text.

Da nuh das *Mysterium Magnum* in solcher *Essentia* vnd Deitet voll ist gewesen / mit einer zusatzung des meristen Ewigens : ist am ersten aller Geschöpffen angangen *Separatio :* vnd als die geschehen ist / do ist erfunden worden ein jedes Geschöpff in seiner Maiestet / Gewalt / vnnd freyem Willen : welches also bleiben wird biß zum End der ding allen / das ist in grossem Ernd / do alle ding werden Frucht tragen / vnd schneiden jhr Gewächs. Dann die Ernd ist das Endt seines gewächs / vnd bedeut nichts anders / dann die tödtliche zerstörung aller dingen. Wiewol solcher viel seind / so ist doch allein Ein Ernd / in der all dinge der Geschöpff geschnitten / vnnd in die Scheür gefürt werden : vnd wol als wunderbarlich als *Mysterium Magnum* ist in dem anfang / so wunderbarlich ist auch die Ernd aller ding ein Endt. Wiewol auch also der frey Will der dingen einer dem anderen schadt : dann nichts ist ohne Freund / nichts ohne Feind : so schwebt der frey Will allein in der Tugendt / vnnd der Freund oder Feind in den Wercken : So trifft solches die Separation nichts an / dann sie ist ein außtheilung einem jeglichem sein Form vnd Wesen zu geben.

Der Eilfft Text.

Vnd im anfang der Scheidung des *Mysterij Magni*, ist außgangen die Scheidung am ersten der Elementen / also das die Elementen in Wesen seind kommen : Das Fewr ist zu Himmeln geworden / vnd ein Kasten des Firmaments. Der Lufft ist ein Leere geworden / in der nichts zu sehen ist / noch gesehen mag wer-
7 den / an den enden do kein Substantz noch Corporalisch | Materien gesetzt

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cular miracle. Whether its | effect was divine by the power of the deity, we will 6
not speculate further, for God does not reveal such things to us. But if it was natural magic, it was of a miraculous kind: instantaneous penetration, immediate separation, and of a great virtue the like of which nature can never render or bring about. For one part was divided into the elements and the other into the invisible realm, and the third into the vegetative realm, which is a particular miracle in need of exposition.

Tenth Text

Since *Mysterium Magnum* in its *essentia* and divinity was replete with an overabundant eternal being, there came about first the *separatio* of all creatures. When this had taken place, each creature was found to abide in its majesty, power, and free reign. And it shall remain so until all things end, until the great harvest when all will bear fruit and their growth shall be halted. For the harvest is the end of whatever grows. It is nothing but the deadly destruction of all things.[1] Though they are many, there will be only one harvest in which all things of creation are reaped and borne into the barn. Moreover, just as marvelous as the *Mysterium Magnum* was in the beginning, equally wondrous will be the harvest of all in the end. To be sure, through the free reign of things, the one will harm the other; for nothing is without friend and foe. Thus, their free reign holds sway only in the virtues of things, the friend or foe only in the works. Hence, the separation has no impact on this; for it is a distribution of form and essence to each and every entity.

Eleventh Text

Moreover, in the beginning of the separation of the *Mysterium Magnum* there proceeded first the separation of the elements whereby they came into being. The fire became the heavens and a container of the firmament. The air became a void in which nothing is seen or can be seen since nothing of substance or corporeality | has been placed in its limits. It is also the sphere of the fatal, invisi- 7

1 The harvest alludes to Christ's parable of the good wheat and the weeds in Mt 13. In the sixteenth century, the parable served to validate tolerance: only at the end of time, will the good be distinguished from the evil. In rooting out weeds, we destroy the good wheat as well. Here, the paradigm is expanded to indicate that what is sown from the M.M. has the free will to be good or evil. The two are distinguished by works, not divine predestination.

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ist worden / vnd ist ein Kasten der Fatalischen[a] Vnsichtbarn. Das Wasser ist zu eim Liquor geworden / vnnd hatt sich gesetzt vmb den *centrum* in sein Hülen / zwischen den andern Elementen vnd den Etheren / vnd ist ein Kasten der Nymphen vnd Meerwunder. Das Erdtrich ist zu einer Erden Coagulirt worden / das do getragen wird nicht von den andern Elementen / sondern von den Seulen *Archaltis*,[b] vnd sind *Magnalia Dei*,[c] vnd ist ein Kasten der Gewechsen / so sich vom Erdtrich neeren : vnd solche Separation ist der anfang aller Geschöpff gewesen / vnd ein erste außtheilung derselbigen aller vnd andern.

Der Zwölfft Text.

Als die Elementen in seim Wesen seind gescheiden worden / vnd von einander getheilet / jeglichs an seine statt / dem andern ohne nachtheil : als dann ist die andere Scheidung geschehen / nach der ersten / vnd ist die Scheidung auß den Elementen gangen. Als alles so in dem Fewr ist gewesen / zu Himmeln sind verwandelt / eins theils als zu eim Kasten : der ander theil ist auß diesem / wie ein Blum auß dem Stengel schlecht : also sind die Stern / Planeten / vnnd alles / so das gantze Firmament berürt / gewachsen. Auß dem Element / nicht als der Stengel von dem Erdtrich mit den Blumen / dann derselbige wächst vom Erdtrich : sondern das Gestirn von den Himmeln geboren ist / allein durch Scheiden / wie die Blumen des Silbers auffsteigen vnd sich scheiden. Darumb

a Spirits called ***fata*** (see below, "Der Treitzehendt Text," H 8:8) are described in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:92): "Damit aber das ***Fatum*** wol erkennt werdt / ist es also / dz ein jedlicher Mensch ein Geist hat / der ausserthalb jhm wohnet / vnd setzt sein Stul in die obern Stern. Derselbig gebraucht die Bossen seins Meisters : derselbig ist der / der do die *Praesagia* demselbigen vorzeigt / vnd nachzeigt / dann sie bleiben nach diesen. Diese Geist heissen ***Fatvm***." Note that from the Latin noun *Fata*, the name of one of the Fates in Roman mythology, the French word *fée* (fairy) was derived. In the works of P. such spirits already appear in *Das Siebende Buch in der Artzney De Morbis Amentium* where they are spelled (in the ablative) *Vatis* (H 4:62, 63; if the word were *vates*, however, the ablative would have been *vatibus*). There P. refers to a "Capitel *de Spiritibus vnd Vatis*, etc.," whereas *Das neunte Buch in der Arznei, von Ursachen und Kuren der Kontrakturen und Läme* advertises a *Liber de fatalibus* (H 4:115–116). The *Philosophy of the Elements* probably refers to the same work or chapter (perhaps never written) as *De Fatis*: "Was aber weiter von beyden Geistern der vndern vnd obern Influentz zu wissen ist / *de* ***Fatis*** erzelt wird" (H 8:94). A kind of spirit named *Fatum* also appears in *De vita longa* (1527), a treatise contemporary to the *Philosophy of the Elements*: "Videmus in eo quem somnus oppressit, vitam naturae duntaxat inesse, **Fatumque** Spirituum [*sic*; read instead : Spiritum] cum eo colludere vna" (H 6:144). There P. states that as we sleep we only have a sort of vegetative life, which makes us vulnerable to "the spirit Fatum," i.e. to possession by a spirit similar to incubus and succubus. Elsewhere in the same treatise P. gives this explanation: "Manes quasdam esse finxerunt, quas alij quidem **Fatum** appellarunt, posteriores vero Incantationes & Superstitiones" (H 6:150).

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ble things.[1] Water became a liquid, deposited around the *centrum* in its hollows between the other elements and the ethers. It is a container of the nymphs and sea prodigies. The earthly realm became coagulated to earth, borne not by the other elements but by the pillars of *Archaltis*[2] which are *magnalia Dei*. Earth is the container of everything that grows nourished by the earthly realm. This separation was the beginning of all creatures and the first dispersal of these and others.

Twelfth Text

When the elements had been separated into their own being and parted from one another, each to its place without encroaching on the others, the second separation took place following the first. It proceeded from the elements. When everything in [the element of] fire had been transformed into the heavens, one part into a container and the other part sprouting from it as a flower pushes out of its stem, this was how the stars, planets, and everything pertaining to the entire firmament grew. Out of the element; [but] not like the stem from the ground with its flowers which grows out of the earth; rather, the stars are born from the heavens simply through separation, the way the flowers of silver ascend and separate.[3] Thus, the whole firmament is parted from the fire; and

b The pairing of ***Archaltis*** with *Magnalia Dei* suggests how the roots of this unknown term might be construed: "principles which are the highest." It is also possible that the word *Archaltis*, found nowhere else, was a misreading of *Atlantis*. References to the "columns of Atlas" (*Atlantis columnae*) were widespread. For the early sixteenth century, see the *Lectiones antiquae* by Coelius Rhodiginus (Venice 1516), book XVI, ch. 16, or the *Institutiones astronomicae* by Joachim Sterck van Ringelbergh (Köln, 1528), book I, ch. 12. The two interpretations are not mutually exclusive: *Archaltis* might have been invented by using the Greek/Latin roots to replace *Atlantis* in the common phrase "columns of Atlas."

c See ETW 400, note b. Generally speaking, "**Magnalia** seindt die Werck Gottes" (*Außlegung der Lateinischen Synonyma* in the end of *Von dem Bad Pfeffers*, H 7:342); cf. "Dz **sind die** Mysteria vnd **Magnalia Gottes** : Also verkündt der Himmel Göttlich Lob. Also verkündt das Firmament seine Werck durch die Magos" (*Erklärung der Gantzen Astronomey*—H 10:417).

1 See vis-à-vis.

2 See vis-à-vis.

3 The *flos lunae* or *argenti* (flower of silver) apparently was obtained by dissolving silver in nitric acid and sublimating it when combined with sal ammoniac or a similar product. See e.g. Burnet–Mylius 1616, 85 (mention of the *flos argenti*) referring to 81 (description of the *flos auri*). These "flowers of silver" may also have been some product related to processes of silver mining, or even growths of metallic silver that were found in some Central European mines. We thank Lawrence M. Principe for his advices on that—all potential mistakes being ours.

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alle Firmament vom Fewr sind gescheiden / vnd vor dem ehe das Firmament gescheiden ist gewesen vom Fewr / ist es alles gewesen ein einiges Element des Fewrs. Als im Winter ein Baum allein ein Baum ist / aber im Sommer so er von jhm scheidt / das von jhm zu scheiden ist / so gibt er Laub / Frucht / vnnd Blüe / dann es ist sein Ernd / auff die zeit sich zu scheiden. Also auch die Ernd gewesen ist in der scheidung des *Mysterij Magni*, das sich lenger nit hett mögen erhalten / in allem gleich zuverstehen ist.

Der Treitzehendt Text.

Vnd nach der Scheidung der Elementen / ist außgetheilt die andere Scheidung auß dem Lufft in gleicher Zeit vnd Puncten mit dem Fewr : denn aller Lufft ist
8 gepraedestinirt | in alle Elementen. Nit das er in den andern Elementen sey / wie ein vermischung / das ist nit : aber er nimpt ein allerley in allen Elementen / vnd besitzt das : vnd besitzt nit das / das vor besessen ist. Es ist auch kein vermischung der Elementen bey einander blieben / sondern ein jeglich Element in seim freyen Willen / ohn alle andere Element gantz vnuermehliget. Do also solch Element hindan gescheiden ist von andern / auß dem *Mysterio Magno*, also bald sind auß jhm getheilt die *Fata*, die *Impressiones, Incantationes*, die *Superstitiones*, die *Maleficia*, die *Somnia*, die *Diuinationes*, die *Sortilegia*, die *Visiones*, die *Apparitiones*, die Fatacesten / die *Melosiniae*,[a] die *Spiritus*, die *Diemeae*, die *Durdales*, die *Neufareni*.[b] Vnnd nach solcher scheidung ist einem jeglichen der vorbemelten jhr eigen Sitz zuverordnet / vnd sein Wesen gepraedestinirt / darumb sie vnsichtbar seind / aber entpfindtlich an vns : Dann kein subtiler Element ist vom höchsten Arcanen beschaffen / dann der Lufft.[c] *Diemeae* in den harten Steinen wohnen / dann sie also in die Leere mit dem Lufft

a In the original edition this word is spelled ***melosinie***. Cf. H 9:70–71 (*Liber de Nymphis, Sylphis, Pygmaeis et Salamandris*) on the ambivalent status of the legendary Melosina among the nymphs: "Nun ist nicht minder / mit der Melosina ist ein trefflich Auffmercken zuhan : Dann sie ist nit dermassen gesein / als sie geachtet worden von den Theologen / sondern ein Nympha. Aber dz ist war / besessen mit dem Bösen Geist / den sie von jhr gebracht hett / so sie bliben wer biß zum Endt / bey jhrem Herrn. Dann dermassen ist der Beelzebub / daß er die ding verwandelt in andere Form / wie er das auch den Hexen thut / in Katzen vnd inn Meerwölff / Hund / etc. verwandelt: Also ist jhr auch beschehen / dann der Hexerey ist [sie] nicht loß gesein / sie hatt ein Theyl domit gehabt." Here what counts is her supernatural nymphic being.

b ***Impressiones*** are widely recognized agencies of the celestial acting upon the terrestrial. On ***Fata*** see above, H 8:7, note a. ***Incantationes, Superstitiones, Maleficia, Somnia, Diuinationes, Sortilegia, Visiones, Apparitiones***, and ***Spiritus*** were established terms pertaining to the relationship between the visible or natural and the invisible or supernatural. ***Fatacesten, Melosiniae, Diemeae*** (*Dieemeae* in the original edition), ***Durdales***, and ***Neufareni*** are with the

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before it was separated from the fire, everything was the integral element of fire. So too, in winter a tree is a bare tree, but in summer, when the proper separation occurs, [the tree] yields leaves, fruit, and blossoms, for it is its harvest in its time of parting. It was the same way with the harvest in the separation of *Mysterium Magnum* which could not have held back any longer, as is evident in everything that is.[1]

Thirteenth Text

After the separation of the elements the second separation is divided simultaneously from the air and coincidentally with the fire. For the entirety of the air is predestined | for all the elements. It is not the case that in the other ele- 8
ments it is in a state of mixture. This is not so. But it does hold all sorts of places in all the elements and occupies them; but it does not occupy that which was occupied before. Nor has any mixture of elements held together. Instead each element [remains] in its autonomy, not conjoined with any other. Once this element was separated off from the others of the *Mysterium Magnum* were separated from it the *Fata, Impressiones, Incantationes*, *Superstitiones, Maleficia*, *Somnia*, *Divinationes*, *Sortilegia*, *Visiones*, *Apparitiones*, *Fatacesten*, *Melosiniae*, *Spiritus*, *Diemeae*, *Durdales*, and *Neufareni*. Moreover, after that separation each is assigned its own place and its being is preordained, for which reason they cannot be seen but can be sensed by us. For no more subtle element has been created by the supreme *Arcanum* than the air. The *Diemeae* dwell in hard stones,[2] having separated along with the air into the vacuity. *Durdales*

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exception of the legendary *Melosina* evidently beings or entities familiar to this author alone. The list has the effect of amassing and personalizing the teeming realm of metaphysical intermediaries with which the author claims familiarity.

c An excerpt close to this statement, giving prominence to the element of air, is found in the section *De Ente Astrorum* of the *Volumen Medicinae Paramirum*: "Der **lufft** kompt vom höchsten Gut / vnd ist gewesen vor allen geschöpffen / dz aller Erst" (H 1:18). On this text and its relevance to *Philosophia ad Athenienses*, see above, H 8:A6r, note f. The prominence of the element of air is a major topic in *Philosophy of the Elements* and the fragment *De Elemento Aeris* as well. See these texts in the present volume.

1 Here it seems that even the separation of the four elements from the *M.M.*, that is, the very first stage of the creation, was like a harvest: the *M.M.* reached its point of maturation and this maturation started the creation of the world. See below, H 8:68–69, 71, 73, 128.

2 Given that at least part of these beings or entities are elemental beings, it may be that *Dieemae* (as the original edition spells it) is a mere misreading for *Gnomae*, the elemental beings inhabiting the stones (and more generally the element of earth). See H 9:55, and Kahn 2021, 237 for their various names in the works of Paracelsus. Gnomes are named later on in the *Philosophia ad Athenienses*: see H 8:10, 13, 28.

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gescheiden sein. *Durdales* in die Beum / dann jhr scheidung in der Substantz des (solches)[a] geschehen ist. *Neufareni* in dem Lufft der Erden wohnen / als in den *poris Terrae. Melosiniae* in Menschlichs Blut kommen / dann jhr scheidung im Lufft ist in den Leiben vnd Fleischen. Die *Spiritus* seind geschieden in den Lufft / so im *Chaos* ist.[b] Die andern alle im sondern wesen des Luffts wonen vnd seind / jeglichs an dem end / do es bescheiden ist hin / vnd vom Element Lufft getheilet / vnnd doch im selbigen bleiben muß / vnd das nit endern mag.

Der Viertzehendt Text.

Vnd in abscheidung der Elementen / das Wasser an seinen orth vnd end / wie es in *Arcano* praedestinirt ist gewesen / gesundert ist : in solchem / alles / so in seiner Elementischen Krafft vnd Eigenschafft gewesen ist / zu dem andern scheiden des ersten mal gescheiden ist / vnnd ist also das Wasser gesundert in viel *specialia Mysteria*, die alle auß dem Element des Wassers jhr Mutter genommen haben. Ettliche theil in seiner scheidung zu Fischen geordnet ist gewesen / vnd die in vilerley Form. Ettliche theil in Thieren mit Fleische / ettliche theil in
9 Saltz / ettlich in Meergewechs / als Corallen[c] / *Trina*, vnd *Citrones*[d] : Ettlicher | theil ist geworden zu Meerwundern / widernatürlichs Lauffs aller Elementen : Ettliche theil zu Nymphen / ettliche zu Syrenen / ettliche zu *Drames*, ettliche zu *Lorind*,[e] ettliche zu *Nesder*, ettliche zu vernünfftigen Creaturen / die mit einem Ewigen in jhren Leiben begabt seind / vnd sich selbest geberen : Ettliche mit gantzem absterben / ettliche mit der zeit noch gescheiden werden : Dann die vollkommen Separation des Wassers Element ist nit genugsam beschehen : dann kompts in die groß Ernd / alle Jahr new Gewechs in dem Wasser Element

a The original edition had no brackets. We do not know why Huser added them. Perhaps it was a mistake that he overlooked.

b See below, *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:56, n. 5).

c About **corals**, a well-established *materia medica*, P. has much to say throughout his work, as for example in *Herbarius* (H 7:93–100) or *Das Erste Buch der grossen Wundartzney* (H C:29a ff.).

d *Trina, Citrones, Drames*, and *Nesder* must be added to the unknown entities presumed to be known to the author.

e In the *Philosophia ad Athenienses*, a *Lorind* is a commotion in the water powerful enough to cause an earthquake ("der *Lorind* ist ein bewegung der verendrung desselbigen Elements *Aquae*. Vnd so sich solchs bewegt im Element *Aquae*, so bewegt sich auch dz Element *Terrae* zu einer enderung," H 8:27). *Lorind* occurs not only in the disputed works *De Pestilitate* and *De Natura Rerum, liber nonus*, but also in the undisputed *De Caduco Matricis* and in medical fragments as well as in the *Liber tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:314).

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passed into the trees, for their separation took place in the substance of (such).[1] *Neufareni* dwell in the air of the earth, in the *pori Terrae*.[2] *Melosiniae* enter into human blood,[3] for their separation in the air is into bodies and flesh. The *spiritus* separated into the air that is found in *chaos*.[4] All the others reside in special beings of the air and each is in the place to which it was thrust in dividing from the element of air; and each must remain there without changing this.

Fourteenth Text

Moreover, in dispelling the elements, the water is to its place and purpose as preordained by the *Arcanum* and separated off to this end. In this entire process, what resided in its elemental force and quality was sundered in the second stage. Thus water was separated off into many *specialia Mysteria*, all of which have their mother from that element. Some part in separating was ordained to become fishes and these of many kinds. Some part became animals with flesh, some part salt, some maritime plants, such as corals, *Trina*, and *Citrones*; some | part has turned into sea prodigies, counter to the natural course 9
of all elements; some into nymphs, some into sirens, some into *Drames*, some into *Lorind*,[5] some into *Nesder*, some into rational creatures that are gifted with something eternal in their bodies and that give birth to themselves; some entirely perishable, some which have yet to be sundered off. For the full separation of the element of water has yet to be completed. For it will enter into the great harvest. Every year new things that grow are to rise in the element of water. The

See *De Caduco Matricis*: "Nun aber das jhr vom Wasser mich hie verstehet / so wissend / in dem *Lorind*, das ist / das geschrey vnnd gethön des Wassers / nemlich in den stillstehenden Seen / mit erzittern vnnd erbidmen: derselbig *Lorind* ist der Donner des Wassers / vnd nimpt sich auch auß den dreyen gemelten / *Mercurio*, *Sulphure* vnd *Sale*, durch bereittung vnd zusammen verfügung des Wassergestirns" (H 4:333). As a signature within macrocosmic nature, it corresponds to a symptom effected in the microcosmic sufferer, an etiology elaborated by P. in the *Eilff Tractat* and elsewhere.

1 See vis-à-vis. The word *Durdales* might be a misreading for *Dryades*, the nymphs of the trees in Greek mythology.

2 Although this description perfectly fits with that of the gnomes in the *Liber de Nymphis* and the other works of Paracelsus, the strange word *Neufareni* might be a misreading for *Nympharum*, which does not fit well in context.

3 We cannot find any explanation for this detail.

4 This detail makes sense if we refer to the *Philosophy of the Elements*, where the *chaos* is described, roughly put, as the content of the element of air. See vis-à-vis.

5 See vis-à-vis.

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zu entspringen haben. Vnd solche Scheidung ist in dem Puncten der Scheidung anderer Elementen beschehen in Einem Tagwerck / vnd bewegung der Sequestrierung. Vnnd ist also ein jeglichs ding so in dem Wasser ist / auff die stundt mit Eim gescheiden geschaffen / vnd eröffnet worden.

Der Fünfftzehendt Text.

Vnd so dergleichen in dem / so gescheiden ist worden das Element *Terrae* von den andern / ist auch die jrrdische Scheidung geschehen / das ist aller ding Scheidung so im Erdtrich oder auß dem entspringen oder entsprungen seind. Dann die vier Element seind in allen dingen gleich in jhrem ersten Geschöpff gewesen / in dem *Mysterio Magno :* sie sind auch gleich getheilet worden / vnd in einem Puncten : deßgleichen sind sie auch getheilt worden in einander in jhrer andern theilung / die dann Elementische theilungen geheissen werden. Vnnd in solcher Elementalischen theilung seind auß dem Element Erden gescheiden entpfindtlich vnnd vnentpfindtlich / ewig vnnd vnewig gekommen / vnd jeglichs in sein Wesen vnd freyen Willen verordnet : Wz do gewesen ist von Holtzischer arth / zu Holtz geworden ist : das ander zu Metallischem Ertz : dz dritte zu Marcasiten / zu Talch / zu Wismat / zu Granat / zu Kobolt / zu Kiß / vnd zu andern mehr[a] : die vierdt zu Gemmen / vnd die in viel gestalt vnd vilerley Form : Ettliche zu Stein / zu Sand / vnnd zu Kalck[b] : die fünfften zu Früchten / zu Blumen / zu Kreuttern vnd zu Sahmen : die sechsten zu entpfindtlichen Thieren / ettliche mit dem ewigen als Menschen / ettliche mit tödtlichem als Kelber / etc. vnd die in viel weg vnd gestalt. Vnd mehr in dem Jrrdischen Element außgescheiden ist / dann auß keim andern : dann | da seind alle ding mit Sahmen / alle ding mit zweyen geboren Mutter vnd Vatter : das dann in andern Elementen also nicht getheilt ist / auch nit praedestinirt. Dann

a This enumeration matches that of the *Archidoxis*, book 3 (H 6:17: "Rec. den Marcasiten welchen du wilt / Wißmat / Talck / oder Kobolt / Granatisch / vnnd welche dann dergleichen seind / j. ℔. […]").

b The reader will find many of the woods, stones, and metals said to result (surprisingly, see vis-à-vis) from the element of earth, but including here both the sensate and insensate, the eternal and the transient, and "each with its own being and free will," cited as well in *Paragranum* and *Paramirum* (consult marcasite, talc, bismuth, granite, cobalt, gravel, etc. in the general index of ETW).

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aforementioned separation has happened with the separation of other elements in the work of a day and in the operation of the sequestration. And thus has each thing that resides in the water instantly been separated, created, and revealed.

Fifteenth Text

Similarly did the element of *terra* get separated from the others: this is how the earthly separation came to pass. This entails the parting off of all things in the earthly realm and all things that arise or have arisen from it. All four elements were alike in their first creation within the *Mysterium Magnum*, and all of them alike separated off at the same time. Moreover, they were all distributed alike from one another in their second separation. These separations are called elemental separations. And it was from this elemental division separating off from the earthen element that the insentient and sentient arose, those that were eternal and those that were not, each ordained for its own being and autonomy. Whatever was there with a wood-like nature turned into wood; a second component into metal ore; a third into marcasite, talc, bismuth, granite, cobalt, low-grade ore,[1] and other things besides; a fourth into gems of many and varied figures and forms: some into stone, sand, and limestone;[2] a fifth into fruits, flowers, plants, and seeds; a sixth into the sentient animals, some with the eternal in them, namely human beings, and others mortal, such as calves, etc., of many kinds and forms. Moreover, more was separated out of the earthly element than from any other. | Among them are all seed-bearing 10
things, all things born of two, with mother and father; which is not predesti-

1 The word "Kiß" (actually "Kies") is defined by Grimm in a popular, mining, and scientific meaning as a low-grade impure ore: "von den Bergleuten ward das aufgenommen und ausgebildet (dann auch von der Mineralogie), sie nannten Kies Gestein das vorwiegend nicht metallischen Gehalt hat, im Gegensatz zu den gesuchten Erzen."

2 The second, third and fourth components (metal ores, minerals, and gems) are said here to result from the element of earth. Yet in all the metorological treatises and *De Mineralibus* they are fruits of the element of water.

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da seind auch *Gnomi*,[a] auch Wild Leuth / auch Nachtfrawen[b] beschaffen vnd getheilet : Ettliche in die Berge / ettliche in die Wälde / ettliche allein inn die Nacht : da sind auch Risen abgeschieden in die dritt geberung[c] / da seind auch groß *Essentiae* außgetheilet / dergleichen groß Miracul vnder den Menschen vnd Viech / vnd allem Gewechs / dz einer jedlichen *Philosophiae* wunderlich zu verstahn ist / vnd alles vnnatürlich zu erkennen seind zu beschehen.

Der Sechßzehendt Text.

Wie dann bemelt ist / daß die vier Element von Anbegin gescheiden werden / anfengklich von einander auß Einer Materien / darinnen jhr Complexion vnd Wesen nit inn ist gewesen : Also do *Complexiones* vnd Natur erstanden seind sampt der Scheidung. Das Heiß vnd Trocken zu Himmeln vnd Firmamenten / jedlichs in sein Eigenschafft außgespreit / vnnd gebiert : das Heiß vnd Feucht zum Lufft verordnet ist / auß welchem dann Heiß vnnd Feucht vnsichtbar geschieden seind worden : Das Kalt vnnd Naß zu einem Meer / mit sampt seinem anhang : Das Kalt vnd Trocken zu einer Erden / vnd zu allem dem so in jhm ist : Seind doch widerwertige ding auß den Elementen geschieden vnd gewachsen / die dann nit seinem Element gleich seind : als der Kalckstein der nicht Fewr ist in seiner Natur / wiewol er vom Fewr kompt : das ist auß vrsachen / das die brechung in der Schiedung des Elements solchs gemacht hatt / vnd zu weit von Fewr natur kommen. Dann das Fewr in jhm Kalt hatt vnnd Naß : dann der Fewr seind viererley. Also auch die Farben vom Fewr nit gleich sind : dann das Eine Fewr machet Weiß farben vnd Blaw : dz Trocken Fewr / Rott / Grün : das Naß / Graw / Schwartz : das Kalt Fewr / Gelb vnd Rott. Vnd auß solcher

a P. is the first user of the word, and almost certainly its inventor (see the exceptionally detailed article in Grimm). The most obvious root would be the Greek *gnomon*, meaning literally: "one that knows or examines." The alternative name given by Huser in the *Philosophy of the Elements*, "*Gnarus*," with the variant reading "*Gnomus*" in the margin (H 8:67), strengthens this hypothesis, for both words have exactly the same meaning, one in Greek, the other in Latin. Another possibility is that P. derived *gnomus* from his neologism *geonomus*, literally "the measurer of earth," used in an entirely different context in his lecture *De Morbis ex Tartaro Oriundis* (H 3:298, 301). P. devotes considerable attention to the gnomes and other humanoid creatures which are both like and unlike the human being. Thus the *Liber de Generatione Hominis:* "Wiewol vns auch zufallen etliche Fürbildungen / die vns da bewegen zu Philosophieren / das mehr dann Ein Vatter sey gewesen im Ersten Geschöpff der Menschen : Als ein besonder geschöpffter Vatter der *Monoculorum*, ein besonderer der *Gnomi*, ein besonderer der Zweyfüssigen" (H 8:160; cf. 200).

b "Nachtfrawen" are only mentioned here. See, however, the "Nocturnalischen" evoked below (H 8:28).

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ned to be the case with the separation out of the other elements. Then there are also the *gnomi* and the wild people and the nocturnal females[1] have also been constituted and separated out: some into the mountains, some into the forests, some simply into the night. Moreover, giants were also separated out in the third generation. Also, great *essentiae*, as well as great prodigies among the human beings and animals, and the same for all things that grow, so that any *philosophia* will find it wondrous to comprehend, and all must be recognized as having happened unnaturally.

Sixteenth Text

As stated, from the beginning the four elements were separated, originally from a single material in which their complexion and essence was not contained. Hence, their *complexiones* and nature had to originate along with the separation. The hot and the dry were accorded to the heavens and the firmament, each then generated and extended in its proper quality. The hot and moist were assigned to the air, these having been separated out in invisible form. The cold and moist was ordered to a sea with everything that pertains to it. The cold and dry turned into an earth with everything within it.[2] To be sure, opposing entities were separated from the elements which are not the same as the element, such as the limestone, which is not by nature fiery though it stems from fire.[3] The cause of this is the fragmentation in the elemental separation which proceeded too far away from the nature of fire. For fire has within itself the cold and moist.[4] Indeed, there are many kinds of fire. By the same token, the colors of fire are not all the same: the one kind of fire produces white and blue colors; the dry fire red and green; the moist gray and black. The cold fire yellow and

c Giants and dwarfs are associated with (although not included among) the elemental beings by P.'s *Liber de nymphis* and the *Astronomia magna* (H 9:73–74; H 10:99). In an earlier draft of the latter, the *Erklärung der gantzen Astronomey*, giants and dwarfs are not expressly differentiated from nymphs and gnomes, but they are presented as *phantasmata*, not as elemental beings (H 10:422). See ETW 406–407 and 830 (about the fifth tract of the *Liber de Nymphis*, entitled *De Gigantibus*); Kahn 2021.

1 A female ghost, possibly sorceress (see FNHDW). See Vernaleken 1858, 231 #160, quoting from an oral tradition in Zürich: "Wenn in den Haushaltungen des Kantons Zürich etwas verrichtet ist und niemand weiß wer es gethan hat, so sagt man: die Nachtfrau hat es gethan."

2 Since the topic discussed here is the complexions pertaining to each element, the articles "zu *einem* Meer […] zu *einer* Erden," are rather odd and unexpected.

3 The context evokes rather slaked lime than limestone.

4 The same paradoxical considerations are found in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:56–57).

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vrsach / ein Procreatz mehr heisser ist dann die ander / auß vrsachen das Ein Fewr mehr gradiert ist gewesen dann das ander. Dann nit allein Ein Fewr gewesen ist / sonder vil hunderterley Fewr / do keins im Grad gestanden ist wie das ander : darumb ein jeglichs sein sonder Procreatz / als ein eigen *Mysterium*
11 geordnet / auß jhm gescheiden ist. |

Der Siebendtzehend Text.

Das Wasser nit gleich in einer gestalt gewesen ist in seiner Complex : dann viel tausenterley Wasser seind gewesen in dem Element *Aquae*, vnd doch alles Wasser. Es ist nit dem *Philosopho* zu erkennen / daß dz Element *Aquae* allein auß jhm Kalt vnd Feucht sey / sonder vil hundert mal kälter vnd nit nässer / vnd nit darzu auff Wärme als vff Kelte. Dann nit allein dz Element *Aqua* lebt oder ist in dem Kalten vnd Nassen auff Ein Grad / sonder gantz nicht auff Ein Grad : ettliche Wasser zu Brunnen / vnd die manigfaltig : ettlichs zu Meeren / vnd die Meer wunderbarlich : ettlichs zu Bächen vnd keiner dem andern gleich : Ettliche Wasser Element zu Steinen verordnet ist / als Berillen / Crystallen / Calcedonien / Amethisten : ettlichs zu Gewächsen / als Corallen / *Carabe*[a] : ettliche in den *Chimum*,[b] als *Liquor vitae*[c] : etlichs im Erdtrich als *Liquor terrae*.[d] Vnd die sind Element *Aquae*, vnd doch in vil gestalt : Ettliche von der Erden alle wachsen mit verlasnen Sahmen / seind auch auß dem Element *Aquae :* Ettliche zu Fleisch werden / als Nymphen / seind auch des Elements *Aquae*. Wiewol als do soll verstanden werden / daß dz Element *Aquae* verendert wirt in ein andere Complexion : aber doch so kompt es nit von seim Element / daruon es kommen ist. Dann wz do vom Wasser ist / dz wirt wider zu Wasser / vnd wz vom Fewr ist / wirt wider zu Fewr / vnd wz do von Erden ist / wirt wider zu Erden / vnd deßgleichen die Lufftischen wider zu Lufft.

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a *Carabe* is among P.'s often cited *materiae medicae*. Its action is akin to the attractive power of the magnet in *Zwey Bücher von der Pestilentz vnnd jhren Zufellen:* "Nuhn weiter zum anderen / so wissen das im Menschen ein sonderliche anziehende krafft ligt / die müst jr wol verstehen auff die arth **Carabe**: vnd des verstandt ein Exempel. Jhr sehet das der Magnet an sich zeucht das Eisen" (H 3:146). Its attractive power ranks it among similar substances: "Gleich zuverstehen / als ein Magnes, der an sich zeucht dz Eisen / der Carabe dz Stroh / vnd Sulphur dz Holtz: Also in solcher gestalt ist virtus attractiua in dem Mon / die vns außzeucht die Vernunfft" (*Das Siebende Buch in der Artzney*—H 4:63).

b *Chimum* pertains to alchemical separation: "der Mensch scheidet das Goldt / besonder durch sein Fulmen, dergleichen den **Chimum** an sein ort in ein Schlacken / also den Realgar in Rauchsweiß in ein sublimierts Corpus" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:88c).

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red. Thus, one procreation of fire is hotter than another, as the one is graduated higher than the other. There was not only one kind of fire, but rather many hundreds, whereby none was equal to another in degree. To each is accorded its particular procreation from which it is separated off, as a unique *mysterium*.

Seventeenth Text 11

The water is not of a single configuration in its complexion. For many thousands of kinds of water were present in the element *aqua*, yet they were all water. The *philosophus* should not conclude that the element of water consists simply of the cold and the moist, and not of hundreds of times colder yet not moister; and as much so for warmth as for cold.[1] For not only does the element *aqua* live or abide in the cold and the moist only to one degree: it absolutely does not. Some waters are sources, and these are of many kinds; some are seas and as such marvelous; some are brooks and of these not a single one is like another. Some instances of the watery element are for stones, such as beryl, crystals, chalcedonies, or amethysts. Some are for growths such as corals or *carabe*,[2] some for the *chimus* [chyle] as is *liquor vitae;* some in the earth as *liquor terrae*. And these are all the element *aqua*, yet it occurs in many forms. Some always sprout from the earth leaving their seeds there. These likewise stem from the element *aqua*. Some acquire flesh like the nymphs. They, too, are of the element *aqua*. In that case, however, it should be understood that the element *aqua* is transformed to a different complexion, though without departing from its element from which it arises. For whatever is water returns to water; whatever is fire to fire; and earth to earth. Similarly, the airy creatures return to air.

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c Unlike *aqua vitae, liquor vitae* is constitutive of the healthy human body, as in the so-called *Entienschrift:* "Aber weiter das Ens Naturale zubedeütten / so mercken auff den humorem : derselbig ist als vil als **Liquor vitae**, dann auß jm lebt der Leib" (*Volumen Medicinae Paramirum*—H 1:45).

d *Liquor terrae* functions as a plant nutrient and serves in transplantation: "Der Regen hat in jm den Baum / vnd der Liquor terrae : der Regen ist das Tranck / **Liquor terrae** sein Speiß / durch die wechst er" (*Opus Paramirum*—H 1:97).

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1 Warmth does not seem to apply to water. It seems that the reflexion is generalized to the four qualities.

2 Yellow amber. See ETW 807, n. 2, and below, H 8:154, 158.

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Der Achtzehendt Text.

Deßgleichen vom Element *Terrae* zu erkennen ist / dz alle die Erdtrich so vom Element *Terrae* geworden sein / vnd haben des Natur / wiewol die *liquores Mineralium* für Fewr geacht werden vnd erkennt / so sind sie doch nit Fewr. Dann der *Sulphur* brennt nit dz er des Elements *Ignis* sey : sonder gleich so wol dz Kalt brennt als dz Warm : vnd wz da brennt zu Aschen / das ist nit *Elementum Ignis*, sonder *Ignis Terrae :* vnnd dasselbige Fewr soll nit erkennt werden für das Element / dann es ist kein Element : es ist allein die verzerung der Erden / oder derselbigen Substantz. Dann das Wasser gleich so wol brennen mag / vnd zu der Brunst gebracht werden / als ein anders : So es aber brennt / so ist es *Ignis Aqueus*. Es soll auch nit Fewr gewiß geacht werden / darumb dz *Ignis Terrae* brennt / vnd Heiß ist / das es | darumb fewrig sey / wiewol es demselbigen gleich ist. Dann der *Philosophus* ist ein einfeltiger / der das Element nennet / nach dem vnd er sie entpfindt : sondern mehr soll er gedencken / dz Element sey vil anderst dann ein solches Fewr : dann warumb ? Nit alles das do netzet / ist *Elementum Aquae*, dann das Element *Terrae* mag zu Wasser gebracht werden / vnnd ist doch alle mal Erden. Deßgleichen also alles so in Erden / ist *Elementi Terrae :* es ist vnd wirdt darbey erkennt in der Eigenschafft / so von jhm geboren seind / oder so es von dem geboren ist / dem es gleich sihet. Der hert Kißling vnd Calcedony geben Fewr : ein solches Fewr ist nit Elementisch *Ignis*, sondern *fortis expressio* in der grossen Hertin.

Der Neundtzehend Text.

So hatt das Element Lufft in jhm vilerley *Procreationes*, so seind dieselbigen alle nur Lufft : vnd ist eim jedlichen *Philosopho* zu wissen / das kein Element anderst procreirt auß jhm / dann wie es an jhm selber ist : dann gleich wirdt allemal auß jhm geboren. Also der Lufft vnsichtbar ist / drumb er nichts sichtbar gibt : er ist auch nit zu greiffen / drumb gibt er auch nichts greiflichs. Melosiniert[a] / wiewol dz von Lufft ist vnd ein Lufft / nichts anders : do ist aber ein *Coniunctio*[b] in eim andern Element / das ist Erden : dann do mag ein zusammen fügung geschehen / auß dem Lufft zu dem Menschen / als in allen Maleficien

a This is the only occurrence of this word.

b In P.'s work, *conjunctio* is practical and theoretical, astronomical and alchemical, positive or negative in its effects, whether in the birth of a child or the etiology of a disease. Since like should be conjoined with like, a conjunction of opposing elements may bear evil consequences, as in *Das Dritte Buch der grossen Wundartzney* where it is said that "in ein Wesen / wie jhr

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Eighteenth Text.

We know that the same thing applies to the element *terra:* all the stretches of the globe that have arisen from the element *terra* and that possess its nature, even though their *liquores mineralium* are ascribed to the element of fire, fire they are not. For *sulphur* does not burn because it pertains to the element *ignis*; rather, that which is cold can burn as well as that which is warm. Moreover, whatever burns to ashes pertains not to the element *ignis* but to the element *terra*. Nor should that kind of fire be accounted as the element of that name, for such it is not.[1] It is nothing but the consumption of earth or of a substance of that kind. For water, too, can just as well burn and be consumed as anything else. But if it does burn, it is *ignis aqueus*. Nor should *ignis terrae* be thought of as fire when it burns and heats up; | this does not constitute it as fire. It is only 12
like fire. It is a simple-minded *philosophus* who designates something as an element based on feeling or appearance. He should rather reflect that the element may be something other than such a fire as this. Why do I say this? Because not everything that moistens is the element of *aqua:* the element of earth may be turned into water while remaining earth. The same applies to everything in the earth that is of the *elementum terrae:* it is and can be understood in terms of the quality that arises from it which it resembles. The hard flint and chalcedony yield fire but of a kind that does not pertain to the elemental *ignis*; it is rather *fortis expressio*[2] in its great hardness.

Nineteenth Text.

Thus, does the element air bear within itself many *procreationes*, all of which are but air. Every *philosophus* should be aware that no element can give rise to anything which is other than what it is of itself: for what is like it is invariably born from it. Thus, the air is invisible: hence, it gives rise to nothing visible. Nor is it tangible: hence, it gives rise to nothing tangible. That which takes the form of the *melosina* is to be sure nothing but air; yet, in this case there is a *conjunction* occurring in another element, namely earth. Thus, there can occur a compounding that makes of air a human creature as is brought into being

von der Geburt der Kinder ein Exempel mögend nemmen / wie da **Coniunctio** muß geschehen. Also ist da Coniunctio, aber nicht des Kindes / sondern der Kranckheit" (H C:135b).

1 For very similar notions, see the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:65). There, material fire is even christened with the odd name *Tristo*.

2 "A strong expression."

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vnd *Incantationibus*[a] gestelt wirt / durch die *Spiritus :* in gleicher weiß zuverstahn / als die Wasserfrawen / die allein des Elements *Aquae* seind / vnd keins andern / dieselbigen mögen sich vermischen vnder die Jrrdischen / vnd mit jhnen geberen. Also auch ein Compaction erwechst auß dem Lufft / die da sichtbar vnd greiflich ist : nicht als ein Procreatz der ersten theilung / sondern als ein *Consequentia :* wie ein Keffer auß dem Dreck / also auch ein mißgewächs auß den lufftischen Elementen zu Corporalischer gestalt kommen mag / mit lufftischen Reden / Gedancken vnd Thaten / mit vermischung der Jrrdischen. So werden doch solche Miracul vnd *Consequentia* widerumb zu Lufft / vnnd die Nymphen wider zu Wasser / wie dann der Mensch zur Erden sich erfault / vnnd verzehrt wirdt / der dann von der Erden kompt.

13 Der Zwantzigst Text.

Also seindt die *Procreationes* erstanden / eins von dem andern / durch die grosse Separation : So folgen auß den *Procreationibus* andere geberung / die dann jhr *Mysterium* haben inn diesen *Procreationibus :* Nicht aber als ein Scheidung in gleicher Form der obgemeldten / sondern als ein Irrung oder Mißgerahtung / oder als ein Vberfluß / oder als ein Ern. Der Donner kommt auß den *Procreationibus Firmamenti*, das auß dem Element Fewr kommt : Derselb ist ein Ern deß *Sidus*[b] auff die Zeit / so der Donner gezeitigt ist do zu thun sein Natur. Aber die Zaubrischen Gewitter auß den Lüfften erstanden / vnnd im Lufft wieder verschwinden : Aber nicht daß das Element Lufft das gebeer / sondern die Geist deß Luffts. Etliche Corporalisch vom Fewr entpfangen / als die *Gnomi* von der Erden : Deßgleichen die *Stercora* vonn dem Menschen vnnd Thieren kommen / vnnd nicht von der Erden : Der *Lorind* von den Natalischen deß Wassers / vnnd ist doch nicht vom Wasser. Auß solcher Vberflüssigkeit vnd Irrung vnnd Ern werden viel mehr andere geboren : Dann auß den *Impressionibus* verkehrte Menschen werden / Würm vnd viel solcher Gewächsen. Auß den Fatalischen Gewittern wachsen Vergifftung der Länder / groß Sterben / vnnd viel hinderung der Gutten Jahr : Auß den *Stercoribus* die Keffer vnd Rifen (Raupen)[c] vnnd

a *Incantationes* pertain to a broad category of non-physical inflictions that involve the mind or imagination, subject to evil magic, as in *Liber de longa vita, Teutsch*: "So ist zuverstehen / dz **Incantationes**, Aestimationes vnd Imaginationes in vnsern Gemüetern / vnser Gemüet ertrencken / so vnser Gedancken mehr sind / dann vnser Vernunfft" (H 6:127).

b The original edition had *Stylus* in the text marked with an asterisk, with the alternate reading *Sidus* in the margin. Huser chose *sidus* certainly because it is the sensible reading in this context. See the thunder stars in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:80).

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in all curses and *incantations* by virtue of the *spiritus*. It is the same with the aqueous females which consist only of the element *aqua*, nothing more: they can nonetheless intermix with human beings and together with them generate offspring.[1] Thus, does a compaction arise from the air to become visible and tangible: it is not a procreation of the first division but rather a *consequentia*. It is the same as when a beetle arises out of dirt: so, too, can a misbegotten creature arise from the airy element to take a corporeal form with airy voice, thoughts, and deeds mixed with the earthen ones. And so, too, can these prodigies and *consequentia* return to air and the nymphs to water, just as the human being rots to earth and is consumed, having stemmed from earth. | 13

Twentieth Text.

This is how the *procreationes* have arisen, one from the other, through the great separation. So it is that from these *procreationes* other generations follow. These same *procreationes* are their *mysterium*. It does not happen, however, through a separation of the same kind as that discussed above, but rather in the manner of an error or misbegotten birth, or as a superfluity or an offshoot. Thunder arises from the *procreationes firmamenti* which stem from the element of fire. It is a harvest of the *sidus* [star] at its time; thus, is thunder ripened to activate its nature. But then there are the magic storms arising from the airy realms that vanish back into the air: it is not the element of air that generates them but rather the spirits of the air. Some are conceived corporeally from fire, just as the *gnomi* are from earth. This is in the same way that the *stercora* [feces] arise from human beings and animals, not from the earth. The *lorinds* are from those native to water, yet they do not consist of water. It is from this sort of superfluity and error and offshoot that many other things are born. From the *impressiones* perverse humanoid creatures are born, as well as worms and many such growths. From the fated[2] storms arise the poisoning of territories, mass death, and many an aborted fruitful year. From the *stercora* originate beetles

c The original edition has *rifen* in the text marked with an asterisk, with the alternate reading *Raupen* in the margin. Only the latter makes sense.

1 This theory is different from that expressed in the *Liber de Nymphis*. There, elemental beings can, and even seek to intermix with human beings—and they can generate offspring—, but they do it in order to obtain an immortal soul (H 9:61–62).

2 The word *Fatalischen* seems to refer to the *Fata* of the *Philosophy of the Elements*. See above, H 8:7, note a.

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Dalni,[a] jhr Vrsprung nemmen : Auß dem *Lorind* erzeigt sich ein Prophecey derselbigen Region / vnnd Vorbott eins grossen newen[b] Geschichten / oder einer seltzammen Sach / als vngehört zukünfftig.

Der Ein vnd zwentzigst Text.

So nuhn also dreyerley Scheidung geschehen auß dem *Mysterio* in dreyerley Form / wie dann verstanden ist : So ist nuhn dergleichen zu erkennen die vierdt Scheidung / vnnd ist die letzt / vnnd nach der wird keine mehr : Es werden auch die andern zubrechen / vnnd bleiben kein *Mysterium* mehr. Dann durch die kommen alle ding wieder in jhren ersten Anfang / vnnd bleibt allein das / das vor dem *Mysterio Magno* gewesen ist / vnd Ewig ist. Nicht in solcher gestalt
14 zuverstehen / | das ich zu etwas komm / oder das nach der letzten Scheidung etwas auß mir werd / als durch den Todt : Dann zu Nichten werd ich / auß Nichts bin ich / erstes anfangs nach. Vnnd wiewol alle ding kommen wieder zu jhrem Ersten / das beschicht also : Wann sie zu Nichte kommen / so seindt sie an jhrem Ersten / dann das Erst ist zu suchen im Ersten Anfang : Aber was solches ist das zu Nichts kommt / seindt *Arcana :* Die Seel in mir ist auß Etwas geworden / darumb sie nicht zu Nichts kommt / dann auß Etwann kommt sie / aber auß solchem Nichts / wird Nichts / vnd wird nichts mehr darauß geboren. Ein Bildt dz auff ein Taffeln gemalet wird / das ist do / ist auch auß Etwas gemachet : Aber wir seind nicht also auß Etwas in die Etheren gemacht / wie das Bild : Dann warumb ? wir kommen auß dem *Mysterio Magno*, vnd nicht *Procreato :* Aber zu Nichts werden wir / vnd das Bild / dz wider abgewischet wird / vnd ist nichts mehr da / so ist also die Taffeln wider in jhrer ersten Gestalt. Also werden alle Creaturen kommen an jhr ersten Statt / das ist / zu Nichts. Aber zu wissen / auß was vrsachen sollen alle *Corpora* wider zu Nichten werden / ist allein von wegen deß Ewigen so sich befind in den Vnuernünfftigen *Corporibus*, vnd solche letzte Scheidung ist *Vltima Materia :* Dann da werden viel *Procreationes* beschehen / *Permixtiones, Conuersiones, Transmutationes, Alterationes*, vnnd dergleichen viel ander mehr / die wir zuerkennen nicht Menschlich achten.

Der Zwey vnd zwentzigst Text.

Vnd wiewol ein *Philosophus* mag erkennen / dz alles das / so hilfflich ist vnnd beyhendig dem zergenglichen / auch zergenglich ist : Vnd dergleichen was do getheilet wird / nicht mag wider zusammen kommen : Als die zerrunnen

a This is a usage found nowhere else in P.'s corpus.

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and caterpillars and *dalni*. A *lorind* reveals a prophecy of such a region, a harbinger of some great event or unheard of future prodigy.

Twenty-First Text.

Now that we have recognized the threefold separation from the *Mysterium* in these three forms, the fourth and last separation can be known, after which there is no further one. The others, too, will come to an end, after which there will be no further *mysterium*. For it is through it that all things return to their first beginning to remain nothing other than whatever eternal there was before the *Mysterium Magnum*. This should not be understood in the sense | that 14
I should be transformed or that after the final separation something would become of me other than by way of death. For I shall become as nothing since I arose from nothing in terms of my first beginning. Moreover, all things will return to their primary, and indeed as follows: When they are reduced to nothing, they are in their primary state. Yet that which returns to nothing are the *arcana*. The soul that abides in me had to come from something so that it would not return to nothing. But from that nothingness, nothing arises, nor will anything be born of it again. An image painted upon a tablet abides and has been made from something. However, we have not been made from something in the ethers like that image. Why is this so? It is because we stem from the *Mysterium Magnum* which was not *procreatum*. Yet we will come to nothing. So will the image be wiped off the tablet. Nothing remains: the tablet is in its primary state. So it is that all creatures will return to their first condition, that is, to nothing. But as to why all *corpora* return to nothing: it is solely because of the eternal being that is lodged within the reasoning *corpora*. The last separation yields *ultima materia*. For many *procreationes* are to take place: *permixtiones, conversiones, transmutationes, alterationes*, and much more of the like, which it is not humanly possible for us to comprehend.

Twenty-Second Text.

Indeed, a *philosophus* can comprehend that everything that is helpful and supportive to the transient being is itself transient. Moreover, that which has been rendered asunder cannot be joined together again. So it is that milk that has

b The original edition has *nauen* in the text marked with an asterisk, with the alternate reading *forte newen* ("perhaps *newen*") in the margin. Only *newen* makes sense.

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Milch / die zu einer gantzen nimmer werden mag. Also auch vns zu Philosophieren ist / daß das groß *Mysterium Magnum* in das nicht wider kommt / auß dem es kommen ist. Darumb also zuverstehen ist / dz alle Creaturen ein Mahlung ist deß höchsten Arcanen / vnd ein angeworffen Farb an der Wand / nicht anderst ist : Dann wir stahnd vnter den Etheren / eins wie das ander abzutilgen / vnnd zu Nichten zu machen : Auch die Taffeln zergenglich ist deß Bilds
15 vnd verbrennlich : Also auch vnser *Mysterium Magnum*, | vnnd wir mit jhnen. Vnnd so also alle ding der Creaturen zergeht mit dem *Mysterio*, vnd werden also außgewischet vnd gemindert wie ein grosser Waldt / der zu wenigen äschen wird / vnnd dieselbige äschen zu wenigem *Vitrum*,[a] vnnd dasselbige *Vitrum* zu einem kleinen Berillen / vnnd die Berillen[b] zu eim Wind. Also werden wir verzehrt werden von eim zum andern / so lang biß nichts an vns bleibt : Dann wie aller Creaturen Herkommen ist / also ist auch der Hingang. Mag auß einem kleinen Korn der groß Cypreß wachsen : So mag derselbige gleich so wol also klein wieder werden / als sein erstes Korn : Dann das Korn vnnd Berill halten sich gleich. Vnnd wie der Sahm sich anhebt / also endt sich der Berill. Vnnd so also die Scheidung geschehen ist / vnnd ist ein jedlichs an seim Wesen / das ist im ersten Anfang / als Nichts : Dann ist zwischen Etheren nichts Vnewigs mehr / sondern ohn End. Dann das / von dem das Vnewig ist / wird sich do mehr setzen / dann vor anfang der Creatur / vnnd hatt kein zergencknuß in jhm : Als ein Glaß / das durch die Creatur nicht mag verzehrt werden / also mag auch dasselbig Ewig Wesen durch das Ewige nicht zu Nichten werden.

Der Drey vnd zwentzigst Text.

Vnnd dieweil also die letzt Scheidung ein Brechung ist aller Geschöpff / vnnd eins dem andern nach verzehrt wirdt / vnd hingeht : So wirdt do erkennt die Zeit solcher dingen. Dann nach der Geberung der Geschöpff / werden kein zergencknuß in jhnen : Auß vrsach / das der Sahm / der alten vergangnen statt erfüllet : Vnd also wer ein Ewigs in dem zergenglichen ohne abgang / zu ernewen eins andern Sahmen / dz der *Philosophus* nicht wissen ist. Dann kein Sahm mag Ewigs verlassen / aber wol Erfaulung : Wann das do Ewig ist / zu dem Ewigen verordnet wird : Vnnd also allein der Mensch vnder allen Geschöpffen das Ewige in jhm hatt in dem zergenglichen. Dieweil vnd also ein Zergenglichs vnd ein Ewigs bey einandern stehend / so ist zu erkennen / daß das Zergengliche dem Magen ein Wesen bereitten ist / vnd tragen deß Leibes Verdienst : Das

a Glass is made from wood ash. See ETW 171, n. 1.

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dissolved can never be whole again. Moreover, it is for us to consider that the great *Mysterium Magnum* will not return to that from which it came. Hence, it is to be understood that all creatures are a painting of the highest *Arcanum* and a coloring cast onto the wall, and nothing besides. For we abide below the ethers, the one as much as the other, awaiting harvest, to be annihilated. So, too, is the tablet of the image transient and combustible, as is our *Mysterium Magnum* | 15 and ourselves with it. And so it is that all matters of creatures pass away with the *Mysterium:* they will be wiped clean and clear cut like a great forest reduced to a few ashes, and these in turn to a bit of *vitrum;* and the latter in turn to a small beryl, and the beryls in turn to wind. So it is that we will be consumed from one state to another until nothing remains. For as is the origin of all things, so is their consummation. From a small seed a great cypress may grow; so, too, may it become as small as its initial seed. For the seed and the beryl are alike in this regard. As the seed begins, so does the beryl end. And as the separation takes place, each is in its essence which in its primal being was nothing. For within the ethereal realms nothing that is not eternal abides except that which is without end. That from which the transient stems will amount to more than it was before the beginning of the creature and will have nothing transient in it: it will be like a glass that cannot be consumed in the creature. So it is that the eternal essence cannot be annihilated by that which is eternal.

Twenty-Third Text.

Thus, the final separation is a destruction of all creatures which are consumed one after another, thus passing away. From this we can see the destined limit of all things. For following the birth of the creatures, there is nothing transient in them. For the seed takes the place of the old one that has perished. In this sense, there is something eternal in the transient things that do not vanish so that their seed can be renewed, about which the *philosophus* does not know. For no seed can create anything eternal, rather it yields corruption. For that which is eternal is consigned to the eternal. Yet it is only the human being among all creatures that bears the eternal within the transient. Since the eternal and transient coexist, it must be understood that the transient prepares an essence for the stomach and serves the body. There is only one reason for this.

b The word *beryllus* derived from the Greek designated rock crystal in medieval Latin as well as eyeglasses, which were made of rock crystal (hence German *Brillen*, "eyeglasses.") See "Beryl" on Wikipedia.en (Du Cange has the latter meaning but does not explain it). The writings of P. usually cite beryl along with glass or crystals or as instruments of magic; here the point of interest is their material constitution in a spectrum of the large, the small, and the ultimate smallness of nothing.

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allein auß dem Vrsprung kommt / daß dz Ewige vom Menschen Ewig lebt / vnd dz zergengliche Tödtlichen abstirbt : Also wie der Leib / also das Ewige / das
16 vom selbigen Leib kommt. | Vnnd ist sich zu verwunderen der gantzen *Philosophiae*, das ein zergencklichs meistern soll / vnnd führen nach seim wolgefallen jmmer vnnd Ewig / vnnd also dem Menschen Frey vnnd Eigen heim steht : Darumb er also seim Ewigen mehr gewaltig ist / dann der / von dem das zergengliche / vnnd sein Ewigs hie ist. Durch ein solchs zu mercken ist / das die zergenglichen aller Creaturen mit einander wohnen / Vernunfftigs vnnd Vnbesinns / vnd je eins dem andern zu Nutz / vnd alles do in zergenglichen das Ewige ist zugeben / vnnd in jhrem Gewalt / also mit gleichen wohnen. Darumb *Philosophia* lehrnt / das alles so do mit einander wohnet / ohne Zanck vnd Krieg / Falsch vnnd Trug / Gutts vnnd Böses / nicht verzehrt mag werden / sondern jhe eins wieder das ander : So ist doch solches denen / in welchen das Ewige nicht ist / kein Vrtheil befunden / aber in denen dz Ewige ist / ohn Vrtheil nicht ergehen möge. So also diser Zweitracht do ist / so muß je ein Ewigs dem andern ein rechnung thun / vnnd benügen der Schulden / vmb solchs so Eim vom andern beschehen ist. Vnnd weil solchs dem Ewigen zu stehet zu beschuldigen / so geschicht es nicht von dem zergenglichem. Dann wiewol die *Corpora* einander vertragen vnd sich selbest vereinigen : Noch so do etwas vberbleibt / dasselbig Ewig ist. Darumb richt allein das Ewig in vns / so also ein Rechnung beschehen muß / je eins dem andern / so werden bezwungen alle zergengliche ding / die das Ewige in jhnen haben / zu sterben / also das allein das Ewige sey / ohn den Leib / vnnd also an dem Gericht erscheinen : Dann dasselbige allein Ein Ewigs ist / vnnd nicht mehr / das ist am letzten Endt alles Absterben. So also nuhn / die do Ewigs in jhnen haben / abgestorben seindt / so bleibt nichts / dann ein solch ding / das ein Ewigs in jhm gehabt hatt / geführt vnnd genehrt hatt. Dann was nicht Nütz ist / dz bleibt in der Creatur nicht : Dann allein von wegen der Ewigen seindt sie da. Darumb hernach folgt / das also mit sampt dem / das ein Ewigs in jhm hatt / alle ding so dz enthalten hatten / zergehent / vnnd mit allem absterben : Aber allein das Ewige nicht. Darumb do erfunden wirdt der Leiblichen ding [Endt][a] das ist zu Nichte / in das alle ding kommt : Dann sie werden gescheiden von jhrem Wesen in Nichts / dz ist / von etwas *in Nihilum*. Aber im
17 Menschen die vollkommenen Scheidung gemangelt wird / | das ist deß Ewigen von dem Tödtlichen. Dann do wird erfunden das Gericht / das allen / so zwischen den Etheren seindt / anzeiget die Zergengnuß aller dingen. Vnnd so also kein Rechnunge befunden wirdt / die vmb das Zergenglich geschehen / so wer

a The original edition has "der leiblische ding / das ist zu nichte." Before "leiblische" there is an asterisk, with the alternate reading *letzischen* in the margin. Huser corrected that by adding "Endt" in brackets after "ding."

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It is so that what is eternal in the human being should live eternally, and the transient and mortal should die. So it is with the body, so it is with the eternal which arises from the body. | It is indeed a marvel for all of *philosophy* that a 16
transient being should achieve mastery to lead in accordance with its own will forever and anon and is thus freely and appropriately accessible to the human being. For this reason, the human being has more power over his eternal being than the one from whom the transient stems; and his eternal being abides in this. Thus, it is to be noted that the transient qualities of all creatures coexist, whether they are rational or unconscious; and each is useful to the other. Everything in the transient beings is there to yield that which is eternal; and it lies in their power, and they are to coexist. So it is that *philosophia* instructs us that everything that coexists without quarrel or warfare, without falsehood and deception, good and evil alike, should not be consumed except one by another. So it is that those in which the eternal does not abide are not to be judged, while those that do harbor the eternal may not pass away without judgment. Given that there is this opposition, every eternal being must account to every other one in order to give satisfaction for the debt incurred from the other. And since it is for the eternal being to render account, this does not happen for the transient. For even though the *corpora* bear and unite with one another, something still remains which is eternal. Therefore, it is only the eternal in us that judges when accounts are to be given one to another. Hence, all the transient beings that bear the eternal within them have died, so that there is then only the eternal without body to be judged. For that alone is an eternal being. Nothing besides. All else is deceased in the end. When all those that have born the eternal within them have departed, nothing remains but a thing that once did bear, guide, and nourish the eternal within it. For whatever is without use does not remain in the creature. Only for the sake of the eternal are such things there. Thus, it follows that together with that which bore the eternal within it, all things therein contained pass away and die along with everything else. Only the eternal does not die. For this reason, corporeal things [end] and come to naught along with all other things. They are parted from their essence and consigned to nothingness, passing from something *in nihilum*. But in the human being, the final separation is lacking | which is the eternal from the mortal. For 17
these, we have the judgment which is for all that abide between the ethers, announcing the destruction of all things. And if no accounting is found for the transient, there would be no transience in the creatures. All would be eternal. It is only because we who are mortal do not dwell in righteousness and among

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kein Zergengnuß in den Geschöpffen / sondern alle Ewig. Aber es vrsacht allein das / dieweil wir Tödtlichen nicht im Rechten wohnen / vnnd vnter vns nicht recht Vrthel geben / vnd nicht Gewalt haben das Ewige zu vrtheilen / so muß solchs beschehen in dem Ewigen : Dieweil solches beschehen soll / so müssen wir all zusammen kommen / also erfindt sich die Zergehung aller dingen.

Der Vier vnd zwentzigst Text.

So nun also auß dem Ersten *Mysterio Magno* alle ding beschaffen seindt / vnnd also zergehend / vnnd nachfolgendts ist zu mercken / das es ein *Mysterium Magnum* ist : Wiewol es nichts ist / sondern gleich als wenn auß eim Wort[a] ein Hauß würde : So ist das also zuverstehen / solchs dem Höchsten allein / wie eim Menschen ein Fewr zu machen / do keins ist / vnnd auß keim Fewr. Dann der Kißling hatt kein Fewr / wiewol er Fewr gibt.[b] So ist aber zu erkennen / das in dem *Mysterio Magno* alle *Mysteria Prima* ligendt vnnd gewesen seindt / vnd die in drey Weg : Auff die Vegetabilischen / auff die Elementen / auff die *Sensibilia*. Auff die *Vegetabilia* seindt gewesen vil hundert vnnd viel tausent : Dann jedlichs Geschlecht hatt im *Mysterio Magno* sein sonderlichs gehabt. Also allein vier auff die Elementen / dann dieselbigen handt nur vier Anfäng / aber viel hundert auff die Menschen. Dann *Loripedes* ein besonders / *Cyclopes*[c] ein sonders / *Gigantes* ein sonders / *Mechili*[d] ein sonders / deßgleichen die do in der Erden wohnen / die in Lufften wohnen / die in dem Wasser wohnen / vnnd die im Fewr : Vnd sonderlich alle Gewächs / ein jedlich Geschlecht sein besonder *Mysterium* im *Mysterio Magno* gehabt / vnnd allerley Geschöpff do gewesen ist. Dann so vielerley Bäum / so vielerley Menschen / so vielerley auch *Mysteria*. Vnd regiert doch dz Ewige allein im Menschen / vnnd in allen jhrm *Mysterio*, keinem mehr dann dem andern. Es ist im *Mysterio Magno* keinerley
18 *Genus* gewesen / es sey hundertfach vnnd viel mehr geformiert | vnnd gefärbet worden / einandern vngleich / so müssen doch solche alle zergehen. Was aber darauß weiter mag werden / dasselbige lassen wir bleiben : Dann vnmüglich ist ein newes *Mysterium Magnum*, es werd dann viel seltzamer / das vns vor grossem Wunder nicht zu Speculieren ist.

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a The creation through the Word (as in John 1) is found in both the disputed and undisputed writings of P. (see below, our translation of H 8:184; as well as H 4:295; 10:257) and in the writings of his successors. The word can be construed both as immaterial, hence as nothing, and as all-powerful as a divine command.

b See above, H 8:12.

c Unlike the preceding term *Loripedes*, but like the following one *Gigantes, "Cyclopes"* occurs elsewhere in the uncontested work with respect to two questions, (1) whether all humanoid creatures have a single father and (2) whether such creatures can be artificially bred: "[ist]

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ourselves do not render just judgment, having no authority to judge the eternal, that such a judgment must occur in the eternal realm. In order for this to happen, we must all be convened: thus transpires the destruction of all things.

Twenty-Fourth Text.

Thus, all things are created from the prime *Mysterium Magnum* and thus do they pass away. Hence, it is to be noted that it is indeed a *Mysterium Magnum* which is nothing else than as if a house were to come into being from a word. It must be understood in the sense of the Supreme Being, as if a human being were to build a fire where there had been none and were to do so not from a fire. For the flintstone has no fire though it yields fire. Likewise it must be understood that in the *Mysterium Magnum* all *mysteria prima* reside and have been there, and indeed in three modes: one for the *vegetabilia*, one for the elements, and one for the *sensibilia*. For the first, there were many hundreds and thousands, for each genus had in the *Mysterium Magnum* its own particular one. There were but four for the elements; for they had only four beginnings. But there were many hundreds for human beings. The *loripedes* had their particular one.[1] The *cyclopes* theirs, the *gigantes* theirs, and the *mechili* theirs. The same applies to those that dwell in the earth or in the air or in the water or in the fire.[2] And thus, too, for everything that grows. Every species had its particular *mysterium* in the *Mysterium Magnum;* all sorts of creatures were contained in it. As many as there were trees, as many as the human species: no fewer the *mysteria*. Yet only in the human being does the eternal rule. Each has its *mysterium*, none more than any other. In the *Mysterium Magnum*, there was not one *genus* but rather hundredfold and many more were formed | and tinted, each unlike 18
any other. And yet all must pass away. What will come afterward we will not ask. For a new *Mysterium Magnum* is impossible unless things should become much stranger still. About such great marvels it is not for us to speculate.

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von Eim Vatter hie sein / sondern mehr. Als von eim besondern wir zweyfüssigen / vonn eim besondern die **Cyclopes** / von eim besondern die *Monoculi*" (*Das Buch von der Geberung der Empfindlichen dingen in der Vernunfft*—H 1:332): "die *transplantatio* wider die natur und doch aus ir, das ist so wider die linien etwas geboren würd, aus kraft der transplantirung, als die *cyclopes*, *gigantes*, maultier und dergleichen andere mer wunder &c." (*Von den Blatern, Lähme und Beulen der Franzosen zehn Bücher*—H C:266c).

d This term occurs nowhere else in the writings attributed to P.

1 According to Pliny, book 5, VIII, "The Strapfoots are people with feet like leather thongs, whose nature it is to crawl instead of walking." See Pliny 2006, vol. 2, 253.

2 Here elemental beings are meant.

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Beschluß deß Andern *Paras* deß Fürsten *Theophrasti*,
von der Schöpffung aller dingen / vnnd Scheidung
der Creaturn / mit gebrauchung der *Mysteriorum*.

Vnnd wie bemeldt hatt der Fürst *Theoprastus* in diesem andern *Paras* deß Ersten *Volumen de Generatione Rerum :* So beschleust er in dem also / das alle ding / die Zergenglich seindt / auff Ein Puncten beschaffen seindt : Vnd nach demselbigen keinerley Geschlecht mehr beschaffen sey worden. Setzt am ersten die Element / darnach wie auß den vier Elementen die *Procreationes* seindt gescheiden : Darnach die letzten *Mysteria*, so auß den *Procreationibus* erwachsen vnnd gescheiden werden. Vnnd am letzten beschleust er / das in den Vernünfftigen ein Ewigs sey : Darinnen er bekennt ein Jüngst Gericht / vnnd ein Ewigs Leben / vnnd Zergengnuß / verzehrung aller dingen / vnnd ein Endt vber die Welt : Zeigt auch an / das ein jedlichs *Genus* von eim sonderlichen *Mysterio* hie sey / vnnd das kein *Mysterium* mehr dann Ein *Genus* gelassen hab / vnd setzt ein End aller dingen.

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Conclusion of the Second *Paras* of the Prince *THEOPHRAST*,

Regarding the creation of all things and the separation of the creatures in application of the *mysteria*.

Just like Prince *Theophrastus* has announced in this second *Paras* of the First *Volumen de Generatione Rerum*, he thus concludes that all things transient have been created to a single point; and after it no more have been created. He posits first the elements and thereafter how from the four their *procreationes* were separated out; and after this the final *mysteria* that have grown and been separated from the *procreationes*. Last of all, he concludes that in the rational ones something eternal abides. In this regard, he acknowledges a final judgment and an eternal life, a passing away and a consumption of all things and an end descending upon the world. He also indicates that each *genus* comes from a particular *mysterium*, and that no *mysterium* has deposited more than one *genus;* and he posits an end to all things. | 19

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19 Vorred in die Dritt *Paras* deß grossen Fürsten *THEOPHRASTI*.

In dieser *Paras* zeigt vns der Fürst *Theophrastus* die *Primam Materiam* der vier Elementen / einer jedlichen in sonderheit begriffen : Was das Fewr ist / vnd was der Lufft / was das Wasser / vnnd die Erden ist : Wie sie zu Elementen geworden sein / vnd in was wege sie Elementen seindt. Darnach so beschreibt er / was *Prima Materia* sey deß Firmaments / Sternen / Planeten vnnd aller Himmlischen dingen / die da zergenglich sind. Nach dem die *Principia Spirituum* vnnd *Fatorum*,[a] wie sie ihr Geburt in der Scheidung entpfangen haben. Demselbigen nach setzt er den Vrsprung der Nymphen / Lorind / Meerwunder / vnnd alles Fleisch so im Wasser generiert wirdt / was ihr *Principium* vnd *Finis* innhalt. Nach dem die Jrrdischen *Mysteria* der Mineralien / die mancherley Formen der Menschen / der vnuernünfftigen Thieren / der Kreutter / der Gebäumen / der Steinen : dergleichen der Zwergel / der Naturalischen. Vnd beschleust also mit
20 dieser *Prima* | *Materia* den Dritten *Paras*, darinnen er bekennt auß der Philosophischen Natur ein Ewigs vnnd ein Zergenglichs / vnd die Vermischung der Zergenglichen vnd Ewigen. Dergleichen meldt er die Geburtt *Christi*, vnnd der Jungfrawen *Mariae* : Gibt zu verstehen / wie das Vergenglich zu Vnzergenglichem werden mag / mit wunderbarlicher Außlegung / gibt zuerkennen ein Vnderscheid der Welt / ein Ewige / vnnd ein Zergengliche : Vnd wie die Zergengliche ein Ewige werd : Vnnd beschleust also mit dem den letsten Text.

Das Ander Buch.

Der Erst Text.

Dieweil also ettwas gewesen ist / das do zu einer Scheidung ist kommen / vnnd also durch das alle ding erschaffen seind : Ist anfenglich zuverstehen ein vnderscheid der Göttern / vnnd das also. Dieweil vnd das Geschöpff getheilet ist / das Ein in ein Ewigs / dz Ander in ein Zergenglichs : Vrsacht solchs / das ein ander Schöpffer gewesen ist der *Mysteriorum*, vnnd nicht der Höchst vnd mehriste / dieweil also der höchst vnnd mehriste soll ein Richter sein aller Geschöpff / vnnd ein Straffer derselbigen : Vnnd erkennt das deren Geschöpfften erlaubt ist / vnnd jhnen ist Gutts vnnd Böß zu thun / welchs auß jhm nicht geboren ist. Auch mehr daß das Geschöpff zu bösem gereitzet / angefochten / geursacht

a The original text has no period after "zergenglich sind" and has *factorum* instead of *Fatorum*. Huser made these clever corrections.

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Preface to the Third *Paras* of the great Prince *THEOPHRASTUS*.

In this *Paras* Prince *Theophrastus* reveals to us the *prima materia* of the four elements, each understood in itself: what is fire; what is air; what is water, and what is earth; how they became elements; and in what sense they are elements. Next, he describes to us the *prima materia* of firmament, stars, planets, and all celestial things that are transient. After this, he explains the *principia* of the *spiritus* and of the *fata*,[1] and how they received their nativity in the separation. Following that, he declares the origins of the nymphs, *lorind*, prodigies of the sea, and every sort of flesh generated in the water, as to what their *principium* and *finis* contains. Then he continues with the terrestrial *mysteria* of the minerals; the varied forms of human beings, of the non-rational beasts, of herbs, trees, and stones. The same for the little dwarves and the natural creatures. Thus, this *prima* | *materia* constitutes the Third *Paras* in which he deduces 20
from the philosophical nature the presence of the eternal and the transient and the mixture of the two. By the same token, he declares the birth of *Christus* and the Virgin *Maria*.[2] He makes it clear how it is that the transient becomes intransient. With a marvelous exegesis, he makes known a division of the world, one eternal and one passing, and how the passing one becomes an eternal. With that he concludes the last text.

The Second Book.
The First Text.

Inasmuch as there was something that came to be separated, and through it all things were created, what needs to be recognized is first of all a distinction of the gods, and indeed in this sense: since the creation has been divided, the one part eternal, the other passing, the reason for this is that there was another creator of the *mysteria:* it was not the Highest and Greatest Being, since the Highest and Greatest Being should be a judge of all creatures and their castigator, acknowledging that the created beings had leave to do good and evil, which is not something born of the Creator. Moreover, the creature is aroused

1 Until this point, this summary sounds very much as a description of the first four chapters of *De Meteoris*. See our Table of Contents.

2 This is remarkably absent of this entire second part of the work. No less noticeable is the lack of any mention of the *evestrum* in this preface, despite its prominence in this part of the work.

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vnnd gewaltigt / genötigt wirdt auß dem Gestirn vnnd *Fatum*,[a] vnd *Infernale*.[b]
21 So jedoch das Geschöpff auß jhm / dem Höchsten | käme / so möcht nit sein das er vns so in Eigenschafft zwünge / zu gutem oder zu bösen / sondern frey vnd eigen ohn alle eintrag / dieweil vnd auch das Geschöpff nit in gnugsam verstand ist / zu erkennen böß vnd guts / zu verstahn ewigs vnnd tödtlichs. Dann ettliche seind Thoren vnd Narren / vnd der tausent ist kaum ein Weiser / sonder mehr als falsch Propheten / als Lügen *Doctores*, als vnweissent Meister / vnnd jedoch von dem Geschöpff klärlich gehalten werden / als die fürnemmen / vnnd seinds doch nit : Ist nemlich ein treffliche vrsach / dieweil wir ein solches Geschöpff sein / das wir nit kommen von den Meistern[c] vollkommen gut / sondern mehr gemacht sein von zergencklichen Göttern / die in *Mysterio Magno* haben gewalt gehabt / vnnd doch durch das Ewige zu einem Vrtheil jhnen vnd uns gesetzt.[d]

Der Ander Text.

So also / als in der Scheidung erkennt ist / allein in vieren alle Geschöpff haben müssen stahn / vnd darauß kommen / so seind diese vier / Mütter aller Geschöpffen / vnnd werden Element genennt : Vnd wiewol noch ein jedlichs Geschöpff ein Element ist / oder ein anhangen hatt von eim Element : So ist doch dasselbe nicht in massen als Element / sondern als ein Geist des Elements : so mag nichts stahn ohn dasselbige / es muß haben ein Element : Sie mögen auch nit bey einander stehen / dann kein ding ist / das in vier Elemen-

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a On the link between star and *fatum*, see below (H 8:92): "Das Gestirn aber / so in vns wirckt / ist das von dem wir do sagen / vnd heissen es Fatvm, nach der Philosophey / vnd nit als ettliche **Fatum** außlegen. Damit aber das Fatum wol erkennt werdt / ist es also / dz ein jedlicher Mensch ein Geist hat / der ausserthalb jhm wohnet / vnd setzt sein Stul in die obern Stern." Elsewhere the supernatural phenomenon is equated to a natural one, as in *De Modo Pharmacandi:* "Dann zu gleicherweiß wie ein Fatum auß einem gestorbenen Menschen / also wachsen auch dise farben" (H 5:208–209).

b The infernal spirits or devils rank among various supernatural or preternatural beings that include: "Spiritus ignis, Spiritus aeris, Spiritus aquae, Spiritus terrae, etc. Vnd die Spiritus coelestes sind die Engel / vnd die besten Geister: Die **Spiritus infernales** sind die Teuffel : Die Spiritus humani sind der Abgestorbnen Menschen Geister: Die Spiritus ignis sind die Salamander." *Von dem Vnterscheidt der Corporum vnd Spirituum* (H 9:406). See Daniel 2021.

c The original edition has "von dem Meistern," which is likely a misprint either for "von dem Meister," or "von den Meistern." Huser chose the latter. We do not find, however, that it makes sense. See vis-à-vis.

d In the works of P., the plural *Götter* is almost never used in a theological sense. There are exceptions. See *De praedestinatione et libera voluntate*: "Sobald wir gewählt haben, sind wir unfrei; dann prädestiniren uns die Götter" (Goldammer 11.2:111–118). In this treatise the plural is repeatedly used. P. differentiates between "die obern Götter" and "die undtern Götter". The

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to evil, tempted, incited, compelled, and driven on by the stars and the *fatum* and by the *infernale*. If indeed we creatures came from the Highest One, | we 21
should not be pressed into a condition open to good and evil; we would instead be free and autonomous without compulsion, all the more since the creature lacks the understanding to recognize evil and good and to grasp the eternal and the transient. Many are fools and simpletons and out of a thousand there is barely a single wise man. There are more false prophets and mendacious *doctores* and ignorant masters; yet people expect them to perform adequately though they cannot. This is a clear sign that we are not indeed entirely good creatures fashioned by the Master Craftsman.[1] We are rather the craftwork of transient gods who had such power in the *Mysterium Magnum*, even though the eternal power summons them and us to judgment.[2]

Second Text.

Thus, as we have seen in the discussion of the separation, all creatures had to abide in no more than four elements, emerging from them. Hence, the four are called mothers of all creatures and are known as the elements. Yet though every creature still is an element or has something owing to the element, it is not strictly speaking an element but rather a spirit of the element. Nothing can abide without an element.[3] Yet the elements cannot coexist, for there is no

latter are "the inferior gods of the Hell" (ibid., 111–112), an entirely different notion from that in the present text. Other, less significant, non-theological occurrences of the plural "gods" are mentioned by Goldammer, ibid., XXXVIII (*De fundamento scientiarum*—H 9:426 and *Von der Gebärung der empfindlichen Dinge in der Vernunft*—H 1:329–331).

1 Following Huser's text, Palthen translated as follows: "The obvious cause of that is that we are creatures that have not received the perfect good from the Masters [*qui à Magistris bonum perfectum non accipimus*], but have been created by mortal Gods [...]." Thus he interpreted "kommen" as "bekommen" in the words "das wir nit kommen von den Meistern vollkommen gut." Who these masters may be, however, we do not understand well. Nor do we know how to make sense of the sentence with Huser's correction "von den Meistern" in the plural form (see vis-à-vis). Only the singular form "von dem Meister", referring to the Creator, seems to make sense in the context of this chapter.

2 This seems a christianized version of, and an implicit reference to the "younger gods" (*tois neois theois*) in Plato's *Timaeus*, 42e: "Following upon this sowing, He delivered over to the young gods the task of moulding mortal bodies, and of framing and controlling all the rest of the human soul which it was still necessary to add, together with all that belonged thereto, and of governing this mortal creature in the fairest and best way possible, to the utmost of their power, except in so far as it might itself become the cause of its own evils" (Plato 1929, 93). These "transient gods" appear only in this excerpt of the *Philosophia ad Athenienses*.

3 We follow here Palthen's translation: "Et licet creatum quodvis quidem aduc elementum sit, aut elementi portionem habeat: id tamen instar elementi se non habet, sed instar spiritus elementi. Tum etiam nihil citra elementum subsistere potest."

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ten stand / noch in dreyen / noch in zweyen / sondern Ein Element ist allein / vnd ein jedlichs Geschöpff hatt nuhr Ein Element. Es ist ein blinder verstandt / daß das Naß für ein Element erkennt wird / das Wasser : oder das brennendt für ein Element Fewr : Dann nit nach dem Corpus / oder auß der Substantz / oder nach der Geschickligkeit soll das Element verstanden werden. Denn was da sichtbar ist / dasselb ist allein die Einfassung / vnd das Element ist ein Geist / vnd lebt gleich in den dingen / wie ein Seel im Leib[a] : das ist *Prima Materia* der Elementen vnsichtbar vnd vngreifflich / vnd doch in allen. Dann *prima Materia Elementorum*[b] ist nichts anders / dann das Leben / so da ist in den Geschöpffen : vnd was da todt ist / ist in keim Element mehr / sonder in der *vltima materia*, darinn kein Kosten / noch Tugendt / noch Krafft mehr ist.

22 Der Dritt Text.

So nuh den vier Müttern / als den vier Elementen / alle ding zu beschaffen gewaltig sind gewesen : ist weitter zu mercken / das die vier Elementen genugsam zu allen dingen sein gewesen / vnnd nit mehr / auch nit minder hetten mögen sein. Dann das auß der vrsachen / das in tödtlichen dingen nit mehr Naturen stahn mögend dann vier : Aber in vntödtlichen mögend die Temperament[c] stahn / vnd nicht die Element. Dann was die Elementur ist / ist zerbrüchig : Aber was die Temperatur ist / dasselbig hatt kein zerbrechens in jhm. Dann es ist also gestalt / das jhm nichts abgehet noch zugehet / nichts fault / nichts verdirbt. Aber so also das tödtlich geschaffen ist / so ist zu erkennen / daß sie alle in vier Naturen stahnd / vnnd ein jedliche Natur hatt seines Elements Nammen : Als das Heiß ist ein Element des Fewrs : das Kalt ein Element der Erden : dz Naß ist ein Element des Wassers : das Trocken ist ein Element des Luffts. Darbey soll verstanden werden / daß die vier Naturen / jedlichs beson-

a See below, H 8:24.

b This term occurs, somewhat differently and in contrast to the sacraments, in the end of the probably spurious book 8 of *De Natura Rerum:* "Wann nun alßdann alle dise Ding vollendet vnd vergangen sind / werden alle Elementalischen Ding widerumb zu der **Prima Materia Elementorum** gehen / vnd in Ewigkeit gequellet / vnd nicht verzehret werden / etc. Dargegen werden alle Sacramentalische Creaturen widerumb gehen zu der *Prima Materia Sacramentorum* / das ist / Gott werde in jhm erleucht / clarificiert / vnd in der Ewigen Freud vnd Seligkeit Gott jhren Schöpffer Loben / Ehren vnd Preisen / von Welt zu Welt / von Ewigkeyt zu Ewigkeit / Amen" (H 6:328). On book 8 of *De natura rerum* see Gantenbein 2020b.

c *Temperamentum* and *temperatur* are frequently used by P. but almost always to designate variable and transient conditions affecting pathology and healing; see *Labyrinthus Medicorum Errantium*, H 2:206. Transitional to this more metaphysical or philosophical use referring to a substantial reality more diverse than that of the four elements is perhaps a citation evo-

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thing that abides in all four elements, nor in three, nor in two. Each element stands alone; each creature has but one.[1] It is an obtuse thinking that supposes that what is moist is an element, namely water; or what burns is the element fire. The element should not be defined by the *corpus* or substance or quality. What is visible is merely a container. The element itself is a spirit which dwells in things like the soul in the body.[2] This is the *prima materia* of the elements, invisible and impalpable, yet it abides in all. For the *prima materia elementorum* is nothing but the life that dwells in the created things. Whatever is dead in them no longer abides in any element. It abides rather in the *ultima materia* that no longer has taste, virtue, or powers. | 22

Third Text.

So it is that the four mothers or elements had the power to create all things. They were indeed sufficient for all things. Nothing more was needed, nor would any less have sufficed. The reason for this is that in all perishable things there abide no more than four natures. But in the imperishable things the temperaments may abide rather than the elements. For what is of the elements is subject to ruin, but what is of the temperaments has nothing ruinous in it. It is of such a kind that it lacks nothing and acquires nothing; it does not rot or decay.[3] But of whatever has been created perishable it must be understood that it abides in four natures each of which bears the name of its element. What is hot is an element of fire; the cold, of the earth; the moist, of the water; the dry, of the air. It must be thereby understood of the four natures that each is par-

king the standard medical notion of the balance of the elemental qualities found in *Drey Bücher der Wundartzney Bertheoneae:* "Dann es mag nicht sein / das ohn das Temperamentum etwas müge geheylt werden. Aber das ist Temperamentum / so die Virtutes auß den vier Elementen zusamen gebracht werden in Ein Leib / vnd daß es ein einige Vermischung sey / vnd ein einige Wirckung ohn alle widerwertigkeit / also / daß da all ein die Natur Eins Mumia sey / vnd doch auß den vier gantzen." (H C:341c).

1 This is exactly the theory of Paracelsus in many of his works like the *Archidoxis*, the *Philosophy of the Elements* or *De Meteoris*.

2 On this topic, see below, H 8:24.

3 This idea of incorruptibility resulting from a perfect balance of a body does not stem from Galenic medicine: it is alchemical. It is first found in the work of Roger Bacon, then in the pseudo-Lullian *Testamentum*, one of the most widely known medieval alchemical writings. See Crisciani-Pereira 2016, 88 n. 39 and 135–136 (Galenic medicine vs. alchemy), 133–134 on Roger Bacon, 164–165 on pseudo-Lull's *Testamentum*, and 164 n. 32 for this quotation from the latter: "Fili, ista medicina habet respectum contra omnes infirmitates calidas et frigidas, naturales et accidentales, quia omnia reducit ad equalitatem."

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der ist : als das Fewr ist allein heiß / vnd nicht trocken noch feucht : Die Erden allein kalt / weder trocken noch feucht : das Wasser allein Naß / auch weder heiß noch kalt : der Lufft allein trocken / vnd weder heiß noch kalt. Darumb so werden sie also Element geheissen / dann sie seind allein in einer einigen Natur / vnd nit zweyfach. Aber jhr erklärung in alle Geschöpff soll erkennt werden / wie ein Element mit der Substantz / vnd mit dem Corpus sich enthelt / vnd wie es alldo arbeite. Vnd der höchste verstandt der Elementen ist / das sie ein einige Natur haben / ohn befleckt des Zusatz / mit Feuchte oder Kelte / Tröckne oder Hitz : dann auß vrsach ist solchs müglich den Geistern : vnd ein jeglich Geist ist Einig in der Natur / vnd nicht zweyfeltig / als dann die Elementen auch seind.

Der Vierdt Text.

Vnd wiewol in vns tödtlichen seind *Composita*, als Warm vnd Feucht / das ist nit ein solcher verstandt / als jhn die alten Artzt setzen. Dann *Colica*[a] ist auß dem Element Fewr / vnd hatt kein zweyfaltigung / als das sie solt Heiß vnd Trocken
23 sein / sondern sie ist allein Heiß : Also auch die andern *Complexiones*. | Darumb aber / so ein Kranckheit gemercket wirt mit Hitz vnd Trocken / ist zu gedencken mehr / das am selbigen orth zwey Element sein / eins in der Lebern / das ander im Miltz / oder also in andern Glidern : vnd nit das zwey Element werent in Eim Glid. Dann es ist müglich das in eim jeglichen Glid ein sonder Element wohne (dz wir den Artzten befehlen :) Aber solchs mag nit gesprochen werden / das zwey Element mögen bey einander stahn / oder dz ein Element wer Heiß vnd Feuchte : Vnd ist nit / das also ein *Compositum* mög alldo beschehen / dann die Elementen seind ohn ein *Composito*, auß vrsach wie vor. Dann wo Hitz ist / do ist kein Kelte / kein Tröckne / kein Nässe : dergleichen wo Kelt ist / der andern keins nit ist : Also auch von der Nässe vnnd Tröckne. Dann ein jeglichs Element stehet in jhm selbst Einfach / vnd nit in zusammen satzung / zweyfach. Aber zu erkennen wz vnser Philosophey zulegen der müglichkeit der Elementen von der Coniunction / als Heiß mit Nässe mag nit sein : dann kein Element *Aquae* duldet die Hitz : Es mag auch kein Hitz in der Nässe stahn / dann jeglichs ist ein besonders Element. Deßgleichen die Kälte in jhr selbest mag nicht leiden die Tröckne / sondern allein die Kelte in jhr selber ist vnbefleckt. Vnd das wirt also geredt auff dz eigne wesen der Elementen : vnd ein jedliche Tröckne ist ein zerbrechung der Kelte. Dann als wenig Nässe vnd Tröckne sich mögen verglei-

a Radically rejecting the ancients, P. elsewhere equates microcosmic *colica*, not to elemental fire, but to the macrocosmic winds: "Nuhn gebürth sich alle Theoric vnnd Causas diser kranckheit zu verlassen / so von den alten beschrieben sindt / dorauß sie dann das Grim-

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ticular: the fire is only hot, not dry or moist; the earth only cold, not dry nor moist; the water only moist, neither hot nor cold; the air only dry, neither hot nor cold. This is why they are called elements: they are alone in a single nature, not in a twofold one. Yet their meaning in all created things must be grasped as to how an element comports itself with the substance and corpus; and how it all operates. The most important thing to understand regarding the elements is that they have but a single nature, unadulterated by admixture of the moist, cold, dry, or hot. The reason is that this is what the spirits are capable of: every spirit is singular in nature, not dual; and this is how the elements are.

Fourth Text.

Though there are in us perishable human beings *composita* such as warm and moist, this is not the same as what the ancients thought. For *colica* stems from the fiery element and lacks compound nature such as being hot and dry; it is rather nothing but hot; and so it is too with the other *complexiones*. | Therefore, 23
when a disease is observed that has the hot and the dry, one should not assume that this involves a place with two elements: rather, one is in the liver and one in the spleen or in the other organs. It will not be the case that two elements are in a single organ. For it is possible that in each organ a different element abides (which the physicians should take note of); but one dare not state that two elements can cohabit or that one element could be both hot and moist. Nor is it possible that a *compositum* could occur there; for an element cannot be a *compositum*, for the reasons stated above. For where there is heat, there is no cold, no dryness, no moisture. Or where there is cold nothing of the others is present. Likewise, with moisture and dryness. For each element abides in itself singly rather than in combination and doubly. Let it be noted what it is that our philosophy adds regarding the possibility of elemental conjunctions such as hot combined with moist: this cannot happen. For the element *aqua* cannot abide heat. Nor can heat ever abide in the moist, for each is an element unto itself. Likewise, cold in itself cannot abide the dry; rather, cold in itself remains immaculate. This is specified with regard to the true essence of the elements. Moreover, every dryness is a destruction of the cold. For as little as the moist

men / Iliacam, **Colicam**, Tenasmum, etc. zukommen geurtheilt haben : Vnd ein ander vrsach do zu suchen / die do im Liecht der Natur gegründet sey / das ist / das der Mensch sey der grossen Welt gleich / [...] Dorauff folgt nuhn / daß das Grimmen ist der Windt." See *Priores Quinque Tractatus: Von dem Bauchreissen* (H 4:236).

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chen : also wenig die Kelte vnd Tröckne / oder Nässe / oder Wärme oder Hitz zusammen kommen mögen / oder bey Eim stahn. Dann wie sich zweitrechtig halten Hitz vnd Kelte / also zweytrechtig halten sich Kelte vnd Hitze gegen Nässe vnd Tröckne.

Der Fünfft Text.

Aber zu gedencken / darumb das auß den vier Elementen alle ding beschaffen / das sie darumb müssen stahn in der Coniunction / das falsch ist. Dann ein jedliche Coniunction ist ein Composition. Dieweil vnd sie Componirt sein / so mögen sie nicht *Mysterium* sein : dann ein jeglichs *Mysterium* ist Einig vnd Ein Element. Aber die vnterscheid zwischen den Elementen vnd *Compositis* ist also. Das Element wie ein *Mysterium*, hatt zu generieren *Diuertallum*[a] : Aber das *Compositum* hette nichts zu geberen / dann seines *simile :* als Menschen
24 machen Menschen : aber dz *Mysterium* gibt jhm selber kein gleichs | *Mysterium*, sondern ein widerwertigs / als *Diuertallum*. Das Element Fewr ist ein Gebererin der Sternen / Planeten / vnnd des gantzen Firmaments / vnnd ist doch derselbigen keins dem gleich geformiert vnd einig. Das Element *Aqua* hat geben das Wasser / das dem Element *Aquae* gentzlich widerwertig ist : dann das ist minder Naß / dann *Elementum Aquae* an jhm selbest : Dann *Elementum Aquae* ist ein solche nässe / das sie weicht die Steinen vnd hertern Metallen : solche grosse weiche wirdt jhm benommen durch das Wasser *substantialem*, das sein Kraffe vollkommen nit ist. Das Element Lufft ist also trocken / das es indorret alle Wasser eins augenblicks : jhm ist aber benommen solchs vnd vermischet mit Lufftes *Substantialibus*. Das Element *Terrae* ist also kalt / das es zu einer *vltimam materiam* bringt[b] alle Creaturen / das Wasser in ein Crystallen / die (*) zu einem Dufftstein[c] : die Thier zu Marmel : die Beum zu Risern. Also ist ein grund die Element zu erkennen / das sie in solchen starcken grossen Wirckungen sein / das jhrs gleichen nit befunden mag werden / noch erkennt : Vnnd die dinge darinnen sie wohnen / seind von jhnen angezogen / vnd genommen wie ein *Fatum*, das Corporalisch wirt / vnd nit so viel weitter Krafft hat / als ohn diß.

a *Diuertallum* occurs nowhere else in P.'s work; but its sense, evident here, relates to the idea already expressed both here and in the *Philosophy of the Elements* that from each element a diversity of things is produced.

b The original edition has "bricht" preceded by an asterisk, and in the margin : "*forte* brengt" ("perhaps *brengt*"). Huser has adopted this reading.

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and the dry can assimilate, just as little can the cold and the dry, or the moist, or the warm, or the hot, come together or abide in one, for just as the hot and the cold remain opposites, so do the cold and the hot comport themselves toward the moist and the dry.

Fifth Text.

To suppose that, because all things have been created from the four elements, they must consequently abide in conjunction is false. Every conjunction is a composition. To the degree that they are composed, they cannot be a *mysterium*, for a *mysterium* is always singular and one single element. The difference between the elements and the *composita* is as follows. The element as *mysterium* must generate the *divertallum*.[1] But the *compositum* would have nothing to give birth to except its *simile:* thus, humans make other humans. However, the *mysterium* gives itself no such equal | *mysterium* but rather a dissimilar one, 24
a *divertallum*. The fiery element gives birth to the stars, planets, and entire firmament; yet none of these is formed like any other nor identical. The aqueous element has generated water, which is quite unlike the element *aqua*. For it is less moist than *elementum aquae* in itself. For *elementum aquae* is of such a moistness that it softens the stones and harder metals. This great softening power is lost through the water *substantialis*, so that the power is no longer complete. The element air is so dry that it desiccates all waters in a flash; but this power is diminished through the admixture of the *substantialia* of the air. The element of *terra* is so cold that it would bring all creatures into a *materia ultima:* the water to crystals, the (*) to tufa stone; the animals to marble; the trees to giants. Hence, there is a reason to know the elements: they possess such a great and mighty power which is unseen and without parallel. The things they inhabit are attracted to them, acting like a *fatum* that takes on a corporeal form so that those things would not still possess the same power without this.

c The original edition has "dosset" preceded by an asterisk. Huser has interpreted it as "Dufftstein": a clever guess. As for the asterisk between brackets, it hinted at a missing or illegible word.

1 The idea likely is that a *mysterium* and an element generate diversity.

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Der Sechst Text.

Zvm mehrerem verstand / was ein Element sey / ist ein Element nichts anderst dann ein Seel : Wiewol nit / das sein Wesen sey wie ein Seel / sondern gleichformig der Seel. Dann ein vnderscheid ist zwischen der Seel des Elements vnd zwischen der Ewigen Seel : die Seel der Element ist das Leben aller Geschöpff.[a] Das Fewr das do brennt / ist nit *Elementum Ignis*, als wir es sehen / sondern die Seel die darinnen ist / vns vnsichtbar / ist das *Elementum Ignis* vnd sein Leben. Nuh mag aber *Elementum Ignis* wol sein in einem grünen Holtz / wie in dem Fewr : Aber das Leben ist nit do / als in dem Fewr. Darumb zwischen der Seel vnd dem Leben vnterscheid ist : dann so das Fewr lebt so brinndt es / so es aber in der Seel ist / das ist / in seim Element / so ist es ohn brennen. Vnd ist nicht also / darumb das ein ding kalt ist / das es soll vom kalten Element sein / sondern mehr vom heissen : vnnd viel kalts vom Element *Ignis* hie ist.
25 Dann was do wächst / ist auß dem Element Fewr / aber in einer | andern form : was do *Fix* ist / auß dem Element *Terrae*, vnd was nehret / auß dem Element *Aëris :* Vnnd was do verzehret / auß dem Element *Aquae*. Dann wachsen allein *Elementi Ignis* ist : vnd wo das nit ist / do ist kein wachsen in. Vnd wann *Elementum Terrae* nit wehr / so wer kein auffhören nit im wachsen : dann es figirt / das ist / es gibt ein endt dem Element fewr. Also auch wo *Elementum Aëris* nit wer / so möcht nichts gefürt werden : dann allein auß dem Lufft / werden alle ding geneert. Es möcht auch nichts zerbrochen werden / noch verzert / so das Element *Aquae* nit were : dann durchs Element *Aquae* werden alle ding getödt / oder zu nichten gemacht.

Der Siebendt Text.

Dieweil vnd aber also die Elementen sind gantz vnsichtlich vnd vnmercklich in den andern verborgen / so haben sie doch außzutheilen andere *mysteria*. Als das Element Fewr hat außgetheilt von jhm dz Firmament : aber solchs nit mit den Corporen / sonder allein mit dem Elementischen wesen. Die Sonn ein ander *Corpus* hatt / dann vom Element des Fewrs : aber in jhr ist das Element

a This passage should be read in conjunction with the former occurrence of this topic in H 8:21: "vnd das Element ist ein Geist / vnd lebt gleich in den dingen / wie ein Seel im Leib." This is very close to *De Meteoris*, ch. 2 (H 8:187–188): "Weither ist auch von nöthen / das wir wissen von den Elementen / was Elementum sey / vnd was nicht. So verstandent am ersten das Exempel. Ein Mensch hatt ein grossen Leib vnd vielerley Wesen im Leibe : Das aber der Mensch ist / ist eine Seele / ist ein Geist vnd ist klein. […] Also seindt die vier Elementen Corporalisch : Aber im Wesen vnd Natur seindt sie Geiste. […] Dann der Geist ist lebendig / vnnd das Leben

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Sixth Text.

For a fuller understanding of what an element is: it is nothing other than a soul.[1] By this I do not mean that its essence is precisely a soul but that it conforms to a soul. There is after all a difference between the soul of the element and the eternal soul: the former embodies the life of all created things.[2] The fire we see burning is not the *elementum ignis* which we see. It is rather the soul that abides therein, invisible to us, that embodies the *elementum ignis* and its life. But *elementum ignis* can abide in green wood as well as in fire. However, the life is not in the former as it is in the fire. For this reason, there is a distinction between the soul and the life. For when the fire lives, it does so by burning; but when it is in the soul, that is, in its element, it does not burn. Moreover, it is not the case that because a thing is cold it stems from a cold element, rather more likely from a hot one; and much that is cold of the element *ignis* will abide in it. For whatever grows derives from the fiery element, though in a | different form. 25
Whatever is fixed derives from the element *terra*, whatever nourishes from the element *aer;* and whatever consumes from the element *aqua*. For nothing but growth is *elementum ignis;* where it is absent, there is no growth. If not for *elementum terrae*, there would be no termination of growth. For the latter element acts to fix. It sets a limit to the fiery element. Thus, too, if not for the *elementum aëris* nothing could be molded; for it is only from the air that all things are nourished. Nor could anything be broken or consumed if not for the element *aqua,* for it is through this element that all things are killed or annihilated.

Seventh Text.

As long as the elements are entirely invisible and imperceptible in the other entities, they possess other *mysteria* to be unfolded. Thus, the fiery element unfolded from itself the firmament, although not with all its bodies, but only with the essence of the element. The sun is another *corpus* from the fiery ele-

ist der Geist / vnd das Leben vnd der Geist wircken alle ding / seindt aber Ein ding vnd nicht zwey […] Also seindt vier Seel oder Geist / einer die Erden / der ander das Wasser / der dritte der Lufft / der vierdte der Himmel."

1 See above, H 8:21: "The element itself is a spirit which dwells in things like the soul in the body." On close occurrences of this topic in Paracelsus's cosmology, see vis-à-vis.

2 Here again we find the same topic in *De Meteoris*. See vis-à-vis. More generally, the notion of the elements as entities giving life (see above, on 95) is common to the *Philosophy of the Elements*, *De Meteoris* and the *Astronomia magna*. In the latter we read that the elements "seind die ding / in die das *Vivum* gelegt ist" (H 10:12). See Kahn 2016, 107–108.

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wesentlich mit der Hitz. Nit das jhr Hitz hab ein vrsprung vom lauffen / sondern von jhr selbs : vnd ob sie schon stille stehet / vnd sich nimmer berürt / noch hatt sie jhren Schein mit sampt der Hitz. Dann die Crystallen vom Element des Fewrs[a] hatt geben die Sonne : vnnd wiewol doch kein ander *Corpus* an jhr ist / dann allein wie sie entpfangen hatt vom Element des Fewrs / denn auß demselbigen seind die Element gecorporirt[b] worden. Der Mond vnnd andere Gesterne haben jren vrsprung dergleichen auß den Elementen des Fewrs : Allein aber in der Rubinischen farben / in welcher kein Hitz noch brennende arth / sondern ein todter schein. Vnnd wiewol mancherley zeichen nach den formen vnd gestalten in dem Himmel sind / die wir also hie nit melden : So ist gleich solche Form zu verstehen / wie von vns auff Erden / dann nicht allein ein einigs ist / sonder nuhr viel / vns bekannt vnd vnbekannt. Dann do das *Mysterium* des Elements Fewr zertheilt ist worden / ist ein jeglichs gestanden vnd geworden wie wirs ansichtig sind : darumb so ist das Gestirn ein Tochter der Elementen

a The association of crystals with fire is shared with the disputed *De Natura Rerum:* "Also auch anders das vnsichtbar Fewr / darbey wir vermeinen die Radios der Sonnen / welchs Fewr durch einen Stäheln Spiegel oder Crystallen sich eröffnet / vnd sein Wirckung vnd Effect erzeiget vnd beweiset / von welchem fewr die Alten gar nit geschrieben haben" (H 6:309); but also with the *Liber de Imaginibus:* "das nicht allein die Influentzen von Himmel vnnd von dem Obern Gestirn kommen / sondern auch auß dem Menschen / auß einer Crystallen / auß einem Stähelin Spiegel / vnd auß einem Fewer Spiegel" (H 9:392); or *Astronomia Magna:* "der Fisch in der Tieffe deß Meeres wirdt geoffenbaret / die Metallen in mitten der Bergen werden geoffenbaret / das Fewer in Crystallen wirdt offenbar" (H 10:137).

b The original text suggests the alternate reading "gecomponirt" in brackets, but the obvious meaning is given by "gecorporirt," as understood by Huser.

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ment; yet in the sun the element is present in essence as heat. It is not the case that its heat arises from its coursing, but rather from itself. Even if it were to rest and never move, it would still possess its radiance and heat.[1] For the crystals of the fiery element are what yielded the sun. Nor is there any other corpus to it other than the one that it has received from the fiery element; for it is from the latter that the bodies[2] are rendered corporeal. The moon and other stars likewise originate from the element of fire, but only in the ruby color[3] that has no heat or combustible nature and is only a dead radiance.[4] There are various signs that follow the forms and shapes in the heavens; but we will not report on them here. They should be understood in the same way they are on earth, for things are not simple but multiple, some known to us and some unknown. When[5] the *mysterium* of the fiery element was divided, each thing was arrayed and transformed as we see it. Thus, the stars are a daughter of the element of fire and

1 This statement contradicts the common medieval opinion that the sun did not possess heat intrinsecally, but only communicated it by its motion. See Grant 1994, 587–588.

2 The German text has "die Element," but the context makes obvious that it pertains to the celestial bodies. Palthen already noticed this potential source of confusion; he maintained the word *elementa*, but added in brackets *ut ita loquar* ("so to speak").

3 In both the *Philosophy of the Elements* and *De Meteoris* the sun is attributed a white, hot radiance, the moon a red, cold one. See H 8:67–68 with our footnote, and 198.

4 One cannot exclude a misprint in the original text: instead of "ein tödter schein" there may have been "ein rotter schein," which would make sense in this context. On the other hand, the notion of a "dead radiance" is in line with the red, cold radiance extracted from the *Yliaster* to become the moon and stars in the heavens, as described in the *Philosophy of the Elements*: "Dann der Rott Candor gibt kein Liecht / in den Weissen Candorem. Also auch zu wissen ist / das im Element Fewr zwo Natur seindt / Heiß vnnd Kalt. Die Hitz ist alle im Weissen Candore, die Kältti im Rotten" (H 8:68).

5 We follow Palthen's interpretation: he translated "Dann" into *Quando*.

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vom Fewr / vnnd der Himmel ist nichts dann ein Chay[a] / das ist / der Dunst
26 von | dem Firmament / also heiß das vnzuerzehlen ist : Vnd dieselbige Hitz gibt Himmelen vnd die Farben vnd Gestalt : dann es ist das lauter Element *Ignis* an denselbigen endt / wie es dann an seinen enden weitter bemeldt wirdt.

Der Acht Text.

Vnd in gleicher form mit dem mannigfaltigen der Gestalten vnd Wesen / wie dann das Fewr geben hatt / also in solcher gestalt das Element *Aëris* auch geben hatt. Aber wiewol do ein vnderscheid ist / zwischen den viererley der Element / in denen / die auß jhnen geboren sein : Als ein jeglichs hatt ein besonders außprocreiret. Das Firmament ist den andern dreyen keim gleich : das *Fatum* auß dem Lufft den andern dreyen auch nit gleich. Die *Signata*[b] des Erdtrichs den andern dreyen gantz nit zu vergleichen sind : Deßgleichen die Wasserwunder diesen dreyen also wenig gleichformig seind. Dann ein jeglichs Element hatt vernünfftigs vnd vnvernünfftigs in jhm geboren : Als der Himmel gleich so

a The original edition has *Chayr*, which Huser changed into *Chay*. See vis-à-vis.

b The usage *signata* which pertains to a general semantic field of signs, signatures, images, and impressions is defined thus in the disputed *De Natura Rerum:* "Damit wir aber die Signata etwas baß erklären / so der Mensch Signiert / welche Signata nit allein die Ordnung / dz Ampt / den Nammen / sondern auch den Vnterscheyd / Erkantnuß / Alter [etc.]" (H 6:330); or again in the *Astronomia Magna oder Philosophia Sagax:* "Also auch wirdt der Mensch in dieselbig Form geführt / die auch seiner Natur gleich sicht. Vnnd wie die Form anzeiget / was dasselbig für ein Kraut ist : also zeigt auch das Signatum an / wer derselbig Mensch ist. Nit das nach dem Nammen / Geschlecht oder dergleichen solchs geschehe / sondern nach der Eigenschafft / die im Menschen ist" (H 10:77). The sign betokens the kinship of the human with the natural.

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the heavens nothing but a *chay*,[1] which is to say, the vapor of | the firmament, 26
inexpressibly hot. That same heat yields the heavens and the colors and shapes. For in those regions, prevails the pure element *ignis*, as will be explained in the appropriate place.

Eighth Text.

Just as fire has given rise to manifold shapes and beings, so has the element of *aër* in the same way. But there is a difference between the four elements in those they procreate: each has given birth to its own. The firmament is unlike the three others; likewise, the *fatum* of the air. The *signata* of the earthly realm cannot be compared to the phenomena of the other three. By the same token, the prodigies of the sea do not conform to those of the other three. For each element has given birth in itself to rational and non-rational creatures: in the

1 Sudhoff also reproduces "chay." Palthen, however, translated it into *chaos*. It may seem advisable to gloss it as "chaos" and to assume a scribal confusion. Things are, however, more complicated. The word "chay" occurs only once elsewhere in the works of P., namely in the *Astronomia magna*: "sonder als ein Chay oder Dunst," which is an almost exact parallel to our text: "nichts dann ein Chay / das ist / der Dunst von dem Firmament." The context, however, is entirely different. In the *Astronomia magna* the excerpt is found in book one, in a section about "Was *Meteorica*, vnd jhre *Species* seind." P. differentiates the meteorology of the inferior world from the "subtle meteorology" of the upper heavens and takes the examples of its rain or its dew, asserting that these rains and dews are conveyed to us in the form of a "Chay" or an unsubstantial vapor, being not corporal, but only spiritual: "So wissendt / daß die *minor Meteorica* gemeldt wirdt *in Membro Generationis*: hie aber inn dieser *Meteorica Sagax* werden *in superno Olympo* geborn / als Regen: dieselbigen Regen aber kommen auff vns nicht als Regen / sonder als ein Chay oder Dunst. Dergleichen werden auch Thaw am selben orth / etc. Aber sie werden mit keiner Substantz auff vns gossen / dann sie sind Spiritualisch / vnd nicht Corporalisch" (H 10:99–100). As for our passage from the *Philosophia ad Athenienses*, it is actually inspired by an excerpt of *De Meteoris* where P. first defines the element of air as a "chaos": "This is why it must be that the *aër* is a *chaos*, not an earth, not a water, but rather *perspicuum, diaphanum*, intangible and invisible so that what is within it will be tangible and visible" (H 8:179–180). In the next paragraph P. comes to the element of the heavens: "the heavens are likewise a *corpus*, one which is not compact, not firm like the earth and not liquid like the water; nor is it *perspicuum* like the air. Rather, […] the heavens are not *terrestre* and yet have a compact essence, yet not in the earthly way […]. They have a *corpus* comparable to a vapor which is distinct in its essence and corporeality from all other *corpora*. […] Thus, the heavens have a *corpus* which can best be apprehended as being like smoke or vapor. It has to be like that for the reason that whatever grows from it is like that too: those entities are *corpora*, and yet not *corpora;* compact and yet not compact, penetrable as the water, yet not water, and impalpable as air, yet not air. The sun is a *corpus* of that kind as are the moon and stars" (H 8:180). It seems that the phrase in our text "sonder als ein Chay oder Dunst" has been imported there from the *Astronomia magna* out of its original context. In the *Astronomia magna Chay* may result from a misprint for "chaos."

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wol in den Firmamenten verstendig Geschöpff / als das Element *Terrae :* Also auch das *Fatum Aëris* mit Vernunfft vnnd Vnuernunfft gewidmet ist in seiner Signatur : deßgleichen das Wasser vnd Erden. Nuhn wer will vns für ein Warheit zuerkennen vnder den vier Elementen *Signata*, welche die seind / denen befohlen sey der Glaube / der recht Weg / oder welche allein dz Ewige besitzen / oder in allen vieren / das wir jetzt faren lassen. Nuh mags nicht anders sein / denn das in allen vieren Menschen seind / gleich als in dem Einen / das ist im Erdtrich. Aber von dem *Fatum* zu erkennen / ist die geburt desselbigen manigfaltig auß dem Element erzeigt worden / vnd doch ohn alle *Corpora* vnnd Substantz / nach der Eigenschafft des Luffts / der dann nit Corporalisch ist / mit sampt jhr wohnungen : dann ettliche habends Corporalisch[a] / ettliche *intangibiliter*,[b] nach dem vnd verstanden wirdt.

Der Neundt Text.

Dann in gleicher weiß wie von eim Sahmen außgehet die Wurtzel in viel Fäsen / darnach der Stengel mit vil Aesten / darnach die Bletter / das Geblüe / die Frucht vnd der Sahm : Also wie das geschehen hatt / also hatt auch zube-
27 schehen | / wie vilerley[c] *Procreationes* auß den vier Elementen : vnnd hangen alle die / so in eim Element sein / an ein ander / wie dz Kraut von eim Sahm. Vnd wiewol es doch nit dem Sahm gleich sihet : Dann die voni Wasser seind geschaffen / seind ettliche Menschen / ettliche Thiere / ettlichs zu jhrer gesundtheit vnd auffenthaltung. Dann ein Element hatt sein Signatur verlassen / sein notturfft vnd auffenthaltung : hatt auch anzeigung gegeben jhrs Lauffs vnd Zukunfft / dz am leichtisten durch das Gestirn erkennt wirdt : Nit das vns dasselbige regiert oder inclinirt / sondern allein das es vns gleichförmig laufft / mit inwendigen Lauff vnsers Leibs. Gleich so wol in dem Wasser alle ding beschehen / wie in dem Element *Terrae :* dann der *Lorind*[d] ist ein bewegung der verendrung desselbigen Elements *Aquae*. Vnd so sich solchs bewegt im Element *Aquae*, so bewegt sich auch dz Element *Terrae* zu einer enderung. Dann *Lorind* gleich wie ein Comet zu mercken ist : vnd ein Wasserwunder gleich zuuerstehen ist wie ein jrrung des Firmaments. Vnnd ist also in dem Wasser zu erkennen ein sondere Welt / mit sampt jhrem *Mysterio* biß zum endt der Welt : Dann es ist kein anderer anfang in jhnen / dann wie in den andern Elementen : Es ist auch kein ander endt in jnen / dann wie in den andern Elementen gemercket wirdt. Es ist allein ein vnderscheid der Formen / Wesen / vnd Natu-

a The original text has "conparlisch," which Huser corrected into "corporalisch" with high plausibility.

b The original text had *intangibilis*.

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heavens there are no fewer sensate creatures in the firmaments than there are in the element of *terra*. The same can be said of *fatum aëris* endowed with both reason and unreason in its signature. Likewise, water and earth. Who would then recognize as truth who are among the *signata* of the four elements that have been commended to faith as the true path, or who alone possess the eternal? Or should we concede that this is the case in all four elements?[1] It cannot be denied that in all four there are humanoids no less than in the one, namely the earth. But from the *fatum* we can recognize that their birth from the element appears manifold;[2] yet all are without *corpora* and substance in accordance with the quality of the air which is incorporeal along with their dwellings; for some beings are corporeal and some *intangibiliter*, as we understand them.

Ninth Text.

For just as from the seed proceed the roots in many threads and then the stalk with its branches, followed by the leaves, flowers, fruit, and seeds: in the way that this takes place | there are many *procreationes* from the four elements. All 27
that are of the same element cohere like vegetation from its seed. Yet they do not resemble the seed. For from the water, some are humanoids, some animals, and some for their health and sustenance. For an element has left its signature, its needs and their sustenance. It has also given indication of its course and future which are best recognized by the stars. It is not that they rule or incline us. It is rather that they accompany us in the parallel inner course of our body. So it is too that in the water all things happen as in the element of *terra*. The *lorind* is a movement of the fluid element of *aqua*. When there is movement in the aqueous element, the element *terra* is disposed to change. For the *lorind* can be thought of as a comet. An aqueous prodigy must be understood in the same way as an errancy in the firmament. Moreover, in the water we must recognize a particular world with its own *mysterium* until the end of the world; for there is no other origin there than in the other elements. Nor is there any other end than in the other elements. The only difference is in forms, beings, and natures between the elements with their signatures. For this reason, we have to know

c The original text gave the alternate reading "viererley" in the margin.
d See above, H 8:9, note e.

1 In conjecturing the multiple existence of alternative humanoids, the author makes the point that only one humanoid species has been favored by God with an eternal soul and enjoined to faith in Christ. Such speculation was a late medieval and early modern tradition. See Weeks 2004.
2 Here the word *fatum* is used as a generic term for all sorts of elemental beings.

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ren / die dann ist zwischen den Elementen mit jhren Signaturen. Drumb vns die vier Welt zu erkennen sind / nach den vier Elementen vnd vier erbwohnung : aber nach dem rechten allein Ein ewigs in allen vieren gleich zu erkennen.

Der Zehendt Text.

Es ist im Element *Terrae* vns der groß Verstand / dieweil vnd wir seind vom Element *Terrae :* dann ein jedlichs *simile* verstehet sein *simile*. Aber ander Element zu verstahn ist auß der *Philosophia :* das ist aber ein *simile*, kompt auß der Experientz / auß welchem hernach folget *Philosophia :* Vnd doch nicht anders dann wie *Elementum Terrae* procreirt hat *Signatum*, also haben auch die anderen procreiret. Die Stein die wir haben / sind gleich so wol bey den andern Elementen als bey vns : wiewol sie doch nicht Stein sein in vnser Form / doch aber
28 in jrer Form. Das Mineral bey jnen ist gleich als bey vns / | dann das Himmlische Firmament gibt Blüens vnnd Steins *Mineralia*, das wir für Miracul halten. Wiewol wir jrren / vns nichts mehr am meristen widerwertig / denn das wir die natürlichen Leuff zu Wunderzeichen achten wöllen / vnnd als die Propheten weissagen / das alles ein andern verstandt hatt / was der Himmel mit seinem Firmament bedeut / sonder vns nit anders anzeigen / denn das sein Lauff also ist. Vnd so etwas vns hernach folget / so merckt das vnser Lauff also gewesen ist. Aber wiewol welchs Element leidt jrrung / so schwecht es das ander : dann sie sollen alle vollkommen lauffen / vnd jhren gang haben. Vnd wiewol das ist / das vns dienen die andern drey Elementen zu vnser nahrung[a] : so dienen gleich so wol die andern drey dem Firmament / dem Lufft / dem Wasser / vnd denen die darinnen wohnen / vnd neert sich je eins von dem andern / wie vilerley Beum eins Gärtners : vnd mag durch vns gleich so wol angesehen werden vnd gemerckt der mangel vnd jrrung des Firmaments / als dann das Firmament vnser mangel. Deßgleichen von den andern ein. solcher verstandt ist.

Der Eilfft Text.

So ist es ein einfeltige Philosophey allein in vnsern Elementen der Erden setzen alle Seligkeit vnnd Ewigkeit / vnd ist ein thorechte Meinung / das wir vns sol-

a See *De Meteoris* (H 8:177–178): "Nun wissent jetzt auff dißmal / daß die vier Corpora allein Mütter sind / also / daß sie tragendt die Früchte / vnnd helffen denselbigen / damit sich der Mensch ernehren soll. Als ein Exempel / die Erden tregt seine Frücht / derselbigen Frucht ernehret sich der Mensch / vnd der Erden nit. Also ist auch der Himmel ein ledig Corpus an jhm selbst / von dem da allein außgehn früchte zu erhalten den Menschen. Wie nun der Himmel seine Frücht zeigt vnd gibt / will ich in diesem Buch fürhalten."

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the four worlds of the four elements and their four hereditary dwellings; but truly speaking, there is only one eternal essence in each of the four.

Tenth Text.

In the element of *terra* there is a great intelligence, since we are of this element. For every *simile* understands its own *simile*.[1] But other elements must be understood from the *philosophia*. That, too, is a *simile* which comes from experience from which *philosophia* follows. Yet in no other way than that in which *elementum terrae* has procreated its *signatum* have the others done the same. The stones that we have are in the other elements just as with us: though they are not stones in our form, they are in another shape. The mineral is the same with them as with us |; for the celestial firmament yields the flowering 28
and *mineralia* of stone. We regard them as miracles, although we err most of all against the truth in regarding the natural course of things as marvelous signs and prophesies as with the prophets. For what the heavens signify with the firmament has an entirely different meaning: it only indicates to us that such is indeed their course. If something then does follow, we remark that this was our trajectory. But when an element suffers an error, it weakens what corresponds to it; for the heavens should be entirely perfect in their courses. Just as the other three elements serve our nourishment,[2] so, too, do those three serve the firmament, the air, the water, and all that dwell within them. Each nourishes itself from the other, like the many trees of a gardener. Moreover, through us, the flaws and errors of the firmament can be as well observed as the firmament indicates our failings. So should other such things be understood.

Eleventh Text.

It is a simplistic philosophy that posits all bliss and eternity solely in our elements of the earth; and it is a foolish opinion that we should consider only ourselves the noblest of creatures when there are more worlds than ours alone.[3]

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1 It is fundament to the epistemology of P. that only like can know like (ETW 12, 17).

2 See vis-à-vis.

3 In the present treatise each element is presented as a whole world. See below, H 8:30: "Dann der Grund der Elementen gibt nicht zuverstehen / das die Welt von vier Elementen müssen enthalten werden / sondern ein jedlichs vonn Eim Element". Here the author heavily insists on the elemental beings. Such insistence can only be found in the *Liber de Nymphis*, quite understandably so, as this treatise is exclusively devoted to such beings. It leaves the impression that for the author of the *Philosophia ad Athenienses* each element, instead of being described by all its "fruits" as in the other cosmological treatises, were rather best described by its inhabitants—that is, its elemental beings.

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lend achten allein für das edlest Geschöpff / dieweil mehr Welt seind dann wir allein. Auch ist das noch viel mehr ein Thorheit / das wir die / die do kommen auß vnserm Element / auch Leuthe sind / nit erkennen / als die Nocturnalischen[a] / die Gnomen. Vnd wiewol sie nit in der Sonnen Schein wohnen / auch nit sich brauchend des Liechtes vom Firmament / sondern das hassen dz wir lieben / vnnd wir lieben das sie hassen / deßgleichen mit vnserm Form vnd Wesen / erhalten / nit begleichen. So ist vns das nit verwundern / auß vrsachen / daß sie *in Mysterio Magno* also beschaffen seind / vnd nit allein wir / sondern mehr / die wir nicht erkennen. Darumb ist zuverstahn / das mehr *Corpora* seind gewesen im *Mysterio Magno* dann einerley : Aber doch allein Ein Ewigs in allen begriffen / vnd Ein Zergencklichs. Vnd also wie sie in mancherley Form / vnnd viel seltzamer Gestalt die Elementen beschaffen haben / ist
29 nicht müglich alles zuergehlen. | Aber es wird vngezweifelt sein an dem End / da zusammen kommen werden solcher aller dingen Ewigkeit. Es wirdt an dem Endt viel vnwissendes erkennt werden / vnnd in mancherley Weg erscheinen : Nicht allein von denn die do Ewigs inn haben / sondern auch von denen / die do das / so in jhm ein Ewigs hatt / enthalten / geneerrt / vnnd gewiesen[b] haben. Dann das Ewige in zwey Weg zuverstehen ist : Der Ein zu herschen vnd Regieren / der ander demselbigen zu einem ansehen. Dann es ist wieder die Philosophey / das die Blümeln sollen ohn Ewigkeit sein : Wiewol sie verderben / so werden sie doch an der Samlung aller Geschlechten erscheinen. Dann es ist nichts geschaffen auß *Mysterio Magno*, es wirdt haben ein Bildtnus ausserthalb den Etheren.

Der Zwölfft Text.

Aber auß dem vnnd alle *Procreationes* anzeigen / haben müssen sein vier Mütter vber alle ding / nicht mehr nicht minder. Aber nicht das solchs müg verstanden werden auß dem Grund nach gäntzlicher anzeigung deß gegenwesenlichs *Mysterij Magni*, wie es denn im Anfang erscheinet seiner Eigenschafften : Sondern das Erst *Mysterium Magnum* wird erkennt vnnd verstanden durch die letzten *Mysteria*, vnd durch die *Procreationes*, so von den Ersten außgangen vnd gewachsen seindt. Dann nicht der Anfang gibt den *Philosophum*, sondern das Endt gibt den Meister : Zuwissen ein ding in volkommener Natur / allein im End seins Wesens gefunden wird. Villeicht seindt müglich gewesen mehr Element / dann vns geben seindt : Es werden doch allein in der letzten erkanntnus / vier

a The "Nocturnalischen" probably include the aforementioned "Nachtfrawen" (H 8:10).

b The original text has "gewissen" which Huser changed to "gewiesen." Perhaps "gewissen" was a misprint. We cannot conclude what the correct version would have been.

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Moreover, it is even more foolish that we are not aware of those others that come from our element who are also people, namely the nocturnal creatures[1] and gnomes. This is so even if they do not dwell in the light of day and have no need of the light of the firmament and hate what we love and vice versa; and by the same token they do not conform to our shape and essence. It is no wonder, since they, too, were thus created in the *Mysterium Magnum*, not only we but others besides that we do not recognize. Thus, it must be acknowledged that there were more *corpora* in the *Mysterium Magnum* than just one kind. But there was only one eternal essence and one transient being. There were such varied forms and so many remarkable shapes created by the elements that we can hardly recount them all. | Yet without a doubt at the 29
end, the eternity of all such things will be reconvened. At that time, much of which we are now ignorant will be known,[2] manifesting itself in various ways. This will not only be true of those that bear the eternal within them, but also those that most certainly maintain and nourish them.[3] For the eternal must be understood in two senses: the one is to rule and govern; and the other is for contemplation. For it defies philosophy to say that flowers should have nothing eternal to them. Though they wilt, they will nevertheless appear in the convening of all species. For nothing has been created from the *Mysterium Magnum* which will not have an image outside the ethereal realms.

Twelfth Text.

From this and the evidence of all *procreationes*, there had to be four mothers abiding above all things, no more and no less. But it is not the case that all of this can be understood from a complete exposition of the *Mysterium Magnum* under discussion with the qualities that it presents at the beginning. Rather, the primary *Mysterium Magnum* can only be recognized and understood through the ultimate *mysteria* and *procreationes* that develop out of the former. It is not so that the beginning makes the *philosophus;* rather, the outcome makes the master. Knowing a thing in its perfect nature is only possible at the conclusion of its being. It is possible that there could have been more elements than those that were granted to us. But only four will be found in all things

1 See vis-à-vis.

2 See Matth. 10, 26 (Luther Bible): "Es ist nichts verborgen, das es nicht offenbar werde, und ist nichts heimlich, das man nicht wissen werde."

3 We do not follow Huser's text, but that of the original edition. See vis-à-vis.

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in allen dingen erfunden. Vnnd wiewol wir achten / es wer wol mehr müglich gewesen dem Schöpffer / der dann vier allein geschaffen hatt : So aber allein in vier solchs zergenglichs geschaffen ist / achten wir es hetten mehr nicht mügen stahn.[a] Wol gedencken alß wahr[b] / es werden noch andere Element geboren / nach auffhören deren vieren / diesen vieren vngleich in allem Wesen : Vnnd das nach der Zergengnuß diß jetzt geschaffenen Geschöpffs / vnnd werde ein New *Mysterium Magnum* gemacht / deß ein mehrer Verstandt wird sein denn deß vergangens. Wir gedencken aber nicht desselbigen Vrspung zu setzen : | vnnd solchs einem jedlichen / der sich will geschickt geben in dem Anfang der Welt / zu erkennen ist / das der Vrsprung der Welt von den Elementen kommt / vnnd derselbigen seindt vier / vnnd also auch vier Welt / vnnd in einer jedlichen ein sonderlichs Wesen vnnd Geschlecht / nach seiner Noturfft vnd Bedurfft.

Der Treytzehend Text.

Vnnd wiewol in den vier Elementen alle ding stahnd / so setzen wir doch das nicht / das in allen dingen die vier Elementen seind / oder dz die vier Elementen in allen wohnen. Vrsach ist also : Die Welt so von dem Element Fewr ist gescheiden vnnd Procreirt / dieselbige bedarff keins Luffts / Wassers noch Erden nichts : Also auch dergleichen die Welt deß Luffts / den andern dreyen nichts anhellig ist : Die Erden das Wasser auch in solcher Gestalt. Dann der Grund der Elementen gibt nicht zuverstehen / das die Welt von vier Elementen müssen enthalten werden / sondern ein jedlichs vonn Eim Element / das ist von dem / dauon es kommen ist. Vnnd wiewol das ist / daß das Firmament die Welt ernehrt durch sein Elementische Krafft / die auß jhr gantz Fewrisch gehet auff die Erden : So ist doch dieselbige ernehrung nicht von nöthen. Dann die Welt wirdt von jhr selber nicht vndergahn / sie ist gnugsam sich selbest zu ernehren / wie ein andere Welt sich ohn die Erden nehrt. Als das Wasser / dem kommt die Erden nichts zu fruchtbar in eignem Wesen : Auch das Wasser dem Erdtreich nichts / der Lufft auch dergleichen. Aber nicht allein ist vns die Vrsach gnugsam / das ein jedliche Welt stand allein in seim Element : Sondern mehr die / daß das Liecht von Himmel ein Außzug ist von den Vier Elementen / vnnd das Edlest gantz in volkomner Eigenschafft. Nicht verstand der Mensch / das die Sonn auß dem Element deß Fewrs den Schein vnnd den Gang genommen habe / auch die Planeten / sondern durch dz *Arcanum*[c] : Darumb der

a In the *Philosophy of the Elements* P. explains that although God made the world in a fourfold form, he could as well have made it eight: "Dieser Iliastren seind 4. und nicht mehr / seind auch genug: Also hatt Gott die Welt in ein Gevierdts gesetzt / und lassen genug sein damit / der wol hett mögen 8. machen" (H 8:60).

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in the final accounting. We indeed concede that the Creator might have created more than four; but since the transient creation was only in these four, we ascertain that there can only be those. It seems even plausible that further elements, unlike these in their entire being, would be born after the four have been terminated; and that after the passing away of the present creation, a new *Mysterium Magnum* would be manufactured, about which we would understand more than the first one. However, we do not intend to postulate its coming into being. | To anyone aspiring to be knowledgeable regarding the beginning of the 30
world it should be evident that the origin of the world derives from the elements of which there are only four, and with them four worlds, with a particular being and species in each of them,[1] with its peculiar needs and abilities.

Thirteenth Text.

Although all things abide in the four elements, we do not posit that in all things all four abide or dwell. The reason for this is that the world which was separated from the fiery element and then procreated needs nothing of the air, water, nor earth. And so, too, with the world of air which needs and has nothing of the other three. Likewise, with the earth and water. For the foundation of the elements does not instruct us that the world must contain the four elements, rather each a single element, the one from which it stems. Though the firmament nourishes the world by its elemental power proceeding from its wholly fiery nature to earth, this particular nourishment is not necessary. For the world will not go to its destruction by itself; it suffices to nourish itself, as another elemental world does without the earth. Likewise, the earth provides nothing to the water in its own essence. The same can be said of the air. But not only is it enough that each world can stand alone in its element: it is also the case that the light of the heavens is an extraction of the four elements.[2] It is the noblest thing in its perfect quality. The human being should not think that the sun derives its radiance and course from the fiery element; nor do the planets. Rather this is by virtue of the *Arcanum*.[3] For this reason, the radiance of the firmament upon the world does not come from the fiery element but rather from the *Arcanum*.

b The original text has "alles war": Huser corrected it into "alß wahr," which makes sense.

c See above, H 8:3, note f. See also below, H 8:285, for a possible source of the notion of *arcanum* as it is specifically used here.

1 Here again the author means elemental beings.

2 Thus the light seems to be a sort of quintessence. We do not know of another occurrence of this topic in Paracelsus.

3 See vis-à-vis.

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Schein deß Firmaments auff die Welt nicht ist von dem Element deß Fewrs / sondern vom *Arcano*. Dann die Erden gibt von jhr *Tronum*,[a] das Wasser *Turas*,[b] der Lufft *Samies*[c] : Diese kommen nicht vom Element / sondern vom *Arcano*,
31 vnnd seindt im Element. Auß den Arcanen | stimmen die vier Welt zusammen in solcher gestalt / das sie ein ander nütz sein vnnd helffen vnnd enthalten : Aber nicht auß Natur der Elementen / dann sie seindt Element.

Der Viertzehendt Text.

Das der Mensch Lebt / Sicht / Hört / vnnd dergleichen / ist nicht von Elementen / sondern auß den Arcanen / vnnd mehr auß Monarchey : Deßgleichen alles Geschöpff / allein die Herberg vnd die Nahrung ist Elementisch. Verstand auch mehr / das alles was Ewig ist / auß dem *Arcano* kommt / vnnd dasselbige ist[d] : Die Hund sterben / aber jhr *Arcanum* bleibt : Der Mensch stirbt / sein *Arcanum* bleibt / vnnd mehr die Seel auch / das jhn so viel Edler macht dann der Hund ist : Also von allem Gewächs. Dann auß dem entspringt die Irrsal / das in dem newen *Mysterio Magno vltimo* erscheinen werden alle Geschöpff / die je gewesen sein / nicht wesenlich wie jetzt / sondern Arcanisch. Wir sprechen aber nicht / das *Arcanum* sey ein Wesen wie das vngestorbene / sondern dasselbige volkommen. Das Element Fewr hatt in jhm *Arcanum*, auß demselbigen kommt den andern dreyen das Liecht / der Schein / die Influentz / vnnd das Wachsen / vnnd nicht auß dem Element. Dann diese *Arcana* möchten ohn das Element wol stahn / also wol auch das Element ohne sie. Aber mercket mehr / daß das Element *Aëris* in jhm hatt *Arcanum*, auß demselbigen das Nutriment aller andern dreyen Welten / vnd jhm selbest : Nit Elementisch von jhm in die andern drey / sondern Arcanisch / durch das Element. Das Element *Terrae* hatt in jhm das *Arcanum* deß Bleibens vnd Fixatz / vnd gibt den andern die Kräfften jhrs Bleibens vnd Geberens / vnd das nicht abgang. Das Element *Aquae* gibt *Arcanum* der Auffenthalt aller Element / vnnd was darinnen ist zu jhrem Fürgang / vnnd bleiben ohn Zerstörrung. Also ist ein vnderscheidt zwischen den Elementen vnnd *Arcanis :* Das Ein ist Zergenglich auß den Elementen /

a *Tronus* seems a sort of dew. See *Scholiae in libros Paragraphorum*: "Item thereniabin, id est **Tron** / id quod cadit in Maio, ist Gelb auff den Blettern / ist zech. Ros est septima species thereniabin" (H 5:267). It is, however, usually associated by P. to the element of air, along with "tereniabin": see below, H 8:242 and 300.

b *Turas* might be a deformation of the neuter plural form *tura* (from *tus*): incense, though this does not make much sense as a product of water.

c This word occurs only here. Perhaps it is derived from the German *Sahm* (seed). This would explain why it stems from the *Arcanum*.

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The earth yields from this its *tronus;* the water *turae;* the air *samies*.[1] They do not stem from the element but rather from the *Arcanum*, and they abide in the element. Due to the *Arcana*, | the four worlds harmonize in such a configuration 31
that they are useful to one another, helping and sustaining one another. But this does not happen from their elemental nature, for they remain elements.

Fourteenth Text.

That the human being is able to see, hear, and so on, does not stem from the elements, but rather from the *Arcana*, and indeed from the Monarchy. The same holds for all creation: only the dwelling and nourishment is elemental. Let it be known that everything that is eternal stems from the *arcanum* and is identical with it.[2] Dogs die, but their *arcanum* remains. The human being dies but his *arcanum* remains. All the more so the soul which makes him all the nobler than the dog.[3] So, too, with all vegetation. About that arises the error that in the new *Mysterium Magnum ultimum* all creatures will appear that have ever existed, not in substantial form as they are now, but rather in the mode of the *arcanum*. We do not mean that the *arcanum* is like a deathless essence: it is a perfect one. The fiery element contains within itself the *arcanum*. From it, not from the element, light, radiance, influence, and growth come to the other three. For the *arcana* could persist without the element and the element without them. But note well that the element of *aër* contains within itself the *arcanum*. From it stems the nutrient for all the other three worlds as well as for itself. It does not proceed in an elemental mode, but rather in the mode of the *arcanum*, by way of the element. The element of *terra* contains within itself the *arcanum* of permanence and fixity, lending to the others their powers of persistence and generation, so that there is no decline. The element *aqua* yields the *arcanum* of maintenance to all elements and to whatever lies within them, so that they persist and abide without destruction. Hence, the difference between the element and *arcanum*. The one is transient due to the elements; the other a persistence

d This sentence echoes that of *Archidoxis* (H 6:43): "Vrsachets das / daß das allein Arcanvm ist / das Vncorporalisch ist / vnd vntödtlich / eins Ewigen Lebens / vber alle Natur zuverstehen / vnd Vnmenschlich zuerkennen."

1 These somewhat puzzling words obviously designate substances endowed with powerful virtues. Can they be dew, incense, and seeds, as suggested by their roots or their occurrences in P.'s works? See vis-à-vis.

2 See vis-à-vis.

3 The human soul, thus, seems to be superior to the *Arcanum*.

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das ander ein Bleiben im letzten *Mysterio Magno vltimo*, in dem sich alle ding
32 erneweren werden / vnnd doch nicht anderst den was sie gewesen seindt. |

Der Fünfftzehendt Text.

So ist zu erkennen / wie dann die Element nicht bey einander stehend : Entweder gantz Aerisch / Ignisch / Terrisch oder Aquatisch / vnnd nicht vermischet : Auch dergleichen ein Element das seine allein nehret / also das von jhm ist als seine Welt. Darumb auß der vrsachen die Artzney deß Wassers Element nicht hilfft / die auß dem Element seindt der Erden / oder der andern / sondern allein die Nymphen / Meerwunder vnnd dergleichen. Die Erdische Artzney hilfft auch nicht die andern drey Welt / allein die Thier in seiner Welt. Der Lufft auch also : Dann in dem Lufft seindt auch Kranckheiten / Artzte / Gelehrte vnd Vngelehrte auff jhrer Welt / vnd auff jhren Lauff. Also auch im Element deß Fewrs. Vnnd wiewol aber sich begibet / das Nymphen zu den Erdischen wohnen vnnd Kinder geberen : Ist auß der vrsach müglich / das *Raptus*[a] solchs vermag. Die Lufftischen dergleichen / als Melosin zu dem Erdischen kommen ist / ist alles *Raptus*. Also auch von dem Fewr zu vns Irdischen Rapiert werden / dasselbig sein *Trifertes*. So also die drey frembde Welt in vnser Welt Leuth einmischen / wie obsteht / seindt sie mit allem jhrem Wesen gegen vns als Götter zu erkennen : Auß vrsach dz / der grossen frembde vnnd deß frembden Wesens / so an jhnen ist : So auß vns zu jhnen Rapiert wirdt ein Mensch / ist im Verstandt gegen *Raptus* zu vns von jhnen. Also bedürffen die Element ein ander nichts / sondern allein das jhe eins deß andern Kasten ist / oder das ander halt an eim Hauffen : Als Wasser vnnd Erden sich von einander scheiden / also auch der Lufft vnnd das Fewr / jedlich sein sondern *Partem* besitzt in keiner Anreichung / dann wie Wend / vnd zusammen Inclinierung der Arcanen auß jhnen allen vieren.

a This notion only occurs there, as does the term *raptus*. See vis-à-vis.

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in the last *Mysterium Magnum ultimum*, in which all things will be renewed without being other than what they were before.

Fifteenth Text. 32

Thus, do we recognize that the elements do not cohabit: either something is all aerial, igneous, telluric, or aquatic, but not mixed together. By the same token, an element nourishes its own, which stems from it as its own world. For this reason, the medication of water does not help those from the earthly element or of the other elements. Aqueous medication helps only the nymphs, prodigies of the sea, and their kind. Telluric medication does not help the other three worlds, but only the animals of its own world. Likewise, for air. In it abide its own diseases, doctors, both learned and unlearned, oriented toward their world and its course. So, too, with the fiery element. It can happen, to be sure, that nymphs may dwell with the tellurians and bear children with them. But what makes this possible is the *raptus*.[1] The same applies to the aerial beings. Thus, Melosina came to the tellurians: all this was *raptus*.[2] So, too, can those from fire be ravished to us tellurians. Those thus affected are the *Trifertes*.[3] Whenever those three worlds mix their inhabitants among ours, as described, they and their entire being comport themselves to us appearing like gods due to their inordinate unfamiliarity and the alien nature they display. If one of us humans is ravished to them, the *raptus* appears to go in the opposite direction. Hence, it is the case that the elements have no need of one another. Rather, each is a container of the other, or it causes the other to be compiled. Thus, are water and earth separate, as are air and fire, with each possessing its own *pars* without admixture, rather like walls, but with conflated inclination of the arcane powers from all four elements.

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1 According to the context, the meaning must be "abduction," although the link to the myth of Melusina in the next sentence is rather puzzling. No abduction is involved in this myth.

2 See Goldammer's comment on this passage, mainly about the surprising classification of Melusina as an aerial being: "[Is it the result of] a confusion, or misunderstanding from a compiler? Or a plagiarist's ignorance or uncertainty about the Paracelsian terminology? On the other hand, the "Volksbuch" *Die schöne Melusina* offers openings to such an interpretation. There Melusine is not only a water spirit with a waterdragon-like inferior body: she also appears with the traits of a spirit of air as she leaves her husband Raimund and the place of her earthly life as a demonic being with a rustle into the air through a window" (Goldammer 1980, 93).

3 This word of unknown origin occurs only there. In 1705 the alchemist William Yworth (Yarworth) published under the pseudonym Cleidophorus Mystagogus a book entitled *Trifertes Sagani, or Immortal Dissolvent*. He justified his title by explaining that *trifertes sagani* are "spirits born in and predominant over the fire" (p. 41), just like the universal solvent his book was about. On the author, see Figala 1976; Newman 2019, *ad indicem*.

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Der Sechtzehendt Text.

Vnnd so hernach folgen die zusammenfügung / das alle ding wider werden kommen in massen nach dem Wesen wie sie gewesen seindt / so ist dasselbige Arcanisch / vnnd nach dem Angesicht der Elementen. Dann alda mag
33 Corporalischs nichts erscheinen auß der Geburt / sondern benüget das | Angesicht vnnd gegenwertigs darstehen aller benügten[a] geburt / vnd werden also da eim jedlichen zu wissen sein / alles / dz beschehen ist vor jhm vnnd nach jhm / vnnd dasselbige gesichtlich eim jedlichen bekannt. Aber in solchem ist ein heimlicher Verstandt deß *Mysterij magni vltimi :* Vnnd nicht auß der Natur / sondern auß dem Wissen der vrsachen wird das gezogen / der letzten abscheidung der Elementen vnd aller Geschöpff / do dann werden Antwort gegeben / ein jedlicher vmb sein Todt : Das ein vrsach ist deß Zergenglichen / vnnd deß Lebendigen / oder Bleibenden : Denn als do wirdt sein ein Einiger Richter / der Gewalt hatt von Anbegin gehabt / vnnd ein Einiger Richter jhe vnnd jhe gewesen ist. Vnnd ist das der Vrsprung der Glauben vnnd der vielerley Diener der Götter / das dann alles ein falscher Gebrauch ist. Dann da ist nie kein Gott gewesen mehr denn der / der allzeit ein Richter ist gewesen. Vnd ist ein falsche Thorheit / zu erkennen den Tödtlichen / den Zergenglichen / den Faulenden / für ein Gewalthaber[b] der dingen der Geschöpffen / vnnd deß gleichen zu Regieren das Ewige. Dann was do stirbt / hatt kein gewalt do zu Regieren / darumb allein Ein einiger Weg ist vnd Ein Glaub / vnd nicht mehr zubedencken.

Der Siebenzehendt Text.

So nuhn also auff alle Praedestinierung kommen / welche do beschaffen seindt / so wirdt do ein *Arcanum :* Dann *Praedestinatio* ist die letzt *Materia*, die do wirdt sein ohn Element / vnnd ohne jtziges Wesen / sondern *Temporatum*[c] *& Incorruptum* wirdt mehr nachfölgich sein. Dann das wirdt nicht verstanden auß dem Geist / sondern auß der Natur / mit der bewerung / das ein Ewigs hernach folget dem Tödtlichen. Dann so ein vnentpfindtlichs Gewächs abgeht / so kommt an sein statt ein Ewigs : Vnnd nichts ist auff Erden von diesen Zergenglichen dingen / es lasse ein Ewigs an seiner statt nach jhm. Dann nichts ist leer / nichts vndter den Zergencklichen ohn ein verlassen Ewigs beschaf-

a The original text has "aber" with an asterisk; the alternate reading "alter" stands in the margin. Huser changed it to "aller." He also changed "benüget" to "benügten."

b The original text has "gewalt haber." Huser sensibly joined the two words.

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Sixteenth Text.

Moreover, if the compounding follows afterwards so that all things will come again in the measure of the essence they once bore, this is the doing of the *arcana* in accordance with the aspect of the elements. For nothing corporeal can appear as it was at its inception, but rather there suffices the | appearance 33
and presence of all births.[1] Thus will be known to everyone what has occurred before and after them, and they will know it visibly. But in this there is a secret meaning of the *Mysterium Magnum ultimum*, which does not stem from nature but is rather deduced from the knowledge of causes of the final separation of the elements and all creatures. For there each will be given account for his death. This is the cause of transience and of the living and permanent. For then there will be a single judge who has held power from the beginning, and who has always and forever presided as the sole judge and executor. This is the reason for the beliefs and many servants of the gods, all of which is false practice. For there has never been any other God but the one who was always the sole judge. It is false and folly to regard the mortal and transient, the decaying, as a ruler over the affairs of creatures, thus ruling over that which is eternal as well. For whatever is of death has no power to rule: hence, there is but one Way and one Faith. Nothing else comes in question.

Seventeenth Text.

When all things that have been created come to their predestination, there will be an *arcanum*. For *praedestinatio* is the final *materia* which will abide without an element or without its present substance; the *temporatum et incorruptum* [that which is balanced and incorrupt] will instead succeed at that time. This is not known from the spirit but from nature with the assurance that the eternal will follow the mortal. When an insensate organism departs, it is replaced by something eternal. Nor is there anything of all the transient things on earth that will not leave something eternal in its stead. For nothing is empty. Nothing transient has been created without a preordained eternal essence. After

c *Temporatum* may be a misprint for *temperatum* ("balanced"), though Huser did not interpret it thus. A balanced body was thought to be incorruptible. See above, H 8:22, note c, and note 3.

1 The original text had a corrupted word (see vis-à-vis) followed by the word "benüget," changed by Huser into "benügten." Thus the word "benüget" appeared twice in two successive lines in the same sentence without making much sense, which leads us to hypothesize that its second occurrence may have been a scribal error. We decided to ignore the second occurrence in our translation, whether in its original form, or corrected by Huser.

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fen. Dann nach dem Endt aller Geschöpffen werden solche Ewig zusammen kommen : Nicht allein do wie ein Nahrung / mehr zu einer Meysterschafft der Natur / im Zergenglichen vnnd Ewigen. Vnnd ist also das Ewig ein anzeigung
34 der Zerbrechung der Natur / | vnnd nicht ein Anfang der Geschöpff / vnnd ein Endt in allen dingen / ohn deß das kein Natur besitzt. Wiewol auch die *Fatales*[a] werden ein Ewigs verlassen / vnnd die Melosinen / vnnd die Nymphen : So wöllen wir hie nichts melden von jhrer Corruption. Dann aldo wirdt verstanden vielerley Feuli / nach dem vnnd vier Welt seindt : Als die Terrische Feuli / die Aerische Feuli / die Ignische Feuli / die Aquatische Feuli. Dann jedlichs mit sampt jhren Mitgeschöpffen zum Zergencknuß imverlassnen Ewigen verkehrt wirdt vnd dorzu gebracht. Aber solche vier Feulungen werden inn ein Vergleichung bringen jhr Ewigs / bekanndt vnnd ansehenlich / nicht mit Wercken / sondern mit Wesen : Dann die Einige Wohnung ist ein Ewigs / aber mit viel vndersatzung.

Der Achtzehendt Text.

So wöllen wir nicht entschlagen das *Evestrvm*[b] in seinem Wesen / Tödtlichs oder Vntödtlichs. Dann *Euestrum* ist ein ding wie ein Schatt an der Wandt. Der Schatt der wächst vnnd kommt mit dem Corpus / vnnd bleibt mit demselbigen / vnnd in sein letzte Materien. *Euestrum*[c] nimbt sein Anfang mit der Ersten Gebierung eins jedlichen dings : Dann Selischs vnd Vnselischs / Entpfindtlichs vnd Vnentpfindtlichs / hatt mitleuffig deß Euestren / vnnd alles das Schatten gibt. *Trarames*[d] aber als ein Schatten verstanden wirdt vnsichtbares Wesens : Dann auß der vrsach / das er geboren wirdt mit der Vernunfft / vnnd mit der Sinnligkeit der Thieren / Vernünfftigs vnnd Vnuernünfftigs. Vom *Eue-*

a See above, H 8:7, note a.

b The terms *trarames* (see below) and *evestrum*, along with *lorind*, occur at the end of the disputed *De natura rerum* (S 11:402–403; H 6:361–362), a title referred to repeatedly in the authentic *Philosophy of the Elements*. The term *evestrum* also appears in the disputed *De occulta philosophia* and the spurious *De Pestilitate*. *Evestrum* is probably modelled on P.'s neologism *idestrum* (H 3:242–243, H 5:228, 240, H 7:362). It is obviously forged from the Greek prefix *eu-* ("good") and the Latin word *œstrus* (derived from the Greek *oistros*), figurative for "prophetic or poetic frenzy."

c The original text has *Evestern* which is both a misprint for the plural of *Evestren* and an unjustified use of plural, since the verb is singular. Huser corrected it to *evestrum*.

d See above, the term *trarames* also occurs in the disputed *De natura rerum* and the spurious *Liber Azoth*. We cannot suggest any plausible etymology, although there may be a link of *tra-*

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termination of the created things, these eternal essences will come and assemble themselves, not merely for nourishment, but rather for the perfection of nature in its transient and eternal aspects. Thus, the eternal is a revelation of the destruction of nature |, not a beginning of the creation. It is a terminal point 34
in all things which nothing in nature lacks. Though the *fatales* will likewise leave an eternal essence in their stead, as will the *melosinae* and nymphs, we have nothing to say here about their corruption. For there are many kinds of corruption, given that there are four worlds. There is the earthly corruption, the aerial, the aquatic, and the igneous. Each world with its fellow creatures is led and brought to destruction in the predestined eternal essences. Yet the four disintegrations will be alike in their eternity, making it known and visible, not by means of works but in essences. For the single dwelling place is an eternal one, but with many compartments.[1]

Eighteenth Text.

We do not intend to leave out the *evestrum* in its mortal or immortal substance.[2] For *evestrum* is an entity like a shadow on the wall.[3] The shadow grows along with and accompanies the body, remaining with it even unto its final material. *Evestrum* comes into being together with the first birth of each entity. For animate and inanimate, sensate and insensate are all correlative with the evestrum, as is everything that casts a shadow. *Trarames*, however, is to be understood as the shadow of an invisible being. This is because it is born along with the rational being and the sensory being of the animals, both the reasoning and unreasoning ones. To speculate concerning the *evestrum* and *trarames*

rames to *ratio* ("Vernunft") suggested by the sound *ra-* in both. This neologism and those that follow are reminiscent of the epistemological fecundity and terminology of P.'s late *Astronomia Magna;* however, the present neologisms do not occur there.

1 See John 14:2 ("In my Father's house there are many dwelling places"). On P.s' interest in notions of cosmic renewal, see ETW 339.

2 While the notion of *evestrum* has not been introduced before now, the couple mortal / immortal echoes the couple corruptible / eternal in the previous chapter and constitutes, thus, a fitting transition.

3 The possible analogy with the myth of Plato's cave, a plausible source of inspiration for the concept of *evestrum*, comes immediately to the mind. See Frietsch 2021, 289.

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stro vnnd *Trarame* zu Philosophieren der höchsten *Sophiae*[a] zustehet : Dann *Euestrum* gibt Prophecey : *Trarames* gibt die Scherpffung. Dann zu Propheceyen das Künfftig dem Menschen / Thier / Holtz oder anders / auß dem Schein *Euestro* kommt : Was die Vernunfft sey / auß den Traramen. Darumb die Euestern seindt anfenglich vnnd vnanfenglich : Die anfengigen haben das zergehen inn jhnen / mit einem verlassenen Ewigen : Das vnanfengig hatt das anfengig zu *Traranium*[b] / also zu scherpffen in dem Verstandt : Das Tödtliche *Euestrum* erkennt das Ewige / die Erkennung ist ein Mutter deß Propheten : Dann der
35 Grundt alles Verstands | auß *Euestro* gezogen wirdt / als mit dem Liecht der Natur : Darumb ein Prophet Euestriert / das ist / er redt auß dem *Euestro*. So aber der *Spiritus* Prophetiert / ist vns ausserthalb dem Liecht der Natur : Darumb ist er vns Betrieglich / Falsch vnnd Vngewiß : Dergleichen Gewiß vnnd Warhafftig : Also auch *Trarames*, der Schatten der Vernunfft / getheilet will werden.

Der Neuntzehendt Text.

Nuhn in der zerbrechung aller dingen werden *Euestrum* vnnd *Trarames* auch zerbrochen / doch micht ohn ein Letz deß Ewigen. So ist doch *Euestrum* als viel / als dz Ewige deß Firmaments in vier Welten : Dann das Firmament ist vierfach nach den vier Welten / vnnd in vier volkommen Wesen getheilt / einer jedlichen Welt volkommen auff sein Geschöpff / dasselbig ist auch also : Eins auff Erden auß dem Firmament / Eins auff dz Wasser / Lufft / Fewr. Aber das Firmament so in dem *Euestro* ist / ist *dispersum :* Nicht die Sternen als sie sichtbar seindt / sondern es seindt Firmament den Nymphen / die nicht Sternen seindt : Dann sie gebrauchen sich der Sternen nicht / sondern haben ein sonder Firmament wie die *Fata*, die Ignische[c] / ein jedlichs besonder / Himmel vnd Erden / Wesen vnnd Wohnung / Firmament / Stern / Planeten vnnd dergleichen / die eim andern gantz nicht gleich erscheinen. Wie ein Wasser vnnd ein Fewr / ein

a This word is exceedingly rare in P.'s works. Aside from the puzzling phrase *Labor Sophiae* in *Vom langen Leben* (H 6:130), also used in the spurious *De pestilitate* and *Liber Azoth*, only the authentic *De Peste libri tres* mentions *Sophia Adepta*, a superior skill linked to imagination (H 3:159), whereas the *Astronomia magna* evokes the "angelic *Sophia*" (H 10:378–379). In the medical and surgical treatises P. uses the "Sophia Krautt" (the creeping yellow-cress), but this is beside the point. A key account of wisdom in the human soul and transcendent formal structures of nature is found in the sometimes disputed *Liber de Fundamento scientiarum, sapientiaeque. Das ander Buch* (H 9:414–446), where the arts of craftsmen and judgments of believers are rooted in the divine font of wisdom, with its physical equivalent in the instinctive skills of animals (416–417). On this text see Paulus 2022, 339–340.

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is reserved for the supreme *sophia*. For the former yields prophecy and the latter heightened powers of discernment.[1] For the capacity to prophesy the future to humans, animals, wood, or other things, comes from the radiance of the *evestrum;* and what pertains to reasoning from the *trarames*. This is why the evestres either have a beginning or are without one. The originated ones contain a force of decay, along with an assigned eternal property. The aboriginal one possesses the capacity for the *traranium*,[2] that is, for a heightening of the power of discernment. The mortal *evestrum* knows the eternal; its knowing is a mother of the prophet. For the root of all understanding | is extracted from the 35
evestrum, as is the case with the light of nature. Hence, what a prophet performs is to "evestrate," that is, to speak from the *evestrum*. But when the *spiritus* acts as a prophet, this lies outside the light of nature. For this reason, it is deceptive, false, and uncertain. Or it can be certain and true. The same holds for *trarames*, the shadow of reason, which calls for the same distinction.[3]

Nineteenth Text.

In the destruction of all things, *evestrum* and *trarames* are destroyed too, but not without a trace of the eternal. Thus, *evestrum* amounts to the eternal property of the firmament in the four worlds. For the firmament is indeed fourfold in accordance with the four worlds, subdivided into four complete substances with each world perfect for its creatures. So it is with the firmament. On earth there is one from the firmament; another for water, and so on for air and fire. However, the firmament that abides in *evestrum* is *dispersum*. It is not just the visible stars; there are firmaments for the nymphs, which are not stars.[4] They have no need of stars. They have a particular firmament like the *fata*, the igneous folks. Each has its own heavens and earth, being and dwelling, with firmament, stars, planets, and so on which do not fully resemble the others. It is as with water and fire, with substance and the impalpable, with visible

b This spelling, already found in the original edition, is likely a misprint for *Traramum*, although this form, apparently an accusative, does not fit well into the declination of *trarames*. The termination *-ium* would only be that of a genitive plural.

c In the original edition the word "Ignisch" is in brackets, as if its reading were uncertain. Huser cancelled the brackets, in accordance with the context.

1 I am interpreting "Scherpffung" as akin to "Scharfsinn" (cf. Grimm).

2 See above, note b.

3 In essence, the author here merely reconfirms the medieval doctrine of *discretio spirituum* which distinguished true from false visions or prophesies.

4 Here the text returns to its obsession with the elemental beings.

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Substantz vnnd ein Vngreifflichs / vnnd wie ein Sichtbars vnnd ein Vnsichtbars : Also seindt dieselbigen auch. In solchen ist *Euestrum* getheilet auff die Fatalischen / vnnd bleibt sein Schatten nach seim Wesen nach der zerbrechung / vnd ein *Euestrum* auff das *Ignen* anhangt den Fewrischen Menschen : Vnd dann das anhangt den Wasserischen : Vnd also den Erdischen. Dieß *Euestrum* thöret vnd narret die Welt / schattet sich mit betrügnuß auß einer Welt in die ander / gibt Gesicht / gibt Schein / gibt Zeichen / gibt Form / gibt Gestalt. Dann auß dem kommen *Euestrum Cometarum, Euestrum Impressionum, Euestrum Miraculorum*. Aber solche drey Euestren seind *Euestra Propheta*, vnnd seindt *Euestra Vmbrata :* Darumb ein Erleuchter Verstandt ist zwischen Euestren Propheten vnnd Euestren Vmbraten.

36 Der Zwantzigste Text.

Vns zu erkennen das *Euestrum Prophetum*, am nöttigsten ist vor allem : Dann *Turban magna*[a] ist ein solch Wesen / das sie Praesagiert alles das / so in vier Welten beschicht. Vnnd was do ein Wunder vnnd wieder die Natur / oder wieder das gemein Gedüncken vnnd Leben begegnen soll / dasselbige wirdt erkanndt durch das *Euestrum Prophetum*, das genommen wirdt / vnnd sich schattigt vom *Turban magna*. Vnd ist noth dem Propheten / zu erkennen die grosse *Turban*, dann sie ist auß grosser Vernunfft / vnd vereinigt sich mit der Vernunfft. Darumb müglich ist eim Tödtlichen / die groß *Turban* zu erkennen biß in sein letzt Zergencknuß. Auß jhr alle Propheten geredt haben / dann in jhr seindt alle Zeichen der Welt : Alle Euestern werden auß jhr / auß jhr werden außgeschättiget die Cometen / die bedeutenden Stern / die wieder den Lauff deß Himmels entspringen / vnd alle *Impressiones* nemmen jhren Anfang auß der *Turban* vnd nicht auß dem Firmament oder Gestirn. Dann so ein vngehörts seltzams ding beschehen soll / so lauffen Vorbotten / die dem Volck solchs zuer-

a The phrase is borrowed from the Vulgate (Rev 7:9–10): "*Post haec vidi turbam magnam, quam dinumerare nemo poterat, ex omnibus gentibus, et tribubus, et populis, et linguis: stantes ante thronum, et in conspectu Agni, amicti stolis albis, et palmae in manibus eorum: et clamabant voce magna, dicentes: Salus Deo nostro, qui sedet super thronum, et Agno*" (in the King James version: "After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb."). The incorrect spelling *Turban* has been preserved by Huser. Since the *turba magna* embodies the very source of prophecies in our text, it is perfectly fitting that it is derived from Revelation. The concept of *turba magna* is so common to this treatise and the *Liber Azoth* that its presence with other uniquely shared terms offers a clue to authorship. The term is defined in the latter work: "Darumb

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and invisible. So, too, with them. In these, the *evestrum* is subdivided among the fatal beings; and it abides as a shadow of its substance after the destruction. An *evestrum* is attached to the fiery humanoids in the *ignis*. So, too, one is attached to the aqueous ones and to the telluric ones. This *evestrum* fools and deceives the world; it shades off with deception from one world into the other. It causes visions, produces radiances, yields signs, forms, and shapes. From it proceed the *evestrum cometarum, evestrum impressionum, evestrum miraculorum*. But these three *evestra* are *evestra propheta;* and there are also *evestra umbrata*. There is an illuminating distinction between these two.

Twentieth Text. 36

It is most necessary of all that we know the *evestrum prophetum*. For *turba magna* is a being of a kind that prophesies everything that happens in the four worlds.[1] Whatever is a marvel and against nature, or the general consensus and life, is known through the *evestrum prophetum* which is taken, and adumbrates itself, from the *turba magna*. The prophet must know the great *turba*, for it derives from great reason and unites itself with reason. This is why it is possible for a mortal to know the great *turba* clear to his final destruction. All prophets have spoken from it; for in it abide all the signs of the worlds. All *evestra* derive from it; from it are adumbrated the comets, the meaningful stars that contravene the course of the heavens. And all *impressiones* originate in the *turba* rather than from the firmament or stars. Whenever any strange and unheard of thing is slated to occur, the omens make their way to give notice to the people, so that

wann also entstehet im Menschen der Verstandt Natürlicher ding *per Magiam Cagastricam*, so weist jhme dann der *Aquaster* den weg / wie er *Magiam Diuinam* ergründen möge. Vnd als dann wann der Aquastrische *Magus* den *Scopum* der Aquastrischen vnd Pyromantischen Kunst erlangt hatt / so mag er die *Trarames, Durdales*, vnd hernach die **Turbam magnam** angreiffen / jhme den Grund der *Theologiae* vorzulegen / auff das er die Himmlische *Thesaurinellam* erlernen möge / deren Sampson, Dauid, Salomon, Heliseus, Elias, Enoch, Adam, Moyses, einen grossen vnd gewaltigen theil verstanden vnd gehabt haben" (*Liber Azoth sive De Ligno et Linea Vitae*—H 10A:10). Its knowledge pertains to the "Philosophische *Theologus* […] / welcher das Himmlische vnd Irrdische durch die *Cœlestem Thesaurinellam*, vnd *Spagyricam Cabaliam* weiß von einander zu scheiden" (H 10A:9). It is clearly in the *Liber Azoth* a *philosophia perennis* that associates ancient wisdom of nature with the patriarchs and incorporates nature philosophy and theology.

1 The meaning of *turba magna* in Rev. 7:9–10 is "the great multitude." See vis-à-vis. It was interpreted by Michael Toxites and later Paracelsians following him as "the multitude of all the stars." By doing so, Toxites certainly tried to reconcile this passage with the *Astronomia magna*. See Kahn 2019, 461–462 (Kahn 2022, 49–50).

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kennen geben / auß welchem mag verkündigt werden ein nach folgendts Vbel : Nicht Bezeigungen auß der Natur / sondern angezeigt vom *Euestro Prophetico*. Alle Tödt / alle Krieg / alle Meutterey schicken jhr Vorbotten vor jhr / welche auß der *Turban* entspringen. Vnnd welcher der ist / der da ein erkenner ist der Euestern Proprietet / ist ein Prophet vnd ein Waarsager aller zukünfftigen dingen. Dann der Höchst aller dingen redt nicht mit den Tödtlichen / schicket jhn nicht auß seiner Wohnung sein Engel / das sie sollen verkunden : Sondern auß der grossen *Turban* solches verstanden wirdt / die viel Paganen vnd Juden für Gott haben gehalten[a] / seindt verblindt gewesen in dem Verstandt der Gottheit.

Der Ein vnd zwantzigste Text.

Dieweil vnd *Euester obumbratus*[b] mit einem jedlichen Geschöpff erwächst vnnd geboren wirdt : Auß dem ist weither müglich zu Prognosticieren Zulaufft
37 vnnd Leben desselbigen dings / deß *Euestrum* geschehen wirdt. | Als so ein Kind geboren wird / so wirt mit jhm geboren das *Euestrum*, vnd alle mal in jhm gebildet / daß es vom Kind biß in sein letzte tag alle ding des Kindes vorzeigt / vnnd zu thun ersehen wirdt : Als so einer stirbt / so geschicht der Todt nicht / das *Euestrum* geb dann vor Anzeigen : als mit Klopffen / mit Schütten / mit Fallen / oder mit einem solchem zeichen desselbigen Handtwercks So der *Euestrum* also gemercket wirdt / mag gemerckt werden / daß ein Vorbott ist deß Todts / vnnd der eins solchen Handtwercks ist.

Euestrum[c] ist auch mit dem Ewigen vereinigt : dann nach dem Todt deß Menschen ist das *Euestrum* bleiblich auff Erden / vnd gibt anzeigung / ob der Mensch in Freuden oder Pein ist / mit seiner gebierung. Nit soll gesprochen werden / als die Einfeltigen / es sein Geist oder Seelen / oder das / die dagestorben seind / dieselbigen gangen do : Es ist *Euestrum* von demselbigen Menschen / das nicht weicht biß in den letzten stall / do alle ding zusammen kommen. Das *Euestrum* thut zeichen / dann die Heiligen allein durch jhr *Euestrum* Wunderzeichen zu verstehen geben vnd wircken. Wie die Sonn durch jhren Schein zu erkennen gibt jhr Wärm / vnd jhr Natur vnd Wesen : Also sind die *Euestra praesagientia* vnd *prophetica*[d] in vns / vnd jnen zu glauben / dann sie regieren den Schlaff / den Traum / in dem Fürwircken vnd Fürbilden zukünfftige ding / vnd anzeigen die Natur desselbigen / vnd Vernunfft vnd Wesen / vnd Begeren vnd Gedencken.

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a In the original 1564 edition, and nearly so in Huser's, this note stands in the margin: "*Turban magna* von Paganen / etc. für Gott gehalten worden." Huser added the words "von Paganen / etc."

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from it one can anticipate that some evil will follow. These are not communications from nature but from the *evestrum propheticum*. All deaths, all wars, all mutinies send forth their heralds from the *turba*. Whoever is an expert in the evestrial property is a prophet and soothsayer of all things to come. For the Highest of all things does not speak with mortals and does not send forth an angel from his place to announce it. Rather, it is known from the *turba* which many heathens and Jews have regarded as God. They were blind in their understanding of the divinity.[1]

Twenty-First Text.

Since indeed an *evester obumbratus* is born and develops with every created thing, it is generally possible to prognosticate the incidents and life of a created thing from its *evestrum*. | Whenever a child is born, its *evestrum* is born with 37
it and shaped within it to indicate and render visible everything about the child unto its last day. As for its death, this cannot happen without prior signs given by the *evestrum*, whether knocking or shaking or falling or some other sign of the same provenance. When an *evestrum* is observed, one is observing a herald of a death, which message is the task of the herald.

The *evestrum* is also united with the eternal; for after the death of a human being, the *evestrum* remains on earth and gives signs with its generation indicating whether the deceased abides in joy or torment. No one should say, as do the simple-minded, that it is a ghost or soul, or that the deceased are present. It is rather the *evestrum* of the deceased that will not part until the final recess where all things will convene. The *evestrum* causes signs; for the saints can enact and issue miraculous signs through their *evestrum* alone. The sun by its radiance announces its warmth, nature, and essence. So, too, do the *evestra praesagientia* and *prophetica* act within us. They are to be believed, for they govern sleep and dream, shaping them to prefigure things to come, revealing the nature of those things, as well as reason, essence, desires, and opinions.

b The 1564 editor, perhaps noting the contradiction between this form and *Evestrum* used hitherto, added in the margin: "Evest: obumbratum," discreetly suggesting "Evestrum" rather than "Evester."

c Huser created a new paragraph here. In the original edition the whole of chapter 21 was printed as a single paragraph.

d Huser corrected *prophetia*, a misprint of the original edition, to *prophetica*.

1 Marginal note: "*Turba magna* considered by pagans to be God."

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Der Zwey vnd zwantzigst Text.

Dieweil vnd also zukünfftiges erkennt wirt in den Elementen / in dem / darinn die Euestren jhr wohnung haben : Als ettlich Euestren im Wasser / ettliche in Spiegeln / ettliche in Crystallen / ettlich auff polirten *Vngues*, ettlich durch bewegung der Wasseren / ettlich durch Gesang / ettlich durch das Gemüht / das alles mag Euestriert werden. Dann der höchste Gott vnnd der gütigste / hatt *Euestrum mysteriale*, in dem gesehen wird sein Wesen vnd sein Eigenschafft : vnd durch das *Euestrum mysteriale* wirdt erkennt alles Gutts / vnd alles erleuchts. Aber mehr widerumb / der verdampt hatt auch ein *Euestrum*
38 in der Welt / in welchem erkennt wird das Böse / vnd | alles so dann zerbricht das Gesetz der Natur / vnd dergleichen. Wiewol auß den zweyen Euestriert wirt / so ist doch nit anders / dann sie ohn antreffen vnsers Lebens : dann allein durch vnser *Eustrum* werden wir vns selber erkennen. In allen Creaturen seind *Euestra*, darneben seind sie alle Propheten / vernünfftig vnd vnuernünfftig / entpfindtlich vnd vnentpfindtlich. Dann *Euestrum* ist ein Geist der do *Astronomiam* lehrnt. Nicht das solchs von Natiuiteten oder Prognostern auß den Sternen erkennt werd / sondern auß den *Euestris* hats sein *Esse*, sein *Ens* in jnen / wie ein Bild in einem Spiegel / oder ein Schatt in einem Wasser / oder an der Erden. Vnd zu gleicher weise wie das Gewächs auff vnnd abgehet / vnd gehen soll / also erzeigen sich die Gestirne : Nit dz sie also von jhrer eigen Natur jhren Gang haben / vnd auß der Erden feucht vnd kalts begegne / sonder allein daß der Erden Wesen also ist. Also vorbildts in dem Himmel vnd zu[a] theilen / aber nit anderst dann wie ein *Euestrum*, vnnd nicht wie *potentia*.

Der Drey vnd zwantzigst Text.

Solch Euester werden auch zerbrochen werden / vnd doch nit zergahn ohn ein Ewigs / vnd werden die Euester nit angesehen werden / sondern gantz mitwohnen allen denen / den sie zugehören. Darbey ein jeglicher den verstand wirdt haben / vber alle ding sich selbest zu warnen vnd zu erkennen. Dann die groß vnd vilerley arth *Euestrorum* ist vnzahlbarlich : sie führet den schlaffenden / sie vorzeigt Gutts vnd Boß / sie ersucht auß Gedancken / sie verbringet die Arbeit ohn Corporalisch bewegung : also wunderbarlich ist es / vnd ein Mutter der dingen allen / *in Prophetis* vnd *Astronomis*, vnd deßgleichen *in Medicis*. Vnd wo dz verständnuß auß den Euestern nicht ist / aldo ist kein erkenndtnuß der

a An asterisk after this word in the original edition suggested a doubtful reading. Huser left it there.

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Twenty-Second Text.

So it is that future things are recognized in the elements in which the *evestra* dwell: some of them are in water, some in mirrors, some in crystals, some in polished *ungues* [nails], some can be understood through the flowing of waters, some through a song, some through the mind: all that can be evestrated. For the most high God, the most merciful, possesses the *evestrum mysteriale* in which his essence and properties can be seen. Through the *evestrum mysteriale* everything that is good and radiant is known. But on the contrary, the Damned also possesses his *evestrum* in the world. In it is known the evil, | as 38
well as whatever breaks the law of nature or the like. Though there is evestration from both, this changes nothing; for they are without impact on our lives. For it is only through our own *evestrum* that we can have knowledge of ourselves. There are *evestra* in all creatures. In consequence, they are all prophets, whether they are rational or irrational, sensate or insensate. For *evestrum* is a spirit which teaches us *astronomia*, not on the basis of nativities or prognostication from the stars. It is rather from the *evestra* that it has its *esse*, its *ens* [its being and its essence], like an image in a mirror or a shadow on water or earth. In the same manner that vegetation grows and wilts and properly so, so, too, do the stars reveal themselves. It is not the case that their course derives from their own nature or that moist and cold occur from the earth; it is rather that the essence of the earth makes this so. Thus it is modelled in the heavens and distribute[d]; but no differently than like an *evestrum*, and a *potentia*.

Twenty-Third Text.

These *evestra* will also be destroyed, but they will not disappear without something eternal. Moreover, the *evestra* will not be judged but will rather cohabit with all those to whom they pertain. In so doing, each will possess the intelligence to warn and to know oneself. For the vast and multifarious nature of the *evestra* is incalculable. They guide those in sleep; they anticipate good and evil. They search into thoughts. They perform operations without corporeal movement. They are thus miraculous, a mother of all things in the *propheti* as well as the *astronomi*, and likewise in the *medici*. And unless the intelligence derives from the *evestra*, there can be no knowledge of nature. Just as headstones

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Natur. Dann wie Stelen anzeigt ein hangenden Todt / vnd ein nasser Wolck ein Regen / vnd ein Harn ein Kranckheit : also zeigt *Euestrum* an alles / nichts außgeschlossen. Dann auß jhr Sibyllen geredt haben / die Propheten : Aber wie auß dem Schlaff vnd Traum. Vnd also seind die Euestern in den vier Welten / gibt je eins dem andern ein *Praesagium,* Vorbild / vnd ein Wunder : so werdens durch
39 solch jhr zerbrechung vnnd newgeberung mehr wunderbarlicher erfunden | werden. Wir wöllen auch nicht außschlagen / das *Euester* sey / das verlassene Ewig / vnnd ein enthaltender der Glauben / vnd ein wirckung der Himmlischen. Dann allein vns beweget dargegen zu rechnen die *fœlicitas, beatitudo*, das *summum Bonum*, das letzt Vrtheil / mehr vnd weitter zu gründen vnd erfahren / was vnderscheid sey zwischen jhn beyden / das ist / dem gerechten vnnd dem falschen / das nicht Geistlich / sonder Naturlich gemerckt soll werden.

Der Beschluß der dritten *Paras* des Fürsten *THEOPHRASTI.*

In dem vorstehenden *Paras* leuttert der Fürst *Theophrastvs*, vnd erkläret / wie nach der Scheidung vier Welt werden / vnd was das Ewige sey / vnnd nichts ohn ein Ewigs beschaffen. In dem gemerckt *Euestrum Dei* vnnd[a] darunter deßgleichen aller dingen : vnd gibt zu verstahn / zerbrechung in allen dingen / vnd bleiben der Ewigen : vnd ist der dritt Grundt in allen Creaturen / vnd hört auff mit denen. Das sich aber in ein Scheiden zeucht / als in die Praedestinatz / do dann der vierdte Grundt anhebt / bekennt in dem ein letzt Vrthel / ein Ewigs Wesen aller Welt : Gibt zu erkennen / das *Seculum* ein Welt ist / so weitt vnd dieselbige begreiffen ist / vnd solcher *Secula* seind vier. Vnd sollen nit verstanden werden / das ein ander Teutsch hatt dann auff vier / wie in den Elementen gezeiget wirt / vnd von Welt zu Welt / das ist von tödtlichen biß zu gleichung der Ewigen Zusammenkumnuß.

Hie endet sich der dritt *Paras* des Fürsten *Theophrasti* von Hohenheim / vnd folgt hernach der vierdt *Paras*.

a An asterisk after this word in the original edition suggested a doubtful reading. Huser left it there.

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anticipate an impending death and a moist cloud rain, or urine disease, so, too, does *evestrum* indicate everything without exception. For from them the Sibyls have spoken and the prophets, but as if from sleep or dream. This is how the *evestra* are arrayed in the four worlds, with each giving a *praesagium*, an image and marvel, to the next. And so, too, through their destruction and rebirth | they 39
will be found all the more miraculous. We would not rule out that the *evestrum* is the preordained eternal being, a retainer of faith, and an agent of the heavens. We would only need to add the *foelicitas, beatitudo*, the *summum bonum*, the final judgment, to assess and explain further the distinction between the two, that is, between the just and the false, all of which must not be registered spiritually, but in the natural mode.

Conclusion of the Third *Paras* of Prince *THEOPHRASTUS*.[1]

In the preceding *Paras*, Prince Theophrastus clarifies and explains how it happened that after the separation, four worlds came into being, as well as what the eternal is and how nothing is created without something eternal. In this context is noted the *evestrum Dei* and, beneath it, all things accordingly; and he informs of the destruction of all things and the persistence of the eternal things; moreover, this is the third ground in all things and it ceases to exist along with them; but it induces itself into a separation as into the predestination, bringing out the fourth ground. He acknowledges in it a final judgment; an eternal essence of the entire world; instructs that the *seculum* is a world, to its full extent, and that there are four such *secula;* and it should not be thought that another German has done so but to four, as is demonstrated by the elements and from world to world, namely from the perishable ones to the equivalent of the gathering of the eternal ones.

Here the third *Paras* of Prince *THEOPHRASTUS* von Hohenheim ends and there follows the fourth *Paras*.

1 This conclusion and the following preface are often obscure. Unfortunately Palthen did not translate any of them in either book of the work, which deprived us of any possible further clue.

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40 Vorred in den Vierdten *Paras* deß Fürsten *THEOPHRASTI.*

In dieser vierdten *Paras* zeigt vns an der Fürst *Theophrastvs*, wie ein ieglichs sey das do lebt / vnd das do todt ist / warinnen ein ieglichs stand / was dz Ansehen sey / was die Einnemmung sey / was vnd wie ein ieglichs in sein Wesen kompt / ohn Substantz / mit Substantz / sichtigs vnd vnsichtigs. Darinnen wirdt verstanden / was der *Gubernator* sey vnnd wie er sey / was sein Leben sey. Darnach wirdt verstanden hierinnen / was das höchst Gutt sey / was das best Gutt sey / die Freud / das Leidt. Nach demselben wirdt der Verstand geben den Menschen / warumb die Creaturen sein / auß wem / vnd von was / vnd warzu sie kommen : Darinnen wird begriffen / was der Leib sey / was die Seele / was ewigs vnd vnewigs sey in seiner Figuren. Vnd ist das *Paras* ein bedeutten vnd anzeigen aller Figuren / wie ein iedliche stand vnd stehet : vnd ist *Paras figuralis*, dann er gibt zu verstehen alles dz die Figuren ziert / butzt / macht / vnd endert : darinnen lehrnt er Recht thun / vnd wz dasselbig sey / warzu es
41 gut sey : Ein gantzer Philosophischer Verstand | vnd Grund / aller deren die do begeren in das Ewige. Darbey erscheint die erklärung / warumb so mancherley Geschlecht sind der Leüten / warumb so viel Sprachen / warumb so viel Nation. Deßgleichen warumb so mancherley Glaub / vnd wie Ein Weg ist zu dem Ewigen / der kompt nit vom Glauben / kompt allein von der Gerechtigkeit vnnd Frombkeit. Darnach wie ein Weg sey der allein gehet zu den Himmlischen / derselbige auß Glauben kompt / darinn alle Secten der Glauben vnd Statuten / Regeln / vnd Canonen begriffen werden : Was sie sind / was Krafft / vnd Gewalt in Menschen sind vnd haben / was der vppigen vnuerschampt Leben sey / was die Vntrew sey / was Falsch sey / was hie vnd dort Gutt vnd Böß sey. Vnd ist diser *Paras* der meist vnter den andern / in anzeigung der Seligkeit / mit einer wunderbarlichen Philosophey. Vnd beschleust am letzten / dz allein *Philosophia* sey eins Menschen Fürerin / in aller Vernunfft vnd Verstand / vnd in ihr das recht Leben vnd das wahr Leben : Nit zu achten Götter / noch jhr Gesetz : Alles erklärt / warumb / vnd wie sie seind in ihren Gebotten zu halten / vnd nit mit vnderschetd / als nach der Natur / deßgleichen was dann wider die Natur.

42 Das Dritt Buch.

Der Erste Text.

Ein iedtlichs ding das da ist / muß haben ein *Corpus :* wie sich aber dasselbige nimpt / ist zuwerstahn nit anderst als ein *spiritus fumosus*, der hatt kein Substantz / ist auch kein *Corpus*, ist auch nit greifflich. Vnd wiewol er deren

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Preface to the Fourth *Paras* of Prince THEOPHRASTUS. 40

In this fourth *Paras*, Prince *THEOPHRASTUS* indicates to us what each entity is that exists and that is dead; wherein each abides; how each is regarded; how they are received; and how each comes into its own essence, with or without substance, visible as well as invisible. There we will comprehend the being and life of the *Gubernator*. We will comprehend the highest Good, the optimal Good, the joy and sorrow. After this, it will be made known to the human beings why there are creatures, from whom they stem, from what and to which end they come. Therein it will be elucidated what the body is, what the soul, what is eternal and what is not eternal in its figures. The *Paras* consists of an indication and interpretation of all figures, the current and general status of each. This is *Paras figuralis*, for it explains everything that adorns, polishes, crafts, and alters the figures. Thereby is also taught what is properly done and what this consists of, and what it is good for. It is a complete philosophical instruction | and foundation for all who long to enter into the eternal. Ther- 41
eby it is explained why there are so many kinds of people, so many languages, and so many nations. Why so many faiths, and how there is but one path to the eternal, which does not proceed from faith but solely from justice and piety. Next, how there is a path that leads solely to the celestial, which does proceed from faith, that encompasses all sects of faith and statutes, rules, and canons. It will be explained what they are, as well as powers and authority vested in the human being; in what the luxurious, shameless life consists; what faithlessness is, what wrongness is; and what in either case good and evil consist of. Moreover, this *Paras* more than the others gives instruction regarding the bliss of salvation by way of a wondrous philosophy. It concludes by asserting that *philosophia* is the sole guide of the human being in all reason and understanding and that in it resides the just and true life, not in giving mind to gods and their laws. Everything will be explained, why and how their commandments are to be kept, without departing from nature; and finally, what is contrary to nature.

The Third Book. 42
First Text.

Each thing that exists must have a *corpus*. The latter, however, must be understood to arise as a *spiritus fumosus* which has no substance and is not a *corpus* and indeed not palpable. Though it is neither, yet *corpora* and substance can

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keins nicht ist / so mögen doch auß jhm geboren werden *Corpora* vnd Substantz : Als *Arsenicus*[a] der von jhm gehet / do ist zu verstehen / dz nach der gebierung des Corpus nichts mehr ersehen wird vom *fumo spiritus*, gleich nit anders dann als obs alles zu einem Corpus sey worden : das dann nicht ist / dann es bleibt / dz subtilest noch an derselbigen statt der gebierung. Vnd also ein sichtigs vnd ein vnsichtigs werden mit einander geboren durch die Scheidung. Also in solcher gestalt seind geboren alle ding / das Holtz hatt noch ein *spiritum*, auß dem es gescheiden ist / die Stein dergleichen / vnd also alle ding / nichts vorbeschlossen / sein Wesen ist noch wie es von jhm gescheiden ist. Der Mensch dergleichen ist nicht anders dann[b] das vberig vom separirten *Fumo*. Vnd mercket das also / das gewesen ist ein *spiritus*, vom selbigen Vnflat erhept sich der Mensch / vnd das subtilest ist im *spiritu :* vnnd ist Ein *spiritus*, das ist / ein anzeigung zweyerley Ewiges : Eines Caleruthen[c] / das ander verdienstlich. Das Caleruth ist ein anzeigens in dem ersten Ewigen : das ander begert zu demselbigen / das ist / zu Gott. Vnd das ist ein natürliche vrsache / das alle ding begeren zu dem dauon es kompt / vnd zu den Naturen die es berürt hatt. Dann alles das / damit das vmbgangen ist / das es gemacht hat / gebraucht solches auch / gehet zu demselbigen. Vnd ist do zu verstahn / nicht das eins begert zu dem / der es geschaffen hatt / auß der natürlichen arth / sondern ein jeglichs begert zu dem / auß dem es kompt. Also der Menschlich Leib begert in die Materien darauß er gescheiden ist / vnd nicht zu Gott / denn er kompt nicht von jhm / vnnd dieselbige *Materia* ist ein Leben vnnd ein wohnung / dar-
43 innen das | verdienstlich ewig bleibt : also kompt ein jeglichs ding wider in sein wesen.

Der Ander Text.

Nach dem vnd ein jeglichs ding begert wider an sein erste statt zu kommen / das ist zu dem *Mysterio*, darauß es gescheiden ist : So ist nun zu erkennen / das dasselbige ding ist ein ewiges Leben / vnnd das von jhm kompt / ist ein tödtlichs. Noch so bleibt in den tödtlichen ein Ewigs / das ist die Seel / wie denn anderßwo verstanden wird : vnd so do kommen soll ein tödtlichs ding wider in sein erste statt / so geschicht das nicht anderst / dann in solcher gestalt / daß die bleibenden wider zusammen verfüget werden / als dann ist do die versam-

a Arsenic is widely used in the works and recipes of P. In the *Sieben Defensiones* it is given as an example of the toxic substances that become harmless when duly prepared: "Als ein Exempel von dem **Arsenico**, der der höchsten Gifft eines ist / vnnd ein drachma ein jetlichs Roß tödtet : feür jhn mit *Sale nitri*, so ist es kein Gifft mehr : zehen pfund genossen ist ohn schaden. So sihe / wie die vnderscheid sey / vnd was die Bereittung thue" (H 2:172).

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be borne of it. It is as when *arsenicus* is borne from it.[1] This shows that after the generation of the corpus nothing more is apparent of the *fumus spiritus*, as if everything had turned into the corpus. But this is not so, for it abides in the subtlest form in the same place after the generation. Hence, visible and invisible emerge together from the separation. In this form all things are generated. Wood has still a *spiritus* from which it is separated. The same is true of stone and of all other things without exception. The essence remains what it was from the separation. The same for the human being that is nothing other than what remains from the separated *fumus*. Note as well that this used to be a *spiritus*. From the same scum arises the human being, and it is the subtlest in the *spiritus*, and it is a *spiritus*. This points to a twofold eternal aspect: one which is *caleruth;* the other which is merited.[2] *Caleruth* is an indication of the first eternal being; the second longs for the same, namely for God. This involves a natural cause whereby all things long to return to that from which they come and to those associated natures. For everything that has been involved with it and that has been made by it has need of the same and goes to it. This does not mean that the thing longs for its creator in the mode of nature; but rather that it longs to return to that from which it comes. Thus, the human body longs to return unto the material from which it has been separated, not to God, for it does not come from him. The aforesaid *materia* is a life and dwelling in which that which is merited | abides eternally. Hence, every entity returns to 43
its essence.

Second Text.

Inasmuch as each entity longs to return to the place from which it first proceeded, namely to the *mysterium* from which it has been separated, we can recognize that it has an eternal life, while that which comes from it has a mortal one. Yet in those perishable things something eternal abides, the soul, as can be understood elsewhere; hence, when a perishable thing is destined to return to its origin, this takes place when the abiding entities are joined back together, when the convocation and unification of all things will occur. How-

b An asterisk after this word in the original edition suggested a doubtful reading. It was left there by Huser.

c This word of unknown origin only appears in this chapter.

1 The correct Latin form is usually *arsenicum*. On roasting a mineral ore containing arsenic, the latter sublimates before condensing into solid substance.

2 For an interpretation of this chapter and the next see Kahn 2019, 463 (Kahn 2022, 51).

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lung vnnd einigung der dingen. Aber die Form vnd Substantz der verstandnen vnd vnverstandnen / kompt auß demselbigen *spiritu Fumi* nicht anderst / dann wie auß einem Gewülck ein Hagel oder Strahl / der ist Corporalisch / vnd die Materien darauß er worden ist / dieselbige bleibt vnsichtbar. Darumb ist zu verstahn / das alle ding werden auß dem vnsichtbarn / vnd doch ohn schaden desselben / vnd alle mal hatt dieselbige *Materia* widerumb solchs zu geberen. Also auß dem kompt / daß die gantze Welt wirt zergehen wie ein Schnee / vnd wird widerumb kommen in dieselbige Materien des *spiritus Fumi*, vnd sich vereinigen ohn alles greifflichs Wesen. Demselbigen nach mag wider geboren werden / das Erst. Vnd wirdt auch erkennt do / das kein Geschöpff ist / das do geboren ist / sonder wol geschaffen : Dann also hatts das höchst Gutt verordnet im Anfang aller dingen / das also ein jeglichs ding kompt auß dem vnsichtbaren / vnd wird also Corporalisch : vnd widerumb kompt es von dem Corpus / vnd wirdt wider vnsichtbar : als dann vereinigen sie sich wider / vnd werden in die Erste Materien gebracht. Aber so sie also vereinigt werden / so haben sie doch in jhnen ein vnderscheidt vnnd ein theilung : das ein ist deß andern Herberg / das ander ein Inwohner der Herberg. Dann das ist eins jeglichen dinges wohnung / entpfindtlichs vnd vnentpfindtlichs / muß alles wider an die end / es sey im verstandt oder im vnuerstandt / so bleibt nichts dahinden / es wirt wider an sein wohnung erscheinen / auß der es gescheiden ist.

44 Der Dritt Text.

Also auch ein jedlicher *Corpus* oder Substantz / das do greifflich / ist nichts anders dann allein ein Rauch der do Coaguliert ist. Vnd do ist zuverstahn / daß die Coagulierung mancherley sey. Eine inclinirt auff Holtz / ein auff Stein / ein auff Metallen : aber der *Corpus* ist nichts dann ein *Fumus*, der auffraucht auß der Materien oder Matrix / darinn er ist. Als was auß dem Erdtrich wächst / dasselbige ist ein Rauch auß dem *liquore Mercurij*, der manichfaltig ist / vnnd manichfaltig Rauch gibt / auff Kreutter / Beum vnd ander. Vnd so bald derselbige Rauch auß seim *Primum* gehet / so bald er auß der Matrix kompt an die berürung frembds Luffts / oder anstösset / so bald ist es Coaguliert : vnnd treibt also den Rauch für vnd für auff / im selbigen zugeschwellen so lang vnd dasselbige seüd / also lange wächst es : vnd so es nimmer seüd / so reucht es auch nimmer : also end sich dann die Coagulation vnd das wachsen. Ein Holtz ist ein Rauch vom *Derses*, im selbigen ist diese *specifica*, auß der ein Holtz wirdt : Nicht allein auß demselbigen Rauch / wol möglich auß anderer Dersi-

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ever, the form and substance of the entities with and without reason proceed from that very *spiritus fumi* in no other manner than from a cloud hail or lightning come, these being corporeal while the material from which they proceed remains invisible.[1] From this we comprehend that all things proceed from that which is invisible without loss to it, and that all the while this same *materia* can continue to bring forth what it generates. Hence, the entire world will also pass away, like snow that melts, and return to the same material of the *spiritus fumi*, becoming reunited without any sort of palpable substance. By the same token, what was first can be reborn. Moreover, it makes sense that no creature has been born but rather created. For the supreme good has ordained in the beginning of all things that each entity should proceed from the invisible and become corporeal; and that it will in turn proceed back out of its corpus and become invisible again, whereupon the entities will be reunited and conducted back into the first material. Yet in the reunited state, they maintain a distinction and division: they are either the lodging or the lodger, one for the other. For there is a dwelling for everything, whether it is sensate or insensate, into which it must pass again in the end, whether it has reason or none. Nothing will be left out. It will return to its dwelling place from which it was separated.

Third Text. 44

So it is that each and every *corpus* or substance that is palpable is nothing other than a smoke that has coagulated. Moreover, it must be understood that there are various kinds of coagulation. The one is disposed to wood, the other to stone, a third to metals; however, the *corpus* in each case is nothing but a *fumus* which rises up out of the material or matrix in which it abides. By the same measure, what grows out of the earth is smoke from the *liquor mercurii*, which is of many kinds giving off many sorts of vapors disposed to plants, trees, and other things of the kind. As soon as that particular smoke ascends from its *primum*, leaving its matrix and coming into contact with an alien air and colliding with it, the smoke immediately coagulates. Thus, the vapor is driven ever forth, becoming inflated in the air; as long as it seethes, the growth continues. When it no longer seethes, the vapor stops. The coagulation comes to an end and with it the growth. Wood consists of smoke from *derses*[2] in which there is that *specifica* out of which wood comes into being; and not only from that

1 This comparison can be related to that about arsenic at the beginning of the first chapter (H 8:42).

2 The word *derses* seems like a distant echo of the Greek *drus*, "oak," from which the word *dryads* (the tree nymphs of ancient Greek mythology) is derived.

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scher Materien. Dergleichen *Leffas* ist ein Materien die do seüd / vnd auß jrem Rauch gahnd alle Kreütter : dann allein die Kreütterische Praedestination ist ein *Leffa*, vnd in keim andern. Dann Gott ist mehr wunderbarlich in *specificis*, dann in andern allen Naturen. *Stannar* ist die Mutter der Metallen / vnd gibt *primam materiam Metallorum* auß jhrem Rauch. Denn alle Metallen seind nichts / dann ein Coagulierter Rauch auß dem *Stannar*. Vnd *Enur*[a] ist der Rauch der Steinen. Vnnd also alles das / so Corporalisch ist / wirdt nit anderst angesehen / dann als ein Coagulierter Rauch / darinn sein *specifica praedestinatio* ist / vnnd werden auch alle wider zergahn als der Rauch. Dann das *specificum* das do Coaguliert / ist nicht mehrers[b] krafft dann auff ein zergenckliche zeit : Also auch in der Coagulierung zuverstahn : vnnd werden alle *Corpora* zu letzt in Rauch zergahn vnd verschwinden / vnd sonst nirgents sich enden / dann durch den Rauch / der ist die verzerung lebendiger vnd todter *Corporalium*.

45

Der Vierdte Text.

Der Mensch ist ein Coagulierter Rauch[c] : Dann allein auß den siedenden Dämpffen deß Leibes / vnnd Samischen Gliedern wirdt ein Coagulierung der *Materiae Spermaticae :* Wirdt also auch in ein Dampff wieder werden / vnnd in ein Rauch : Gehet wieder hin wie er her ist kommen. Darneben so sehen wir an vns selber nichts anders / dann ein Menschen / Coagulierten Rauch / auß Menschlicher Praedestination geformiert. Vnd alles so do eingenommen wirdt vnnd gessen / das ist alles ein Coagulierter Rauch von *Liquoribus*. Darumb so dasselbige gessen ding eingenommen wirdt / so wird es verzehrt durch das Leben / in der Gestalt / das die Coagulierung wieder wirdt auffgethan vnd auffgeloßt / wie ein Eiß in der Sonnen / vnnd darnach vergeht dahin / wie ein Rauch im Lufft. Dann das Leben verzehret alle ding / vnnd ist der Geist der Verzehrung aller *Corporalium* vnnd Substantzen. Vnd ist also do zu wissen von der Scheidung *Mysterij digesti :* Dann so ein jedlich ding wieder soll kommen an sein Wesen / dauon es kommen ist / vnnd wirdt gessen / so wirdt es mit dem Leben verzehrt : Dasselbig ist allein in denn / die do nicht Transmutiert werden. Dann die Transmutierung läßt sich nicht hindersich treiben[d] / vnnd ein jedli-

a *Derses, Leffa*, and *Stannar* are terms that occur only in this chapter. See vis-à-vis. *Enur* also occurs in the spurious *Liber Azoth* (H 10A:21–22).

b An asterisk after this word in the original edition suggested a doubtful reading. It was left there by Huser.

c The human being as a "Coagulierter Rauch" or coagulated smoke is peculiar to this work.

d This statement about transmutation occurs in various works of P. (as in book 2 of the *Grosse Wundartzney*, H C:90b, 95c). It reflects more generally the sense of transmutation in medi-

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one kind of smoke but quite possibly from other dersic materials. By the same measure, *leffas* is a material that seethes so that from its smoke all vegetation proceeds. Nothing but vegetative predestination amounts to a *leffa*, and nothing else. For God is more miraculous in the *specifica* than in all other natures. *Stannar* is the mother of the metals,[1] yielding *prima materia metallorum* from its vapor. For all metals are nothing but a coagulated smoke from the *stannar*. Moreover, *enur* is the smoke of the stones. And everything corporeal must be regarded as a coagulated smoke in which its *specifica praedestinatio* resides, so that all of these will in turn pass away as smoke. For the *specificum* which becomes coagulated has no power that exceeds its appointed time, so that all *corpora* will in the end pass into smoke and disappear, ending up in no other condition than that of the vapor which constitutes the disintegration of the living and dead *corpora*.

Fourth Text. 45

The human being is coagulated smoke. For from the mere seething vapors of the body and the seminal members there emerges a coagulation of *materia spermatica*, which will turn again into a vapor or smoke, passing back to whence it came. Thus we should not see ourselves as anything else than a human coagulated smoke formed from human predestination. Moreover, everything ingested and eaten is no less a coagulated vapor of *liquores*. Hence, when the thing eaten is ingested it is consumed by life itself in such a manner that the coagulation is again loosened and dissolved like ice in the sun, after which it passes away like smoke in the air. For life consumes all things. Life is the spirit of the consummation of all *corporalia* and substances. We can understand in this way the separation of the *mysterium digesti*. For inasmuch as each thing is to return unto its essence from which it proceeded and is being eaten, it is consumed along with life. This occurs only in those that are not transmuted. For the transmutation cannot be reversed; and every transmutation occurs by way of life. Therefore, that which is transmuted transforms itself into the fleeting

eval physics: transmutation changes the substantial form permanently in a non-reversible way. See the whole discussion of medieval alchemy in Newman 2004.

1 The word *stannar* seems to be forged on the Latin *stannum*, that usually means "tin," a synonym of which is *plumbum album* (white lead). Lead was often considered as the prime matter of the other metals. As an example, the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De perfecto magisterio* stated that lead is cold and dry in its exterior, yet it is a warm and moist gold in its depth (*in sua profunditate*)—J.-J. Manget, *Bibliotheca chemica curiosa* (Geneva 1702), vol. 1, 641b.

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che Transmutierung geschicht durch das Leben. Also verwandlet sich die Transmutatz in die Zergengnuß deß Leibs : Aber es wirdt wieder vom Leib gescheiden. Dann in seiner Feulung hatt die *Transmutatio* kein Krafft mehr / vnnd in der Putrefaction kommt *Mysterium digesti* hernach : In dem scheiden sich von einander alle *Proprietates*, die der Mensch an jhm hatt gehabt von Kreuttern / von andern dergleichen / ein jedlichs in sein Wesen. Vnd ist dz ein Scheidung / gleich wie zehen oder zwölfferley vermischet werden / vnd wieder von einander außgezogen / jedlichs in sein sonder Wesen. Also ist Essen nicht anderst / dann ein Aufflösung der *Corporum :* Darumb die Materien der Corporen gesehen wird / im kotzen / im scheissen : Das es also ist ein stinckender Rauch / mit gutem vermischt : Vnd die Natur laufft allein auff das subtile gantz vnd gar / vnd dz grob schütt sie auß. Dann Stein / Metallen vnd Erd / werden alle auffgelöset vom Leben / vnd sonst in jhnen kein aufflösüng mehr von dem Corpus / als durch dz Leben.

46 Der Fünffte Text.

So ist dergleichen zuverstehn / wie ein jedlichs an sich nimmt sein Wesen : Ist nicht anderß zu vergleichen / dann wie das Fewr dz auß einem härtten Stein kommt vnd flambt / vnd brennet vber alle natürliche erkenndtnuß. Wie das verborgene ding deß Fewrs ein vrsprung nimbt / vnnd darnach in ein Wirckung kommt : In solcher Form vnd Gestalt kommt auch das Wesen in die Natur. Erkennen / das am ersten gewesen ist ein Ding ohn alle neigung vnd gattung / auß dem alle ding entsprungen seindt : Dieser Vrsprung ist niche anderst gewesen / dann wie ein Temperierte Farb / die ist an jhr selbst Braun / vnd hatt kein neigung in jhr zu keiner andern Farb / stehet in gantzer Temperierung / vnnd seindt doch in jhr alle Farben : Darauß mag werden gescheiden gutt Rott / gutt Grün / gutt Blaw / gutt Gelb / gutt Weiß / gutt Schwartz : Vnd deren Farben ein jedliche gibt viel blinder Farben / vnd ein jedliche ist in jhr selber wol geferbet. Vnd wiewol der Farben viel seindt vnd wiederwertig in jhnen / noch seindt sie alle vnder Einer Farben verborgen. Also auch ein jedlichs ding sein Wesen gehabt hatt im *Mysterio magno*, vnd durch den öbristen Werckmeyster gescheiden. Der Crystall giebt Fewr / nicht auß Fewr natur / sondern durch sein stercke mit der Härtte. Er hatt auch in jhm die andern Element / nicht Wesentlich / sondern Materialisch / ein brennends Fewr / ein wehende Lufft / ein naß Wasser / vnd ein Schwartz truckens Erdtreich : Vber die alle hatt er in der vermischung seiner Qualitet alle Farben / sie seindt aber in jhm verborgen / gleich wie dz Fewr im Stahel / das nicht ersehen wirdt / weder mit brennen noch mit seim Schein noch Farben. In solcher gestalt alle Farben vnd Element in eim jedlichem ding ligendt / in jhrem rechten Wesen / wie sie dann seindt in jhren

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nature of the body. But it is again separated from the body, for in its putrefaction the *transmutatio* no longer has any force; after the putrefaction comes the *mysterium digesti* in which all *proprietates* part from one another which the human being has contained from the herbs or other things of the kind with each returning to its essence. It is a separation of the kind that occurs when ten or twelve things have been mixed together and then extracted, each back to its own kind. Hence, eating is nothing but the dissolution of the *corpora*. This is why the materials of those *corpora* can be seen in vomiting or defecating. It is a stinking vapor mixed with that which is good. Moreover, nature tends solely toward that which is wholly subtle and good, rejecting whatever is coarse. Stone, metal, and earth are all dissolved by the life process; there can be no dissolution of their corpus except by the life process.

Fifth Text. 46

In the same way, we can understand how it is that each thing embraces its essence. It can be compared to the way fire emerges from a hard stone and flashes and burns beyond all natural knowledge. Note how the hidden being of the fire originates and then has its effect. In the same manner the essence enters into nature. Let it be known that first there was a thing without any inclination or species out of which all things originated. This source can be compared to a tempered color, in itself brown, with no inclination toward any distinct hue, abiding in a perfectly tempered mode, yet containing in itself all other colors. From it can be extracted and separated out pure red, pure green, pure blue, pure yellow, pure white, pure black; and these in turn yield many lusterless colors, each in itself well defined. Though the colors are many and contrasting, they were all hidden in the single color. Likewise, each thing had its own essence in the *Mysterium Magnum* and was separated out by the supreme craftsman. Crystal yields fire, not from the nature of fire, but through the potency of its hardness. It also bears the other elements, not substantially but materially: a burning fire, a wafting air, a moistening water, and a black dry earth. Beyond all that, it bears in the mixture of its qualities all colors; but these are all hidden within it, as is in steel the fire that cannot be seen, neither by flame, radiance, or color. In this way, all colors and elements lie dormant in the true essence of each thing, as revealed by their works where nothing is concealed. As to how

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Wercken anzeigen / nichts verborgen. Nuhn wie solchs in solche ding kommt / dasselbig ist zu erkennen / das nicht anders darein kommt / dann durch den / der aller ding ein Macher ist.

Der Sechst Text.

Vnnd wiewol vnsichtig die Natur ligt in den *Corporibus* vnnd Substantz / als
47 bemeldt ist : So merck aber / das die | vnsichtigkeit zu sichtigkeit kommt / durch das *medium* der *Corpora :* Vnnd wie sein Wesen ist / also wirdts sichtiglich ersehen in Tugenden vnd Farben. Aber die vnsichtbaren *Corpora* haben nicht andern verstandt / dann ein solchen Corporalischen. Darumb so mercke / das die Vnsichtbaren in jhnen haben alle Element / vnnd die in allem Element wircken. Sie haben auß jhnen zu lassen das Fewr vnnd Krafft jhres Elements : Den Lufft dergleichen / wie ein Mensch den Athem : Das Wasser / wie ein Mensch den Harn : vnd seindt auch Erdischer Natur / vnnd nemmen sich vom Erdtreich. Verstandt aber das in dem Wege / das der *Liquor Terrae* alle Tag seüdt / vnnd den subtilisten Geist der in jhm ist / von jhm in die Höch treibt. Von diesen werden geneert die Vnsichtbarn vnd das Firmament : Vnd mügen ohn den Dunst nicht sein. Dann Corporalisch vnnd Vncorporalisch muß alles gessen vnnd getruncken haben : Auß der vrsachen kommen Stein von der Erden / aber auß dem gleichmessigen Geist jhrer Natur. Dann ein jedlicher hatt an sich das sein gezogen : Die Anwath[a] kommen auß solchen / die Fewrenden[b] Tracken werden darauß / vnnd anderst dergleichen mehr. Vnnd so man also die vnsichtbaren / gleich wie die sichtbaren in jhrem Wesen seindt / so haben sie dasselbige auß der Natur *Mysterij magni :* Wie das Holtz das do brenndt von einem Liecht / vnnd dem ohn schaden vnd nachtheil oder minderung. Vnnd wiewol es nicht Corporalisch ist / so muß es doch ettwas Corporalisch haben / dz dasselbige enthalt vor seim Todt / das geschicht durch Holtz : Also auch alle Vnsichtbare müssen durch dz Sichtbare enthalten werden / geführt vnd genehrt. Darneben so werden sie mit demselbigen zergehen vnnd enden / vnnd

a The original text has "an* wath," corrected by Huser into "Anwath." This word occurs only on three other pages in the works of P. Grimm does not know any other occurrence. The word, derived from "anwehen," seems to denote an exhalation or incorporeal influence: "So viel mögend wir wissen / warauß ein solche zerbrüchligkeit auß dem Leib komme / das nemlich durch die Anatomey / daß der Mensch in so vilerlerley Stuck gesetzt ist / die nicht alle zu erzehlen sind. Darzu auß dem Firmament / so vilerley Impressiones, vnd so viel Anwäht von den Elementen / welche / so sie alle zusammen kommen / Einen Menschen machen" (*Grosse Wundartzney*, H C:8ova). The context is different in *Von der Bergsucht*: "So nuhn außwendig zauberische Fewr vnd Anwaht gesehen werden / so sind sie auch in Bergen. Nuhn ist

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those come into these, it must be understood that nothing comes in except through the one who is a maker of all things.

Sixth Text.

Though, as demonstrated, their nature lies invisibly in the *corpora* and substances, let it be known that | the invisible becomes visible through the *medium* of 47
the *corpora*. As is their essence, so it becomes visible in its virtues and colors. The invisible *corpora* have no other meaning than this corporeal being. Let it therefore be known that the invisible things contain within them all the elements and act in the elements. From their being they permit fire and the powers of their element. Likewise, air, like the human being emits his breath; water, like the human being releases urine; and they are also of earthly nature and are taken from the earth. It must be understood in the sense that the *liquor terrae* constantly seethes, causing the subtlest spirit contained in it to rise up high out of it. This nourishes the invisible entities and the firmament. They cannot be without the vapor, for whatever is corporeal or incorporeal must invariably have eaten and drunk. For the same reason stones emerge from the earth, that is, from the spirit of their nature akin to them, for each has drawn its own to itself. Magical breezes[1] arise from the same source. The fiery dragons[2] originate the same way as do other things of the kind. Thus, the fact that the invisible things are like the visible ones in their essence comes from it deriving from the nature of the *Mysterium Magnum*. So it is that a piece of wood can burn with a light that incurs thereby no harm or diminution. Though not corporeal, it must nonetheless have something corporeal that sustains it prior to its death, which occurs through the wood. In the same way, all invisible things must be sustained, guided, and nourished by the visible realm. Moreover, they will pass away

jhr vrsprung also / so ein Geist dem Menschen gleich ist in seim thun vnd wercken / so kan er sie auch / nach dem vnd sein art ist [...] Also schiessen [die Geister] Dracken vnd dergleichen ander Figuren / so nicht natürlich sind : Also werden auch Anwaht vnd dergleichen die auch nit natürlich sind" (H 5:66).

b The original edition has "fürenden." Huser made the spelling more comprehensible.

1 Palthen translated "Anwath" as *spectra*, apparently due to a misunderstanding of the occurrences in *Von der Bergsucht* (see vis-à-vis).

2 The association of "Anwath" and "Fewrenden Tracken" makes obvious that the author knew the passage of *Von der Bergsucht* already quoted. See vis-à-vis, and H 5:73: "Darbey auch wissendt vom Anwaht / vnnd Drackenschuß / so sich in den Bergen auch begeben / in alle Artzney Auriculam Muris zuthun : Dann vrsach / in derselbigen ist ein sondere Eigenschafft / die ding zu gewältigen / vnnd zuvertreiben."

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aber jhr Wirckung vnnd jhr Werbung ist in jhnen selbst / vnnd das ohn schaden der andern : Es werdt dann ein Außgüß derselbigen / lehrnet das Leibliche vnnd Sichtliche : Wiewol es durch Vnsichtbars geschicht / vnd im. Sichtbarn empfunden wirdt.

Reliqua (*sine dubio enim vlteriùs progressus est Author*) *non habentur*.[a]

a The original edition bears a slightly different note: *Reliqua, si quae deerant, desiderabantur* ("The remainder, if there were anything lacking, was missing"). In rewriting this, Huser sought to dispel any doubt that the work might have been left unfinished.—Note that the pages that follow in Huser between 48 and 53 pertain to a treatise not incorporated here: *Fragmentum Principii Operis Anatomiae Theophrasti*.

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and come to an end along with it, yet their action and operation lie within them without harm to the others, unless they overflow or erupt. It teaches the physical and visible, albeit their processes occur by way of the invisible registered in the visible realm.

Reliqua (*sine dubio ulterius progressus est Author*) *non habentur.*

[The remainder (for the author has undoubtedly gone further) is unavailable.][1]

1 With this sentence Huser (see vis-à-vis) suggested that the work was not unfinished, but that its end had still to be unearthed.

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[*PHILOSOPHIA*
DE GENERATIONIBUS ET FRUCTIBUS
QUATUOR ELEMENTORUM][a]

54

PHILOSOPHIA PHILIPPI[b] *THEOPHRASTI* *Paracelsi.*

Vor dem vnnd von den 4. Elementen angefangen werd / zu declariren das / so jhr Philosophey innhalt : Soll ein *Philosophus* am ersten wissen den anfang eines jedtlichen dinges / wie dasselbig an jhm selbst sey : Als dann in die Natur gehnd / vnd das Liecht auß jhr nemmen / vnd darauß Philosophiren / was die Hand probiren mag / das sich dann also in der Natur findt. Nuhn aber hie in die Philosophey *de Generationibus* zu gohn der 4. Elementen / wollen wir anfenglich von dem Philosophiren / das auß Nichts Ettwas geworden sey / vnd das in den weg. Vor dem vnd die 4. Elementen gewesen sind / Himmel / Firmament / Erden vnnd Wasser / do ist am selbigen orth / so weitt das begreifft / das Paradiß gestanden / vnd ist auß dem Paradiß das geworden / das es nit ist / vnnd ist gerückt an ein ander statt.[c]

(*Praecedentia haec Author ipse lineis obduxerat : His autem subiecerat ea, quae post Schedulam sequuntur.*)

Schedula.

Anfenglich vor allen Elementen ist der *Aër* am ersten außgezogen worden[d] / vnd ist der Lufftisch *Mercurius, Sulphur* vnd *Sal*, nit Corporalisch / nit Materia-

a A proper title-page is lacking. This title is only given by Huser in the Table of contents. See our introduction, on 18.

b Since this given name never appeared before the epitaph of Paracelsus, first printed in 1554, its appearance here is likely due to Huser, despite the fact that the text is printed from the autograph manuscript.

c The transformation of the Earthly Paradise into the perishable elemental world alluded to in this passage (see vis-à-vis) does not seem to appear in P.'s theological works. We thank Urs Leo Gantenbein for this observation.

d An almost identical statement is found in the section *De Ente Astrorum* of the *Volumen Medicinae Paramirum* (see above, 67 note c). On this section and its possible relation to the present work see below, H 8:61, note a.

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[*PHILOSOPHIA*
DE GENERATIONIBUS ET FRUCTIBUS
QUATUOR ELEMENTORUM]
[Philosophy of the generations and the fruits of the four elements]

PHILOSOPHY OF PHILIPPUS THEOPHRASTUS PARACELSUS

Now to begin[1] with the four elements and to announce the content of their philosophy. Before everything else, a *philosophus* should know the origin of each thing, what it is in itself. One must enter nature and derive the light of understanding from it, philosophizing on the basis of that which can be tested by hand, which therefore resides in nature. So, proceeding now into the philosophy *de generationibus* of the four elements, we intend to begin by speculating as to how out of nothing something originated. It is as follows. Before the four elements existed as heavens, firmament,[2] earth, and water, paradise abided in their exact place; but it happened not to be there any longer and relocated to another place.[3]

(*Praecedentia haec Author ipse lineis obduxerat : His autem subiecerat ea, quae post Schedulam sequuntur.*)

[This author himself crossed out the preceding lines, replacing them with the following notice.]

Schedula

[Notice]

In the beginning, before all other elements, *aër* has been extracted [from a primal source].[4] It was the aerial *mercurius, sulphur*, and *sal*, not yet corporeal or

1 These two introductory paragraphs have a status explained by Huser's Latin description of the autograph manuscript. P. actually cancelled the present paragraph and replaced it with the following "Notice" (*Schedula*), the end of which breaks off. See vis-à-vis.

2 In the third chapter of this book, P. explains that "the heavens" are the element of air, "the firmament" the element of fire (H 8:57); see Kahn 2016, 78–79. Thus, we could say that P. favors Plato's *Timaeus* (40a–b) over Aristotle's *De caelo*. See Grant 1994, 189.

3 On these ideas about the place of the Earthly Paradise, see below, H 8:57–58.

4 See below, H 8:59, 64–65.

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lisch / sondern vnsichtbar in seiner Form / vnd vngreifflich. Dieses Elements anfang ist wie der anfang aller Elementen in dem weg. Ein jedlichs Element stehet in dreyen Ersten / das ist / in dreyen dingen. Auß den dreyen wachsen alle die ding / so auß den Elementen gehnd / das ist der *Sulphur, Mercurius* vnd *Sal*, ohn die drey ist kein Element. Dann die drey machen ein jedtlichs Element / vnd was auß jhnen wachst / dasselbig steht darinn. Nuhn aber / sie seind mancherley / nach dem vnd das Element ist : Nicht daß sie es vom Element nemmen / sonder das Element von jhnen : Gleich als ein *Sapientia*, die in einer Cell ligt / vnd gibt widerwertig vilerley vrtheil : Also dise drey ersten auch.

Plura de his non scripserat Author.

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material but rather invisible and incomprehensible in form.[1] The origin of this element is that of all elements in the following sense. Each element consists of three principles, that is, in three things. From these three proceed all other things coming from the elements: from *sulphur, mercurius*, and *sal*. Without the three, there is no element. For the three constitute every element. Whatever arises out of them abides in them. Yet they vary in accordance with the nature of the element: they do not take that nature from the element; but rather the element from them. Just as the presence of a form of *sapientia* [wisdom] residing in a cell yields many contradictory sorts of directives: so, too, do the three principles.

Plura de his non scripserat Author.

[The author did not write more of that.]

1 This is explained again below (H 8:58–59).

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LIBER PRIMVS
DE ELEMENTO AERIS.

I.

Am ersten ist der *Yliaster*[a] getheilet worden / der dann Nichts ist / vnd hatt geben die 4. Elementen / vnnd gemacht vnd geordnet : vnd ist nur als ein Sahm / auß dem ein Stamm wachst : dann der Sahm / was er hinauß gibt / das nimpt er nit wider zu jhm : Aber dieser *Yliaster* zeucht wider die 4. Element in sich / das zergeht / vnnd wirdt als vor den 4. Elementen gewesen ist / so das *Annus Mundi*[b] hin ist. Der Stamm / der auß dem *Yliastro* geborn ist / das seind die 4. Elementen / gibt kein Sahmen / auß dem ein Kind würd nach disem *Anno Mundi*, das ein anders würd : Sonder die 4. Elementen seind die Mütter vnnd Töchter / deß geschlechts wirdt nach seinem Todt nichts mehr erfunden / sondern wie es ein Anfang hatt / also das Ende auch wirdt / vnnd also alles / das darinn ist / damit hingeht.

Wiewol ein ander Welt hernach folget / die da ist ein Tochter diser / dem Nammen nach / aber nicht der Form / der Essentz / vnd dergleichen. Dann dieselbig wirdt nicht hingehn / sonder wie die Seel bleiben / die geworden ist vnd beschaffen / aber nicht tödtlichen : In dieser auch also.

II.

Nuhn folgt / daß der Ewig Vatter / der nicht allein ein Vatter ist seins Sohns / sonder aller ewigen vnnd tödtlichen / deren die da bleiben / vnnd deren die da

---

a *Yliaster* bears out the same function here as *Mysterium Magnum* in *Philosophia ad Athenienses*. Note the ambiguity on the question of *creatio ex nihilo:* the world was created out of a something which was nothing. This meaning is close to that of *Iliastes* as found in a gloss to the second redaction of *De Gradibus*, known as *Thessalus Secundus*: "*Iliastes* is the prime matter of all things, from which all were born; the *chaos*; the *Iliastes* is made from mercury, sulphur, and salt" (H 7:346: "*ILIASTES prima mater est omnium rerum, ex qua omnia ortum habent, chaos: Iliastes constat ex Mercurio, Sulphure & Sale*"; see also H 7:357 and 387). An entirely different definition of *Iliaster* is given in another gloss (*Alia Scholia in librum secundum de Gradibus*, H 7:382), and the word *Iliastes* is used throughout *De Gradibus* in another meaning. See another medical use of the word in an autograph draft from the tartarus complex likewise related to P.'s teaching in Basel: "Sed quidquid ex internis tribus fuerit de yliastro, scilicet de visco" (H 5:198). Here the stomach is conceived as an *yliaster*, source of the *tria prima* within the human body. Other uses of the word can be found elsewhere: see vis-à-vis.

b Cf. *Annus Platonis*, H 4:143.

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LIBER PRIMVS
DE ELEMENTO AERIS
[Book 1. On the Element of Air]

I.

At first the *yliaster*, which is nothing, was divided to yield, constitute, and array the four elements,[1] like a mere seed from which a stem grows. Yet what a seed sets forth it does not reabsorb into itself; however, this *yliaster* does reabsorb the four elements, disintegrating and returning to the condition before the elements came into being, when *annus mundi*[2] has come to pass. The stem born of the *yliaster*, that is the four elements, yields no other seed for the rebirth of its offspring after the *annus mundi* for its renewal. Rather, the four elements are the mothers and daughters of a line concluded by death without further issue. As it has a beginning, so, too, it has an ending with everything between the two vanishing.

To be sure, another world does follow upon this one as its daughter in a nominal sense; but not in the sense of form, essence, or any such category. For that other world will not vanish. Like the human soul, it will persist eternally. Though it has come into being and been created, it is not perishable. So, too, that other world.

II.

Now it follows that the Eternal Father, who is not merely the father of his son, but also of all eternal and perishable beings, those that persist and those that

1 The word *yliaster* has been interpreted as a combination of *hylè*: prime matter, and *aster*: star. It would literally mean either "the prime matter of stars", or "astral prime matter", or "star of the prime matter". See Goldammer, *Paracelsus in neuen Horizonten*, 269. Here it is used to designate the "nothing" from which the world was created. The ambiguity of a "nothing" which is "something" is found again in *De modo pharmacandi* (H 5, Appendix: 206), a passage cited by Thomas Erastus to prove that P. denied the *creatio ex nihilo* (Erastus 1571, 1:5 and 11; see Kahn 2023).—A number of meanings of the word *Iliaster / Iliastes* (either with *I-* or *Y-*) more or less close to those in *De Gradibus* (see vis-à-vis) can be found throughout the works of P., from the surgical works to the *Labyrinthus medicorum errantium*, not to mention its peculiar use in *De vita longa* (see Kahn 2018, 216–222). In *Three Books on Syphilis*, a fragmentary work related to the *Grosse Wundartzney*, P. even names Gott "the highest *Iliaster*" (H C:413a: "Dann Gott der höchst *Iliaster*, handelt nichts wider die krafft der Natur").

2 See ETW 339 ("*annus Platonis*," "*apokatastasis*"). P. considers the world within the Christian divine plan. Thus his description of creation is immediately followed by mention of the end of the world, typical for Christian commentators who thereby assert the primacy of Creator over creation.

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sterben / vnnd der Seeligen / vnnd der Verdampten / beschaffen hatt die *Domor*, das ist / Himmel vnnd Erden / Firmament vnnd Wasser / darein beschaffen sein Göttlichen Willen / das wir hie nicht weitter melden / sonder *in Para-*
56 *miris*[a] | anzeigen. Er hatt auß einem vnnatürlichen ein natürlichs gemacht / auß dem das kein Natur nie empfunden hatt / vnnd also ein Natur derselbigen nach / auß der andern Natur / nach der Natur lassen geboren werden / biß sein Jahrzeit auß ist / daß das Göttlich Regiment sein *Maiestas* selber besitzt / das / daß jetzt der Mensch besitzt. Wiewol die ersten Natur vngleich sind / also / dz auß der Erden soll ein Birn wachsen / auß dem Sand ein Halm / auß dem Wasser der *Cachymia*, auß dem Himmel der *Chaos*,[b] auß dem Fewr der Schnee. Wie das aber also seltzam ist / vnnd vngleich seinem ersten / darauß es kompt : Soll auß der vrsachen hie Philosophirt werden / daß das Element wasser nicht allein ein Wasser sey / sonder auch ein Mineral : das Element Erden nicht allein ein Erden / sonder auch ein Weintrauben : vnd also die andern. Dann die Philosophey ist vmb sonst / die da sagt / dz Erden ein Element sey / die Nuß nit : das Fewr ein Element / der Schnee nit : oder der da sagt / die 4. Elementen sein in einem jedtlichen ding / das ist alles vergebens.

III.

Die Erden ist ein Element / vnd alles dz von jhr wachst : dz Wasser auch / vnd alles das von jhm kompt : dz Firmament / vnd alles dz von jhm kompt : Als ist das ein Element das da gebieret / vnd ein Element ist ein Mutter[c] / deren seind 4. Lufft / Fewr / Wasser / Erden / auß den 4. Müttern werden alle ding geboren / der gantzen Welt : vnd ist vnnütz geredt / daß dz Element ein Complex an jhm habe / Heiß oder Trocken / Kalt oder Feücht / Kalt oder Trocken / Heiß oder Feücht : dann sie seind alle 4. in jhm : Also zuverstehn : die Erden ist kalt vnd trocken / kalt vnd feucht / heiß vnd trocken / heiß vnd feucht / vnd das

a This title is associated with what Sudhoff called the *"Para*-period" of 1529–1531; however, similar allusions are found in the presumably earliest medical, philosophical, or alchemical writings, as well as in the earliest theological ones.

b Elsewhere in the works of P., *chaos* is an often cited synonym of the element of air: "Dann wie im vordern Capitel hefftig widerredt wirdt / die Narcotische Medicin / ist auß vrsach / das sie vns das lange Leben abbricht / das vns der Himmel / der Chaos / vnd beyde vndere Elementen der Sphera lang setzen vnd geben / welches alles durch vnser verschlaffen eintzogen wirdt" (*Von Vrsprung, Herkommen vnd Anfang der Frantzosen Acht Bücher*—H C:216b).

c The same definition occurs in the *Opus Paramirum*: "So wir wöllen wissen was Elementum sey / so ist es ein Mutter seiner Frucht" (H 1:87).

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pass away, the blessed and the damned, has created the *domor*,[1] that is, the heavens and earth, firmament and water, and has inserted his divine will in them, about which nothing more will be said here but rather will be revealed *in Paramiris*.[2] | From that which was not natural he has created something natural; 56
from that which was entirely alien to nature he has produced a nature, and from it he has let another nature come into being naturally until its season is complete and his divine regency possesses its *maiestas* which is now in man's hands.[3] However, the first natures of things are dissimilar so that out of earth a pear grows; out of sand a blade of grass, out of water *cachymia*,[4] out of the heavens *chaos;*[5] and out of fire snow. How strange it therefore is—how unlike its first form from which it proceeds: it is necessary to discuss it out of its causes; for the element of water is not merely water but mineral as well; the element of earth is not merely earth but a grape as well; and so on with all other things. For any philosophy is baseless that asserts that earth is an element but a nut is not; fire an element but snow is not; or that the four elements are in every entity. All baseless.

III.

The earth is an element and everything that stems from it; the water as well, and everything that comes from it; the firmament likewise and everything that stems from it. Thus an element is that which gives birth; and an element is a mother, of which there are four: air, fire, water, earth.[6] From these four mothers, all things of the entire world are born. Moreover, it is baseless to say that the element contains a complexion in itself, hot or dry, cold or moist, cold or dry, hot or moist, for all four are in it; it must be understood, then, that the earth is cold and dry, cold and moist, hot and dry, hot and moist, and indeed in this

1 The absence of this word in glossaries and dictionaries suggests a Paracelsian neologism constructed to merge *DOM-us* and *creat-OR*: the divine agent with the created realm, in much the same way *yliadus* denotes a creative agency and *yliadum* a place into which created things are transposed in being created.

2 This assertion anticipates or echoes the beginning of *Opus Paramirum*, which states that the human being is made both of nothing and in the three principles (see H 1:68; cf. ETW 301, note 2). From the early theological writings, P. promises sweeping revelations in coming "paramiran" writings. On the various metaphysical, physical, and mystical contexts of his announcements, see Weeks 2016, 105. See also Gantenbein 2020a, 22.

3 *Maiestas*: sovereignty.—The meaning of this sentence is difficult to grasp.

4 See ETW 377, note 3. "Cachymia" is an immature *minera* (ore), neither salt nor metal.

5 On *chaos*, see below, H 8:59 and 61–62.

6 See vis-à-vis. This definition should be compared with those of *De Meteoris* (H 8:178) and *De Elemento Aeris* (H 8:284).

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also. Was auß der Erden wechst / das heiß vnd trocken ist / dasselb wachst auß dem / das heiß vnd trocken ist in der Erden : Also was kalt vnd feucht ist / das wechst auß dem Element *Terrae*, das in jhm ist / kalt vnd feücht ist. Also vom Fewr gehnd auch dergleichen 4. Complexen auß : der Schnee / vnnd wachst auß dem / das im Element Fewr kalt vnnd trocken ist : der Strahl / vnd wachst auß dem das heiß vnd trocken ist / vnd also von dem andern. Darumb [wir] hie anfenglich euch zu verstehn geben / das jhr nit nach den Complexionen
57 die Element setzen / sonder | nach jhrer Form / das ist / wie die 4. Mütter an jhnen haben. Die Erden ist Materialisch / Lutosisch / Conglutinosisch / sie sey dann heiß oder trocken / kalt oder feucht / so ist sie also. Das Wasser ist naß / entpfindtlich / greifflich : aber nit Corporalisch noch Materialisch / vnd ist ein Element / es sey kalt oder heiß. Das Fewr ist dz Firmament / vnd ist das Fewr / wiewol es heiß an eim orth ist / am andern kalt.[a] Der Lufft ist der Himmel / der es alles beschleust / vnd ist heiß vnd kalt / trocken vnd feucht / wie dann hernach folgt.

IIII.

Nuhn aber dz wir kommen zu vnserm Anfang / von den Elementen / ist ein solchs zu verstahn / das am ersten das *Iliaster* zu 4. theil getheilt ist : In den Lufft / der ist der Himmel / der es alles beschleußt : In das Fewr / das ist dz Firmament / das Liecht vnd Nacht gibt / Kalt vnd Warm : In die Erden / die alle Frücht gibt / vnnd den Tritt deß Fusses : In das Wasser / auß dem alle Mineral kommen / vnd die halb nahrung der Lebendigen.

Zwo Nahrung seind hie / Eine im Lufft vnd im Fewr / die ander in der Erden vnd im Wasser. Die obern zwey nehrend vns als Geistlich / vnsichtbarlich : die vntern Materialisch vnd Corporalisch. Diese 4. Element seind zu zwen Parteyen gemacht : die Ein ist der Lufft vnd dz Fewr / die ander die Erden vnd dz Wasser. Der Lufft hebt das Fewr / die Erden das Wasser : der Lufft vnd das Fewr heben die Erden vnd das Wasser / vnnd sie beyde den Lufft vnd Fewr : vnd seind also beschaffen / daß je eins das ander hebt / braucht vnd neert. Also ist der *Iliaster* getheilt / das in einem *Domor* ist / der hatt zwo Globeln / die eusser / vnnd die inner / jedlichs mit zwey Elementen. Ausserthalb ist nichts / das vns wis-

a A similar idea is expressed in *Das ander Buch der Grossen Wundartney*: "Also ist auch das Element Fewer / das Firmament deß Himmels / vnd was in jhm begriffen wirdt / heiß vnd kalts / als Sonn vnd Mon / Truckens vnd Naß / als Schnee vnd Wasser / etc." (H C:70a). Other mentions of "Firmament" and "Lufft" in the *Grosse Wundartney* contradict those expressed in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H C:79a). In the latter, firmament and heaven are entirely dissociated: they are two different elements.

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way: Anything hot and dry that grows out of the earth grows from something in it that is hot and dry. Likewise, whatever cold and damp that grows out of the element of *terra* grows from that which is cold and damp within it. Likewise, from fire come also the four complexions: Indeed, the snow grows out of that which is cold and dry in the element of fire. Indeed, the lightning grows out of that which is hot and dry; and the same is true with the other elements. For this reason, we begin by making it clear to you that you should not conceive the elements after the complexions but rather | after their form, i.e. which forms the 57
four mothers have within them.[1] Earth is material, muddy, conglutinous, whether it be hot or dry, cold or damp: that is how it is. Water is moist, perceptible, tangible, but not corporeal or material. Yet it is still an element no matter whether it is hot or cold. Fire is the firmament and is fiery, even though it is hot in one place and cold in another. Air is the heavens which encompass all. Yet it may be either hot and cold, or dry and damp, as I will explain in what follows.

IV.

But before we come to our account of the origin of the elements, this must be understood clearly: at the beginning, the *iliaster* has been divided into four parts: into the air that constitutes the all-encompassing heavens; the fire that constitutes the firmament which yields the light and night, warmth and cold; the earth which yields all manner of fruit and sustains our footsteps; and the water from which proceed all minerals and half the nourishment of the living.

There are two nourishments: the one in the air and fire; the other in earth and water. The upper ones nourish us spiritually and invisibly;[2] the lower ones materially and corporeally. These four elements have been made in two parts: the one is air and fire; the other earth and water. The air holds up the fire; the earth the water. Air and fire hold up earth and water; and these two the air and fire. Both halves are made in such a way that each one sustains, serves, and nourishes the other. Thus, the *iliaster* has been divided so that it occupies a single *domor* consisting of two globules, the outer one and the inner, each with two elements. Beyond them, there is nothing that we know of. Within lies that

1 We interpret the German text according to Palthen's Latin translation: "[…] *sed secundum ipsorum formas, hoc est, quales in se quatuor matrices habent*" (Palthen 1603–1605, 2:255a).

2 This statement hints at P.'s conception of the sidereal body, issued from the stars and imparting knowledge from the stars. See our note on the German text, H 8:92, and our note on H 8:331.

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sen sey : Innerthalb was wir sehen vnd greiffen / vnd dz vns dz Liecht der Natur anzeigt. Aber der / der es beschaffen hatt / ist nit bey vns / sondern ausserthalb : aber der ist bey vns / der von jhm geboren ist. Darumb wir allein / als die Natur außweist / durch jhr anzeigen / von den 4. Elementen Philosophiren wöllen.

V.

Am ersten der Beschaffung / ist das *Corpus* der 4. Elementen beschaffen wor-
58 den / in der Form / die Weitte | so von Himmel gezogen ist vnd genommen / vnd zergenglich gemacht / nemlich / so weitt der *Aër* vmbfaßt / ist gewesen der Stuel Gottes / vnnd der *Centrum*[a] seins Reichs / auß welchem *Centro* ist die Welt beschaffen / also / daß tödtlich vnnd zergenglich durch Gott beschaffen ist.

Nuh aber zu verstohn von diesen / ist zu wissen / das auß disem *Centro* die Welt geworden ist / vnnd Materialisch gemacht / auff diesem Stul ist *Christvs* am Creutz gehangen / auff diesem Stul seind gesessen die Propheten / vnd ist sein Schemel seiner Füß. Das da ist Materialisch vnnd Leiblich geworden Gott vnnd sein Werck / der *Centrum* seins Reichs vnnd sein Stul.

Also ist anfenglich zu wissen / vor dem vnnd die Philosophey angeht / das Gott den *Centrum* seins Himmels zergenglich / vnd sich selbs gemacht hat. Dann wie er leiblich ein Sohn geheissen wirdt / also ist die Welt sein Hauß. Wie sie nuhn also beschaffen ist / vnd geworden / ist zu wissen / daß sie nicht also hingeht als herkommen ist / sonder da werden bleiben von Menschen das Hertz / vnd von der Welt das Geblüw.

---

a Two peculiarities characterize P.'s use of *centrum:* it is consistently, and perhaps deliberately, misgendered as a masculine noun—an unlikely error for even the most rudimentary Latin pupil; and second, it is used less in the geometrical sense than to designate the vital heart or core of a seed (e.g. below, H 8:110), or of a reaction or effect, whether an infection or, as is the case here, of creation itself: "Ein jedliche kranckheit die vom centro gehet in die weitte / ist zugehörig dem Physico : Aber die von weitte in centrum gehet / die ist zugeschlossen dem Chirurgico" (*Volumen Medicinae Paramirum*—H 1:3).

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which we see and grasp, which is made manifest to us by the light of nature. But he who created it all is not among us but rather without; however, he who was born of him is with us.[1] For this reason, we wish to speculate about the four elements only as nature demonstrates to us, through its own hints.

V.

First in the order of creation[2] was the *corpus* of the four elements created in the form and size | which the heavens expanded to and took on, and it was made 58
temporal, that is, the entire compass of air was God's stool and throne and the *centrum* of his realm, out of which the world has been created. Thus, what is perishable and temporal has been created by God.

About these things it must be understood that out of this *centrum* the world has arisen and been rendered material. On this stool *Christus* came to hang on the cross. On this stool the prophets were seated; and it was God's footstool.[3] It all became materially and physically God and his work, the *centrum* of his kingdom, and his stool.[4]

Thus, before all else we must know, even before philosophy begins its work, that God created the *centrum* of his heaven temporally, as well as himself. For just as, physically, he is called a son, so, too, is the world his residence. Just as it has been created and come into being, it will certainly not persist as it has been created. Rather, of the human beings there will remain the heart and of the world its blossoming.

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1 This distinction between the Father and the Son was systematized in the *Astronomia Magna*. See Daniel 2003.

2 In describing the whole process of creation P. followed a well-established pattern in the exegetical tradition of Genesis. As early as the High Middle Ages, Christian philosophers tried to rationalize the process of creation by reconciling it with the dominant physics of the time, which was Aristotelian. As an example Edward Grant mentions the three distinctions into which the creation was commonly divided. According to Thomas Aquinas, the first distinction was "the work of creation" (*opus creationis*); the second was "the work of differentiation" (*opus distinctionis*); the third was "the work of adornment (*opus ornatus*), in which the elements were separated and things that move in heaven and on earth were produced" (Grant 1994, 92).

3 This is an allusion either to Matth. 5:35 ("But I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it is God's throne: nor by the earth; for it is his footstool"), or to Is. 66:1: "Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool" (King James Version). See vis-à-vis.

4 Elsewhere P. explains that original sin resulted in God instantly changing the Earthly Paradise into the perishable world (i.e., into the *yliaster*, from which the four elements were then separated? This is only our educated guess). Thus Adam was not banished from Paradise; it was transformed into the physical world under his feet. The same can be said of Lucifer: see below, H 8:288–289, 295–296, and above, H 8:54.

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VI.

Wie aber nuhn Gott beschaffen hatt die Welt / ist also. Er hatts in ein *Corpus* gemacht / anfenglich / so weitt die 4. Element gehnd. Dieses *Corpus* hatt er gesetzt in drey stück / in *Mercurium, Sulphur* vnd *Sal*, also daß do seind drey ding / machen Ein *Corpus :* diese 3. ding machen alles / so in den 4. Elementen ist vnd wirdt. Diese 3. ding haben in jhnen alle Krafft vnd Macht der zergenglichen dingen. Dann in jhnen ist gelegen die Miner / der Tag / Nacht / vnd Warm vnd Kalt / Stein vnd Obß / vnd anders / aber noch nicht gformirt : gleich als ein Holtz / das da ligt / vnnd nichts ist als ein Holtz : aber in jhm ist alle Form der Thieren / alle Form der Gewächs / alle Form der Instrumenten[a] : welcher das vbrig hinweg kan nemmen / das nicht dazu gehört / so erfindt sich dieselbig da. Also ist dises erst *Corpus Yliastri* ein Klotz gewesen / in dem alle
59 Kreütter / alle Wasser / all *Gemmae*, all Mineral / | all Stein / all *Chaos* gelegen seind / die allein der höchst *Fabricator* hinweg geschieden hatt / vnd gebildet also subtil / daß das / so hinweg genommen ist worden / ein anderst gewesen ist : Als am ersten hatt er hinweg genommen den Lufft / vnnd auß dem vbrigen seind noch drey geworden / das Fewr / Wasser vnd Erden : Auß diesen hatt er hingenommen das Fewr : noch seind zwey blieben : also biß zum end.

VII.

Wie nuhn die 4. Aecker also hingenommen vnd geschieden seind worden / da seind auch blieben vier Behaltnuß / da in jedtlichen die vier Elementen blieben / Heiß / Kalt / Feücht vnnd Trocken / vnnd ist ein jedtlichs als viel als Nichts gewesen.

Anfenglich ist der Lufft geordnet / darnach das Fewr / darnach die Erden / darnach das Wasser : vnnd das also : Auß dem Lufft der *Chaos*, der Stul / die Khetten vnnd der Boden : Auß dem Fewr Tag vnnd Nacht / Sonn vnd Mond : Auß der Erden Beum vnnd Krautt / Graß vnd Obs : Auß dem Wasser Miner vnnd Stein : vnnd seind also geordnet / daß je das vbrig ein anders geborn hatt : das ist / auß dem *Yliastro* der Erden ist gezogen das Buchholtz / vnnd hinweg gethan das Oepffelholtz / jedtlichs in sein statt / nichts verderbt noch vermischt : Im Wasser ist das Goldt von andern Metallen gezogen / die andern Metall auch von einander : Im Fewr ist die Kelti von der Wermi gescheiden /

a For the same idea see above, H 8:3.

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VI.

Now, however, the manner in which God created the world is as follows. In the beginning, he constituted it as a *corpus* as far as the four elements extended. He constituted this *corpus* in three components: *mercurius, sulphur*, and *sal*, in such a way that these three entities make up a *corpus*. These three constitute everything that resides or arises in the four elements. The three have within themselves all the energy and power of the transient entities. For in them, lie the mineral, the day, the night, the warm and the cold, the stone and the fruit, and all else, but these things are not yet formed. It is like a piece of wood that is still just a piece of wood lying there as what it is; yet within it are latent all the forms of animals, all of plants or of instruments. Whoever can extract what is superfluous can find all those things within it. So it was that this initial *corpus* of the *yliaster* was a clump, in which all the plants, all waters, all *gemmae*, all minerals | and stones, all the *chaos* lay hidden. All that was extracted by the supreme 59
Fabricator alone and crafted so subtly that, upon extraction, it became something else. What he first extracted was the air. From the rest, emerged three more: fire, water, and earth. From these, he extracted the fire: two remained. And so on to completion.

VII.

Now that the four fields were subjected to separation, there remained four receptacles in each of which the four elements had been retained, namely hot, cold, moist, and dry. Each of them was as much as nothing.[1]

First of all, the air was put in order, next the fire, after that the earth, and finally the water; and it proceeded as follows: out of air *chaos*, the stool, chains,[2] and ground; from the fire day and night, sun and moon; from the earth trees and vegetation, grass and fruit; from the water minerals and stones. All were put in such order, that each, once born, generated another. Thus, from the *Yliastrum* of the earth beech wood was extracted, and apple tree wood was too, each in its place, with nothing ruined or confounded. In the water, gold was extracted from the other metals, and each metal from the others as well. In the fire,

1 In other words, each element had been retained in a container which was the main elementary quality usually associated with it. After the separation of the elements, the containers were left as empty shells, amounting to nothing. This is another way for P. to dismiss the elementary qualities as useless. See our Introduction above, on 25–26.

2 See below, H 8:61: air "is a chain that holds up and bears without any sort of *materia* and visibility […] by virtue of its *chaos* […]."

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die Heytteri von der Finsternüß : Im Lufft ist der *Chaos* verordnet / zu erhalten alles / zu beschliessen die Erden von dem Himmel. Vnnd wie nuhn diese vier *Yliastri* geschaffen seind / vnd zu Elementen gemacht / das ist / zu Müttern seiner Früchten : ist anfenglich der Lufft zubereitt / demnach das Fewr : Diese zwey sind zusammen in eine Einigkeit gesetzt : demnach die Erden vnnd das Wasser von den andern zweyen geschieden / vnd auch in ein Eine gemacht. Das seind die zween doppeln *Yliastri :* Der Lufft ist für sich selbst / das Fewr auch : Die Erden vnnd das Wasser auch also.

60 Also hatt Gott sein *Centrum* seins Reichs Materialisch beschaffen / vnd dann in drey Ersten gesetzt dreyfach / darauß für vnd für alle mal wachset alles / so darauß kompt : vnd ohn die 3. mag nichts wachsen in den 4. *Iliastris :* vnnd so sie wachsen / so seinds Elementen / vnnd verliern also weitter jhren Nammen *Iliaster*, vnd heissen Elementen.

VIII.

Diese vier Element seind gescheiden in jhr statt vnd wesen / keins mit anderm vermischt / sonder fein hinweg gethan / wie ein Schnitzer[a] an einem Bild das hinwirfft / das sein Bild vnformlich macht. Sind also 4. Element / aber nuhr 3. Ersten : drey im Lufft / drey im Fewr : drey im Erdrich / vnd drey im Wasser : vnd ist vberal nuhr allein Ein drey Ersten / das ist / Ein *Mercurius* in allen / Ein *Sulphur* in allen / Ein *Sal* in allen : aber getheilt in der Eigenschafft. Was wachsend Krautt ist / Laub vnnd Graß / ist in die Erden kommen : Was Mineralisch ist / in das Wasser : Was Kalt vnd Warm / Tag vnd Nacht / in das Fewr : Was Lufft / in den *Chaos :* vnd seind all 3. Ein ding / jedtlichs in jhm selbst : vnd ist gleich als ein Stein / der da ligt / vnd wirdt getheilt in 4. theil / auß einem ein Bild / auß dem andern ein Hafen / auß dem dritten ein Vaß / auß dem vierdten ein Margstein / vnd sind alle Stein / vnd Ein Stein / aber in vier getheilt.

Dieser Iliastren seind 4. vnd nicht mehr / seind auch genug : Also hatt Gott die Welt in ein Gevierdts gesetzt / vnd lassen genug sein damit / der wol hett mögen 8. machen. Er hatt ein theil der Nahrung in Lufft beschaffen / den andern in das Fewr / den dritten in die Erden / den vierdten in das Wasser : also ist alles da. Nuhn auff das gebüret vns zu Philosophiren von diesen 4. weitter im Nammen der Elementen zu Tractiren / vnd von jhren *Potentiis* vnd *Actibus* so sie haben : vnd dz vom Lufft anzufahen / vnd damit die Philosophey zu vollenden in dem Wasser / so viel als die gebierung der vnendtpfindtlichen dingen innenhalt.

a For the same idea see above, H 8:3.

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cold was separated from warmth; the clear from the murky. In the air the *chaos* was set in order to contain everything, to encompass earth and heavens. And as these four *Yliastri* were created and made into elements, that is, to mothers of their fruits, air was first prepared, and then fire. These two were crafted into a unit; and afterwards the earth and the water were separated from them and crafted as one. Thus, there were two double *Yliastri:* air unto itself, fire likewise, and so also earth and water.

Thus, did God make the *centrum* of his kingdom material, and thereupon 60
constituted by the three principles triply, out of which always and again everything grows and emerges. Without the three, nothing can grow in the four *Iliastri;* and insofar as they do grow, they are elements and no longer bear the name *iliaster*. Elements they are properly called.

VIII.

These four elements are separated into their places and natures, none being mixed with the other, but rather finely set apart in the same way that a woodcarver casts aside everything that renders his image formless. So there are four elements but only three principles: three in air, three in fire, three in earth, and three in water. And everywhere there is only one set of three principles, with the same *mercurius* in all things, the same *sulphur* in all, the same *sal* in all; yet distinct in their properties. What is the germinating vegetation, leaves and grass, has been deposited in earth; what is mineral in the water; what is cold and warm, day and night, in fire; what is air, in *chaos*. Moreover, all three are a unified substance, each nonetheless existing in itself. And it is just as if a stone lay there and were divided into four parts: from the one, a sculpture; from the second a pot; from the third a vase; from the fourth a landmark, although they are all stones. One stone: divided into four things.

Of these *Iliastri* there are four, not more. That suffices. God thus created the world in a fourfold form and was satisfied with it as such. He could just as well have made it eight.[1] One part of the nourishment he created in air, a second in fire, a third in earth, and a fourth in water. So it is all there. It is proper for us to speculate further about these four under the designation of the elements and to discuss their attendant *potentes* and *acta*, beginning with air and completing our speculation with water as far as it concerns the generation of the insensate things.

1 See above, H 8:29, on 112, note a.

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IX.

Das Element Lufft ist in kein ding weither geordnet / als allein zu einem Hauß
61 der andern drey | Elementen / dieselbigen zu halten / ein jedlichs in seim Zimmer / also. Der Lufft beschleußt alles Tödtlichs in jhm / vnd scheidt es vom Ewigen hindann / gleich als ein Maur jhr Statt scheidt vom Land : Vnnd helt die Welt zusammen / wie ein Dam den Weyer : Vnd ist gleich also ein ding / wie nichts ausserhalb dem Ey ist / das dem Ey zugehördt / oder im Ey das herauß gehör : Also ist der Himmel ein Schalen / der die Welt vnd den Himmel scheidet / gleich als ein Schalen / das Ey / vnd das haussen ist : Vnnd ist ein Hautt / in der die gantze Welt ein *Corpus* ist / vnnd darinn die Erden gefaßt vnnd behalten wirdt. Nuhn aber weither ist der Lufft der Himmel / das ist die Hautt / das ist die Schalen / das ist die Maur / das ist der Damm / auß dem nichts gehn mag / vnnd das so ausserhalb deren ist / nicht hinein mag. Vnd ist dorzu der Lufft / der Athem / auß dem all ding das Leben haben : Dann er ist der Lufft / vnnd gibt den Lufft / der die drey Element nehret / vnnd den Menschen in seinem Leben. Wann wo dieser Lufft nicht were / so möchten wir nicht leben : Dann es gieng kein Element nicht für sich / es möchten kein Windt gehn / kein Regen / kein Schnee / kein Sonnen scheinen / kein Sommer noch kein Wasser fliessen / kein Erden tragen : Dieselbig Krafft kommt auß dem Lufft / vnnd wirdt von drey Elementen an sich gezogen. Gleich wie in vns die Lunge dasselbig an sicht zeucht alle Augenblick / also auch die Erden / das Wasser / vnd Fewr. Es ist weith gejrret / das die Wind auß dem Lufft seind : Dann sie gehend hinein in vns Gifftsweiß / nicht Lebens weiß : Es ist allein das Erst Element / das vns den Lufft gibt : Das Fewr gibt den Wind.[a]

X.

Dieses Element gibt auch die Krafft / daß das Fewr an jhm hangt vnnd falt nicht / vnd ist ein Ketten / das do hebt vnd tregt ohn alle *Materia* vnd Sichtbarkeit : Das beschicht durch sein *Chaos*, der ligt zwischen der Hautt vnnd

a This sentence is perhaps the actual meaning of the following statement from the section *De Ente Astrorum* of P.'s *Volumen Medicinae Paramirum*: "Jhr zeigt an / wie der Lufft kompt auß der bewegung des Firmaments : das wir nit halten vnd gestehen : Aber wol den windt / als *Meteorica* außweist" (H 1:18). In other words, the wind, instead of being a product of the element of air, depends rather on the firmament, i.e. the element of fire. As a matter of fact, the wind appears as a product of the element of fire in the *Philosophy of the Elements*, although it is not produced by the motion of the heavens. The excerpt from *De Ente Astrorum* suggests,

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IX.

The element of air is there for no other reason than to be a residence for the other three | elements, to contain them each in its room. The air encompasses 61
everything that is perishable and separates it off from the eternal, the way a city wall separates the city from the countryside. Moreover, it holds the world together like a dam a pond. This is like an egg that excludes nothing that belongs in it and lets nothing that belongs inside it out. The heavens are thus a shell that holds the world and heaven apart the way an eggshell separates the egg from what is outside it. Moreover, it is a skin for the *corpus* of the entire world in which the earth is contained and sustained. Furthermore, air is the heavens or skin or shell or wall or dam which lets nothing out and nothing that is outside in. Moreover, air is the breath from which all things receive life, for it is indeed air, and it supplies the air required to nourish the other three elements as well as maintain the human being in life. For if not for air, we would not live. No element would move. There would be neither wind blowing nor rain nor snow nor even sunshine, no summer and no flowing water, nothing to carry the earth. All that force comes from air and the three other elements attract it unto themselves. In the same way within us the lungs draw it into themselves every instant, so do earth, water, and fire. It is thought quite erroneously that winds are from air;[1] for they pass into us poisonously rather than vitally. The first element alone is the one to supply us with air. Fire is the one to yield wind.[2]

X.

The same element of air provides the force which makes the element of fire adhere to it without falling; it is a chain that holds up and bears without any sort of *materia* and visibility. This happens by virtue of its *chaos* which lies between

thus, a very early stage of P.'s conceptions in the field of meteorology. Even the most primitive meteorological fragments of Huser's volume eight are more elaborated: they involve either wind stars (H 8:314; cf. H 8:73) or the action of the three principles in the heavens (H 8:324).

1 Although the reason given here is medical, the idea stems from Aristotle's *Meteorologica*. See below, H 8:64, and 660 note a.

2 Winds are produced by wind stars; they are surely air in motion, but as a product of the stars, they have their origin in the element of fire, not air. See below, H 8:73.

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der Erden. Vnnd ist *medium Interstitium*,[a] vnnd geht vom Himmel biß auff die Erden : darinnen schwebt das Fewr / darinn schwebt die Erden vnnd das Wasser. Vnd zu gleicher weiß / wie der Dotter im Ey vom Clar gehalten wirdt / daß
62 er die Schal nicht anrühret : also helt der *Chaos* die Globel / daß | sie nicht falt / auff kein ort. Dieser *Chaos* ist vnsichtbar vnnd Grün zuscheinen / vnd ist der vngreifflich Clar vnd *Albumen*, vnnd hatt aber die Krafft das er hebt / das die Erden ab statt nicht rucken mag. Wie der *Vitellus Oui* in seim Clar / also schwebt die Globel / Erden vnd Wasser in diesem Lufft : Als ein Schiff auff demm See enthalten wirdt / also wirdt das auch enthalten. Das ist das groß *Albumen*, der wunderbarlich Clar / der da tregt ein solch Globel Erden vnnd Wasser / vnnd ist vnsichtbar : Ertregt auch das Firmament / vnnd steht in jhm / gleich als der *Semen Cucumeris* in seim *Mucilagine*[b] : Gleich als der *Semen Generationis* in der *Sperma :* Gleich als ein stuck Fleisch in seiner Sultz ligt / also ligend die Stern in jhm / vnd haben jhren Gang in diesem Clar / als ein Vogel in seinem Flug : Vnd sie werden nicht anders gehept / dann zu gleicherweiß wie die Exempel anzeigen / die do halten dz jenig in jhnen : Dann mit der vnderscheid / dz der *Chaos* do gescheiden wird vom Clar / vom *Sperma*, von *Mucilagine*, in dem / dz er vngreifflich ist vnnd subtil / sonst in aller Krafft vnnd Macht gleich den andern bemeldten.

XI.

Von dieses Elements Krafft zu reden / ist weither zu wissen / dz der Lufft / vnd sein *Chaos*, vnd sein Himmel / also in der Rotunditet steht / daß dz jenig so darinnen ist / niemands gründen mag / welchs vnden oder oben sey / vnd das

a In the Huser edition this phrase, a standard notion of medieval cosmography, only appears in the present treatise (see vis-à-vis).

b "*Mucilago*, oder *Viscositas*" (*Opus Paramirum*, H 1:128). P. apparently wrote a treatise *De mucilagine*, now lost, except for a few fragments (H 5:216). As in the present passage, *mucilago* appears as a spermatic matter in several noteworthy recipes from the disputed *De natura rerum*: the recipe for a "renewed and restored" bird brought back from its death (H 6:259), and the recipe for bringing back a plant out of its ashes (H 6:299). See also Gantenbein 2020b, 13, 14–15.

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the skin and the earth. It is a *medium interstitium* [intermediary space][1] extending from heavens to earth; and in it float the fire, the earth, and the water.[2] Just as the yolk is sustained in the egg by the egg white so that it does not touch the shell, the *chaos* sustains the globe so that | it does not fall in any direction. This 62
chaos is invisible and has a green appearance;[3] it is the intangible egg white and *albumen* but it possesses the power to sustain so that the earth does not slip out of place. Like the *vitellus ovi* in its egg white, the globe, i.e. earth and water, floats in this very air. As a ship is contained on the sea, so is it contained. It is the great *albumen*, the miraculous egg white that carries such a globe of earth and water; and it is invisible. Moreover, it holds up the firmament and resides within it, just as does the *semen cucumeris* within its *mucilago*; just as the *semen generationis* in the *sperma*. As a bit of meat floats in its gelatin: so, too, do the stars float within this egg white, having their course within it, as a bird has in its flight. Nor are they sustained any differently than the examples demonstrate. It is only distinct insofar as *chaos* differs from the egg white, *sperma*, or *mucilago* in that it is impalpable and subtle. Otherwise these things can be shown to be equal in their power and strength.

XI.

As to the power of this element, it must be understood as well that air, its *chaos*, and its heavens abide in rotundity so that what lies within it can be accounted for by no one as to what lies below and what above, and indeed for this reason:

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1 The phrase *medium interstitium* usually designated the middle region of air (see below, H 8:77, n. 2). In the words of Nicole Oresme, "by 'middle region of air' one should understand neither the air immediately close to the earth, nor that immediately close to fire, but that which is situated in between, somewhat distant from earth and equally distant from fire. The philosophers call it *medium interstitium aeris*." See Oresme, *Questiones in Meteorologica de ultima lectura, recensio parisiensis*, ed. Aurora Panzica (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 176: "per 'mediam regionem aeris' debet intelligi non ille aer qui est immediate prope terram, nec ille qui est immediate prope ignem, sed ille qui est in medio per aliquam distantiam a terra et similiter per aliquam distantiam ab igne. Et vocatur a philosophis 'medium interstitium aeris' […]."

2 As explained in IX, the "skin" is the external or outer limit of the element of air. The *chaos* is the content of the element of air. Since this element encloses the other three, the *chaos* is described as an intermediary space inside of which fire, water, and earth remain balanced. See the elucidations below, *De Elemento Aeris*, H 8:286–290. Without citing P., Grant (1994) observes that the same notion of an outer cosmic "skin" is unique to Hildegard's *Scivias* in the Middle Ages (41–42). On the soteriological rationale for Hildegard's dark outer cosmic "skin," see Weeks 1993, 50–51.

3 This green color is caused by one of the components of the matter of the stars, namely salt, according to P. in the section "*De coloribus*" of the fragmentary chapter *De Elemento Aeris* (H 8:294–295). See also *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris*, H 8:262.

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also. Ein Ey das da leit / ist nicht möglich dz jnnwendig gewüst mag werden / (so es müglich wer einem / darinn zu sein) welches dem Himmel oder dem Boden zustünde. Dann die Rotunditet vermag das / dz da kein höhe oder tieffe mag gesehen werden. Also seindt wir in der Schalen / das wir nicht wissen / welchs vnden oder oben ist / vnd gehend also auff der gantzen Globel gegen dem Himmel / vnd ist alles Ein Höhe vnd Ein Tieffe. Auß was vrsach dz ist / ist die / das die Rotunditet der Globel vnd deß Himmels ein solches vermag / vnd ist also in das Tödtlich *Corpus* gesetzt / das alle ding in der Triual Lingen wachsen sollen / nicht allein der Mensch gehn / sondern all Beum / all Adern / vnd alle Brunn. Dann zu gleicherweiß wie Gott beschaffen hatt den Circkel der Glo-
63 bel vnd deß Himmels : Also hatt er auch | beschaffen den halben Circkel / den *Diametrum*, die Meridian Lingen / die Triual Lingen / vnnd alles dergleichen. Dann im Himmel vnd Erden / im Fewr vnd Wasser werden alle Lingen / Circkel vnd Brüch gefunden : Dann da ist die recht Geographey / Cosmographey / vnnd Geometry[a] : Durch die Elementische Geometry deß Luffts werden die Gebäw erhalten deß Fewrs / das ist / Sonn vnd Mond / vnd alle Stern : Der Erden Beum vnd dergleichen : Deß Wassers Mineren vnnd anders : Da ist der recht Grund aller Geometry / in welcher Lingen der Mensch staht / vnnd darinn geschwinde zu dem Himmel sicht. Dieser Geometry ist allein Gott der Meyster / der Steinmetz vnd der Geometer : Auß dieser Lingen felt nichts / es gehet auch nichts darneben / noch darauß / weder Wasser noch Fewr / weder Erden noch Beum /

a P.'s geometric terms and those associated disciplines are either ripe for redefinition, as is the case here, or for discrediting, as in the conclusion of *De Matrice*, where they are lumped with the false ancient medicine: "Jhnen 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" (H 1:237).

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An egg lying before us cannot be known internally (assuming that one could be positioned inside it) which part is adjacent to the sky or ground. For its rotundity effects an inability to recognize the height or depth. In this way we are positioned within the shell so that we do not know what is below and what above, and so it is that, walking upon the globe, with respect to the heavens, everything is both height and depth. The reason for this is the capacity of the globe's rotundity and of the heavens, being composed in the perishable *corpus*, so that all things should grow in the trival[1] ordinate, not only as the human being proceeds, but all trees, all veins, and all fountains. For just as God created the circle of the globe and of the heavens, so, too, has he | created the semi- 63
circle, the *diametrum*, the meridian line, the trival line, and everything of the kind. For in the heavens and earth, in fire and water, all lines, circles, and fractions can be found. For this accords with true geography, cosmography, and geometry: through the elemental geometry of the air, all the structures of fire are maintained, that is, the sun and moon and all the stars.[2] The same holds true of the trees of the earth, and to everything of the kind; of the minerals of water, and other things. That is the proper foundation of all geometry, in the ordinates of which the human being abides and adroitly gazes up at the heavens. Of this geometry, God alone is the master, stonemason, and surveyor. From this line nothing departs or goes astray or too far, neither water nor fire nor

1 The unknown word *trival* only appears in this treatise, generally in the phrase "trival line." It could be a derivation from Latin *trivialis* (a crossroad of three diverging routes) and German *tryfaltigkeit* (*Dreifaltigkeit*, the Trinity; see variant spellings of this word with either *t-* or *d-*, *-f-* or *-v-* e.g., in H 10A:147 and Sudhoff 1898, 39, item 47). It does not explicitly refer to the three principles. It appears as a cosmographical allusion but makes little sense as it stands, although a draft of the *Philosophy of the Elements* may offer a possible source when it states that "As there are in the circumference of the world lines drawn upon its *planities* [its flat land], so stars stand in the firmament which are fixed and permanent" (see below, H 8:314). Since our passage, however, can hardly mean that all processes of creation require passage across some ordinate of earthly space, the "trival line" is more likely a metaphorical threshold of transformation. In this sense, it could perhaps coincide with the creative-transformative agency of the three principles. At any rate, P.'s use of "lines" elsewhere to denote lines of development or descent from transcendent sources offers a clue: "Als die Lingen der drey Ersten. Wan die kranckheiten alle / entspringen nach dreyen Lingen / das ist / auß dreyen vrsprüngen. Der erst ist auß der Sperma, der ander auß den tribus primis, der drit auß den Astris der 4. Elementen" (*Fragmenta de Morbo Gallico*—H C:640a). With reference to the zodiac, see *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8:250): "Etlich in der Lingen Zodiaci Circuli;" or with reference to lineage, cf. *Außlegung der Magischen Figuren im Carthäuser Kloster zu Nürnberg:* "die warend nit auß der Lingen Cayphae, noch Annae" (H 10A:143).

2 Notice here that in defiance of the advanced mathematical astronomy of his time, P. asserts that all geometrical lines and ordinates are innate properties of the elements. On the creative misuse of Renaissance scientific terms such as astronomy or anatomy, see ETW 24–29.

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weder Mensch noch Viehe : sondern es geht es alles in die Aerisch Geometry / darein Gott die gemacht hatt / wie ein Steinmetz sein Bilder an einem Thurn vnd dergleichen.

XII.

Nuhn aber weither in die Philosophey der drey Ersten zu wissen / wie die im Element Lufft sind / ist also. Der *M. SS. S.* ist das Element *Aër*, vnd ist aber darzu bereitt / das also ein *Aërem* gibt / vnd dz Element Lufft erfült. Anfenglich ist der Himmel nichts / als allein ein weisser *SS.* Coagulirt mit dem Saltzgeist[a] / vnd Clarificirt mit dem *Mercurio*, vnd ist die Härtti aller dieses Elements in dieser Hautt vnd Schalen / dahin also Fabricirt. Demnach ist weither dz ander der drey Ersten verwandlet in zwen Theil / der Ein ist der *Chaos*, der Ander der Lufft / vnd dz also. Sich hatt Resoluirt der *SS.* durch den Saltzgeist in dem *Liquore Mercurij*, der an jhm selber ein *Liquor* ist / vnd ist vom Himmel biß auff die Erden außgetheilet / vnd ist der *Albumen Cœli*, vnd ist *Medium Interstitium*, vnd ist *Clarum* vnd *Chaos*, ist subtil vnd Diaphanisch : Dann alle dicki vnd trückni / vnd subtilisch Arth ist Resoluirt worden / vnd nimmer die / als an jhr selber gewesen ist. Der Lufft ist also : Die dritte Remanentz der 3. Ersten deß Luffts ist in ein Lufft gangen / also / wann ein Holtz verbrennet / vnd geht in ein Rauch / also geht dieses in ein Lufft / vnd bleibt in seim *Aëre*, zu endt der Elementen / vnd ist ein *Sulphur, Mercurius, Sal* worden / die do verzehrt seind von der Substantz

a In the treatise *De anatomia oculorum* P. seems to mention "saltzgeist" as the epitome of salt: "Die Substantz secht an / wie subtil sie gesetzt ist : Sie hatt die subtilesten drey Ersten / vom Sulphure sein subtile hüpsche Rötti / vnnd vom Mercurio so ein subtile Diaphinitet / vnnd von solchem subtilen Saltzgeist" (H 5:331).

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earth nor trees nor human beings or beasts. Everything fits into the aerial geometry into which God has composed them like a stonemason does with his statues upon a tower, or anything of the kind.[1]

XII.

Let it also be known in the philosophy of the three principles how these are arrayed in the element of air. The three of them, *mercurius, sulphur*, and *sal*, are the element *aër* and they are arrayed in such a way as to yield an *aër*, fulfilling that element. At first, the heavens are nothing but a white *sulphur*, coagulated with the spirit of salt[2] and clarified with *mercurius*, so that the hardness of the entire element is thereby fabricated [and lies] in this skin or shell. After that, the second of the three principles transformed itself into two parts; the one is *chaos*, the other air, and to be sure this is as follows. The *sulphur* has been resolved by the spirit of salt in the *liquor mercurii*, which is in itself a *liquor*, and dispersed from the heavens to the earth. This is the *albumen coeli*, the *medium interstitium*, which is the *clarum* and the *chaos*, subtle and diaphanous. For everything that is thick and dry and of a subtle nature has been resolved, and it is no longer what it had been in itself. So is the air. The third remnant of the three principles of the air has become aerial; in the same way that wood is burned and passes into smoke, this is how this third part becomes an air, and how it remains within its *aër* until the end of the elements, having become a *sulphur, mercurius*, and *sal* that have been consumed from their substance into

1 P.'s rejection of mathematical determinism reminds one of the disavowals of Newton and Enlightenment materialism by the Romantic minds of Goethe and Blake, as in the latter's verses, "The atoms of Democritus and Newton's particles of light are sands upon the Red Sea's shore where Israel's tents do shine so bright." See below, H 8:69, for P.'s defiance of the mathematical determination of meteorological events such as seasonal temperature variations and his subordination of heat and cold to a more organic or chemical model of causation. This is thematically preliminary to his radical reinterpretation of astronomy in *Opus Paramirum* (ETW 162–209).

2 *Saltzgeist* or *spiritus salis* is usually the old name for hydrochloric acid (HCl), a solution which can hardly coagulate sulphur. However, in the treatise *De origine morborum ex tartaro* (which belongs to *Opus Paramirum*; see ETW 528–529, 546–547) and elsewhere, P. states that *Saltzgeist*, or *spiritus salis* coagulates various materials (see e.g. *De renovatione et restauratione*, H 6:109; *Das Buch von den tartarischen kranckheiten*, one of the three Carinthian treatises, H 2:266, 285). There are only two ways to make sense of this formula: either P. did not mean *Saltzgeist* literally (see vis-à-vis) and only had in mind salt as "the principle of solidity and firmness," or he was alluding to the way hydrochloric acid "causes things like milk and blood to coagulate into a lump (whether of cheese or of a *coagulum*)," in the words of Lawrence M. Principe (gratefully cited here from an email of June 27, 2019). More generally, on salt as a principle of coagulation, see below, H 8:103.

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64 in ein Lufft / nicht anders dann gleich dem Holtz / das ein Rauch | wirdt : Vnd ist nichts als ein Rauch der drey Ersten deß Elements Luffts. Also entspringt weither nichts mehr auß dem Element Lufft / als die gemelten. Viel der Alten vnnd auch der Newen / vnd deren auch so zu meinen Zeitten leben / wöllen dem Lufft zugeben die Windt / vnnd den Vrsprung setzen auß der Beweglichkeit deß Himmels : Das alles nichts ist : Dann der Himmel geht nicht / er ist der Lufft an jhm selbst / vnd geht vom Element auß gleich wie ein Rauch vom Holtz. Welcher jhn aber wol verstehn will / wie die Motion sey / der leß dz Fewr in seinen Kräfften / dz mehrer bedeuttung gibt / als hie begriffen wirt.

Finis de Elemento Aeris.

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an air, just as happens with a piece of wood which turns into smoke. | Yet it 64
is nothing but a smoke from the three principles of the element of air. Thus, nothing further results from this element but what has been stated here. Many of the ancients and some of the moderns, as well as some living in my time would ascribe the winds to the air, claiming their cause to lie in the mobility of the heavens.[1] But that is not the case. For the heavens do not move; they are only the element of the air itself, proceeding from this element like smoke from wood. Whoever would understand the nature of motion should recognize the powers of fire which is of greater significance than can be comprehended here.

Finis de Elemento Aëris

[End of the element of air]

1 This seems to borrow from Aristotle's *Meteorologica*, I, 13: "Some say that what is called air, when it is in motion and flows, is wind […]. So they define wind as a motion of the air" (Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, I, 1, trans. Webster 1923). The unnamed authors mentioned by Aristotle are identified as Hippocrates or rather the Hippocratic treatise *De Flatibus*, 3: "A breeze is a flowing and a current of air. […] For everything between earth and heaven is full of wind. […] Nay, the progress of sun, moon, and stars is because of wind" (Hippocrates, *De Flatibus*, trans. Jones 1923). The Latin translation by Fabio Calvo: *Hippocratis Coi* […] *Octoginta Volumina* (Rome: 1525, on 586) was re-edited in Basel one year later as *Hippocratis Coi Medicorum omnium longe Principis, Opera* (Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1526, on 396). See Nelson 1909; Monfort 2017, 11–13.

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LIBER SECVNDVS PHILOSOPHIAE THEOPHRASTI, DE GENERATIONIBVS ELEMENTORUM : DE ELEMENTO IGNIS.

TRACTATVS PRIMVS.

I.

Wie also vom Element *Aer* stehet der statt halben / wie die Elementen gesetzt sind / der *Aër* anfenglichen / demnach dz Fewr : Diese zwey vmbgeben nun die gantze Globul. Wie aber das Element Fewr steht vnd ist / dasselbige wollen wir nuhn fürhin Philosophieren / vnnd das also.

Von dem *Yliastro* seind gescheiden am aller ersten der Lufft / vnd das Fewr : Darnach dieselbigen zwey gescheiden von einander : Am Ersten der Lufft / wie im Ersten Libel stehet : Dornach do ist das Fewr geordnet. In dieser Scheidung seindt von einander kommen zwey Element / der Lufft vnd das Fewr : Auß dem
65 Lufft seind die Himmel geworden / auß dem Fewr das | Firmament. Wie im Lufft der *Chaos* ist alleine / vnnd sonst nichts : Also ist auch im Element Fewr das Warm vnd Kalt / der Schein vnd die Finsternuß : Vnd alles so der Globul vnd dem Lufft abgehet / das wird im Element Fewr erhaltten. Vnd heist nicht dorumb das Element Fewr / dorumb das nichts wiß als Brennen / als viel gesagt haben : Dann das ist nicht das Element Fewr / das do brennt : Sondern daß / das do brennt / vnd daß / das jhm wiederwertig ist / das ist / das Gefrieren. Das Element Fewr steht auch nicht in der Complexion[a] Heiß vnd Trucken / sondern auch im Kaltten vnnd Nassen / das auch vom Element Fewr ist. Darumb vnweißlich die handlen / die do suchen das Element Fewr in dem Element Wasser oder Erden. Wiewol sie herfür bringen ettwas in der Complexion Hitzig : Aber diese Hitz macht das Element nicht. Das Element ist nicht ein Element geheissen von deßwegen / daß ein Fewr sey / sondern dorumb / daß das gantz Firmament darinn steht : Dorumb ist es ein Element / auß dem gehn soll der

a *Complexio* is a concept both essential and problematic for P. It is both rejected and embraced, the former emphatically in the surgical and syphilis writings and explicitly in *Volumen Medicinae Paramirum:* "Avff die vorbemelten anzeigungen deß Lauffs deß Leibs / mercken nun / das der Leuff im Leib 4. sind: das Firmament / die Elementen / die Complexionen / die Humores. Auff diese 4. solt jhr mercken / das alle kranckheiten in den vieren stehnd / vnd auß jhnen entspringen" (H 1:46); but regarded critically in Opus *Paramirum:* "Also gehnd jhn auch nichts die Complexiones an : Sie sind der Natur kleider / vnd zieren sie / dem Artzt nit zubetrachten" (H 1:84).

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TRACTATVS PRIMVS.

[Book 2 of Theophrastus's philosophy of the generation of the elements. On the element of fire. First treatise.]

I.

As has been stated concerning the element of *aër* as the first instance of how the elements are arrayed, *aër* comes first, then fire. The two encompass the entire circle of the globe. As to how the element of fire is arrayed and has its being, we intend to speculate further as follows.

In the beginning air and fire separated off from the *Yliastrum;* and then those two from one another: first the air, as explained in the first book;[1] after that the fire has been arrayed. This separation is the origin of the two elements of air and fire. From the first, the heavens came into being; and from the fire the | firma- 65
ment.[2] And just as the air contains nothing but *chaos*, so there is in fire warmth and cold, radiance and darkness. Everything that comes out of the globe and the air is contained within the element of fire. And this element is not named thus for doing nothing but burning, as many have said; for it is not the element of fire that burns: but rather it is both that which burns and its opposite, namely freezing. Furthermore, the element of fire does not abide in the complexion of the hot and the dry alone, but also in that of the cold and moist, these being also in the element of fire. For this reason, they are ignorant who seek the fiery element in the aqueous or earthen ones. They can of course point to something hot in the complexion; but such heat does not constitute the element. It is not called an element for the reason that it is fire but rather because the whole fir-

1 See above, H 8:54 and 57.

2 In Genesis, the word *caelum* appears first, *firmamentum* only after it (Gen. 1:1 and 6–8). Accordingly, P. gives the former (*caelum*, "Himmel", the heavens) the prominent place and uses "Firmament" to designate a level below the heavens, for it is the element of air, i.e., the heavens which for P. encloses everything, including fire, i.e., the firmament. He seems to accord air to the region of ether in Aristotle—the heavens. As for fire, it is related to the firmament as a region between air (the heavens) and water. As noted by Miguel Angel Granada (in Kahn 2016, 79 n. 63), this doctrine seems quite original. On medieval opinions about heavens vs. firmament, see Grant 1994, 96–103.

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Tag / die Nacht / der Weiß *Candor*,[a] der Rott *Candor*, die Regen / die Wetter / die *Tempestates*, die Wind / vnd alle *Impressiones :* Vnd ist ein statt vnd ein theil der vier theilen der Geschöpff / dorumb es ein Element heist. Dann zu gleicherweiß wie die Erden Heiß vnnd Kaltt gibt / vnnd ist das *Elementum Terrae :* Also das Fewr zuverstehen ist. Wiewol die Vnderscheidt zu wissen ist / daß das Materialische Fewr ein Element geheissen wirdt / das dann kein Element ist[b] : Dann es kommt nicht auß dem Element Fewr / es ist aber gleich dem Element Fewr / an dem orth was der Sonnen zugehört : Also auch das Wasser / ist gleich dem Element Fewr / an dem orth / do es regnet. Das Materialische Fewr / so wir gebrauchen / ist in den vier Elementen / vnd heist *Tristo*,[c] vnnd ist in dem Weg dorinn. Das Element Wasser muß in jhm haben das Element Fewr zu seiner Wirckung : Dasselbige Fewr bleibt im Element Wasser / vnnd erzeigt sich im Stahel vnnd Steinen / daß dorinn ist : Es ist auch in dem Element der Erden / vnnd erzeigt sich in seinen Früchten : Im Lufft dermassen : Auch also von den andern zuverstehn ist / das ein jedlichs sein *Tristo* in jhm hatt / als

a This word is used by P. only in the present work. In Latin it was often used to designate the brightness of the sun, stars, or snow. See examples of the sun's brightness taken from Lucretius and Cicero in Forcellini, *Lexicon totius Latinitatis* (1775). P. uses, thus, a classical Latin term for this Aristotelian notion (see below, H 8:67, on 183, n. 1).

b See above, H 8:11. The same idea appears in *Das Buch von allen offnen schäden*: "Auch also das daß Fewer / Elementum Ignis seye / so auß dem Kißling kompt / ist auch nicht : Es ist ein gemachts Element / aber es soll für kein Element gehalten werden : Es ist gegen dem rechten Element Ignis ein Conterfeh / als ein Bild / das von einem anderen gemalt wirdt : vnd wie das abgemalt Bild / gegen dem es abgemalt ist / steht / also steht diß Fewer gegen dem rechten Element Ignis. Alles das / so sich verzeret / verschwindt / vnnd hingeht / das ist kein Element. Ein Element muß bleiben biß in Endung Himmels vnd Erden / dann dises ist die Zergehung der Elementen / wann sie sinds selbst" (H C:378a–b).

c This term occurs nowhere else in the Paracelsian corpus.

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mament abides within it.[1] This is the reason why it is an element, and from it must come day and night, as well as white *candor*, red *candor*, rain, weather, *tempestates*, winds, and all *impressiones* [of the heavens]. It is a place and part of the four parts of creation: hence it is called an element. Just as we understand that earth can yield heat and cold, being the *elementum terrae:* so, too, must we understand the element of fire.[2] Now we must know the distinction that material fire is called an element but is not one;[3] for it does not proceed from the element of fire; yet is like this element in the location pertaining to the sun. By the same token, water is like the element of fire in the location where it rains. The material fire that we use lies in the four elements and is called *tristo*[4] and is arrayed as follows. The aqueous element must contain the fiery element in order to be active: the latter abides in the former and reveals itself in steel and stones, which are within the aqueous element; the fiery element is also latent in the earthy element, revealing itself in its fruits. In the air likewise. The same can be said of all elements: each bears its *tristo* within it, as demons-

1 This is the first foundation of the transformation of the element of fire into the element of heaven as it will appear in *De Meteoris*.

2 On this specific argument against traditional complexions attached to every element, see our introduction, on 6–7.

3 See vis-à-vis. Aristotle already refuted the idea that the element of fire is made of pure burning fire, though based on other arguments. See his *Meteorologica*, e.g. I, 3, 339b: "This is an opinion we are not alone in holding: it appears to be an old assumption and one which men have held in the past, for the word ether has long been used to denote that element. Anaxagoras, it is true, seems to me to think that the word means the same as fire. For he thought that the upper regions were full of fire, and that men referred to those regions when they spoke of ether. […] Now there are some who maintain that not only the bodies in motion but that which contains them is pure fire, and the interval between the earth and the stars air: but if they had considered what is now satisfactorily established by mathematics, they might have given up this puerile opinion. For it is altogether childish to suppose that the moving bodies are all of them of a small size, because they seem so to us, looking at them from the earth. This is a matter which we have already discussed in our treatment of the upper region, but we may return to the point now. If the intervals were full of fire and the bodies consisted of fire every one of the other elements would long ago have vanished" (Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, trans. Webster 1923).

4 The mysterious term "*tristo*" for which du Cange offers no clue might be approached in terms of the classical application of "tristis" to nature and the elements to indicate harshness and threat (see OLD, "tristis" 7, 8), or perhaps in terms of "tri-" as a possible root of a neologism. See also the Latin verb *tristo, -are*, recorded in Dasypodius 1535 with the meaning: "Ich mach traurig" (helpfully pointed out by Julian Paulus). This meaning may account for the destructive action of fire; it does not account, however, for its positive action within each element as described here by P.

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de Natura rerum angezeigt wirdt. Darumb so mag die Sonn jhr Element erzeigen in dem Holtz / vnd dasselbig anzünden vnd verbrennen : Das geschicht | 66 auß der Krafft / als das Element Fewr die Erden netzt mit dem Regen / dermassen so verbrennt sie auch das. Vnnd wie das Element Fewr die Erden netzt / vnnd ist sein Krafft vnnd Eigenschafft : Also zündt es das Holtz an / vnd den Fewrspiegel in der Sonnen. Also kommt das Materialisch Fewr auff die Globul / wie der Regen auff die Erden / kommen beyde von Einem Element / gescheiden in sein Arth. Das Fewr aber so auß den Steinen vnd Metallen kommt / ist von der Sonnen do hinein kommen / in seinem *Ares :* Zu gleicherweiß wie sich die Erden nehrt der Sonnen : Also nehrt sich auch Ein Element deß andern. Dann das Saltz der dreyen Ersten mocht nicht Coagulieren / wann das Element Fewr nicht in jhm wer : Der *Mercurius* möcht auch nicht das *Corpus* geben / so er nicht das Element Wasser in jhm hett : Dergleichen der *Sulphur* ohn sein Terrestritet : Vnd der Lufft ist ohn *Materia*, vngreifflich vnnd Corporalisch / dorumb so mag er nicht ein Corpus geben / als die andern Element / aber mit wirckt er / wie die andern.

II.

Wie also nuhn die Scheidung geschehen ist dieser zweyen Elementen / Lufft vnd Fewr : So folgt dorauff die Ordnung derselbigen / vnnd die ist also. Es ist anfenglich in die theilung geordnet also die Sonn / der Mond / vnd all andere Stern : Sonst ist nichts dz Element Fewr / als dieselbigen. Mit was Krafft vnd Natur sie weiter begabt sind / ausserthalb dieser so wir do anzeigen / *de Natura rerum* gefunden wirdt. Aber hie zu wissen ist / dz diß Element / das ist das Firmament / nichts anders ist dann die Sternen : Vnd wz sie auff die Erden

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trated in *De natura rerum*.[1] That is why the sun can reveal its element in wood by igniting and burning it. That occurs | due to the same power which makes 66
the fiery element moisten the earth with rain: so can it also burn it. And just as the fiery element moistens the earth through its power and quality to do so, so does it ignite the wood and the fiery mirror in the sun. In this way the material fire comes to the globe as does rain on the earth. Both come from one and the same element, each separated in their own nature. Yet the fire that comes out of metals and stones gets into them from the sun in its own *Ares*.[2] Just as the earth is nourished by the sun, each element is nourished by the others. The salt of the three principles would not coagulate if the element of fire were not within it. *Mercurius* would not yield the *corpus* if the element of water were not within it. Likewise, the *sulphur* without its terrestrial component. Moreover, air is without *materia*, impalpable and corporeal, so that it cannot yield a *corpus* as do the other elements; but it lends them its effect, as do the others.

II.

Now that the separation of these two elements, air and fire, has taken place, the two are then arrayed as follows. In the beginning the separation is made thus: the sun, moon, and all other stars. The element of fire is nothing but these. The sort of further power and quality they are endowed with, other than what we demonstrate here, can be found in *De natura rerum*.[3] Here it must be understood that this element, that is, the firmament, is nothing other than the stars.

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1 This cannot be a reference to the treatise *De natura rerum* as we know it. P. may refer, however, to the fifth book of the fragmentary *Von den Natürlichen Wassern* (see below, H 8:414–415): "Accordingly, much of what has been said in the first parts of this book aids us in knowing the *corpus ignis* and its constitution. We will not give a full account of the corpus but restrict ourselves to what is relevant for falling water. What is not described here is in the *Meteorica*, etc. of the *Fructus quatuor Elementorum*. What has been omitted in them is completed here."

2 See the gloss to *Thessalus secundus, id est, De gradibus et compositionibus*, chap. 2 (H 7:347): "*Ares* is that which arranges and bestows created things their form and species, making one herb belonging to a different species than the other, each one having its own species" ("*Ares iste dicitur qui formam et speciem rerum ordinat et dispensat, quod haec herba aliam habet speciem quam alia, id est, haec illam, alia aliam*."). In other words, this fire gets into metal and stones not exactly as fire, but rather as the formative virtue termed *Ares* by P.—Another gloss to *Thessalus secundus* aims at differentiating *Ares* from *Archeus* (H 7:357): "*Ares* [is that] which distributes the nature, the flower, the stem, the root in their proper being, so that every single thing has its peculiar species differing from the other things; otherwise [it would not be *Ares* acting there:] it would be *Archeus*" ("*Ares qui disponit naturam, florem, caulem, radicem in essato suo, vt scilicet res quaelibet habeat speciem peculiarem ab aliis differentem, alioquin esset Archeus*."). On *Archeus* see below, H 8:129.

3 See above, note 1.

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geberend / Schnee vnd Regen / Wind vnd Hagel vnd anderst / Kalt vnd Warm / Tag vnd Nacht / Sommer vnd Winter / vnd dergleichen / auß dem Element Fewr kommen / wie ein Kindt von seiner Mutter / ein Apffel von seinem Baum. Dises Element Fewr ist gesetzt in das Element Lufft. Dann wie Wasser vnnd Erden in Einer Globul ist / also ist auch das Fewr vnnd Lufft in Einem vermischt / je eins dem andern ohn schaden seins Corpus : Vnd stehnd im Lufft / freyes stehns / ohn hangen / ohn Boden ; Sondern gleich wie die Vogel fligen im Lufft / also
67 ist der | Sonnen Gang im Himmel / das ist im Lufft. Dann zu gleicherweiß wie der Mensch auff die Erden geordnet ist zu gehn / der Vogel in Lufft / der Fisch in das Wasser / der *Gnarus*[a] in die Erden : Also seindt die vier Element auch geordnet / das Eins ligt / das ander fleügt / eins also / das ander also / vnnd haben nicht Ein Stuel oder Orth. Ein jedlicher Stern hatt sein Gang / keiner dem andern gleich. Dann wie die Menschen auff Erden keiner dem andern gleich gehet / vnnd ist doch alles Ein Gang : Also auch mit den Sternen. Vnnd wie sie ein andern nicht gleich seind in jhrer Natur : Also auch mit den Sternen / also mannigfaltig ist jhr Arth vnnd jhr Wesen. Drumb vom selbigen nichts weither zu Philosophieren ist / dann das sie also geordnet seindt vnnd gemacht : Auß was vrsachen vnd grund dasselbig ist / das folgt hernach in seinen Capiteln.

TRACTACTVS SECVNDVS.

DE SOLE, LUCE, TENEBRIS, & NOCTE.

Wie vormahls steht im Ersten Tractat / das der Erst *Yliaster* mit allen Farben gestelt ist / Heytteri vnd Schöni / in Einer vermischung / dorauß seindt gescheiden die vier Elementen. Was also dem Element Fewr zugeben ist / vnnd vnder dasselbige geordnet / wirdt hernach Tractiert werden. Anfenglich aber ist auß dem *Yliastro* das erst Element *Aër* gezogen / darnach das Element Fewr / auß dem ist die Scheidung geschehen. Am ersten ist herauß genommen die Weisse

a Huser gives the variant reading *Gnomus* in the margin. See vis-à-vis.

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And what they give rise to on earth is snow and rain, wind, hail, and the like, cold and warm, day and night, summer and winter, and such things: these come from the element of fire like a child from its mother or an apple from its tree. The element of fire is placed in the element of air. For just as water and earth are in one globe, so are fire and air mixed together in another globe, without the one harming the *corpus* of the other, suspended freely in the air without rope nor ground. As the birds fly in the air, so is the | course of the sun in the 67
heavens, that is, in the air. For just as the human being is made to go upon the earth, the bird in air, the fish in water, and the *gnarus*[1] within the earth, so, too, are the elements made. The one rests, the other flies, the one is this way, the other that way, without seat or place. Each star has its own course, and none is like any other. For just as the human beings on the earth each walk their own way, yet all courses are of one and the same kind, so, too, it is with the stars. And just as the human beings are unlike in nature, so, too, are the stars. They are no less diverse in their nature and being. For this reason, one cannot speculate further, beyond saying that they have been arrayed and made as they are. Why this is so will be explained in the following chapters.

TRACTATVS SECVNDVS
DE SOLE, LVCE, TENEBRIS, & NOCTE.
[Second treatise. On the Sun, Light, Darkness, and Night][2]

As has been explained already in the First Treatise, the primal *yliaster* has been provided with all its colors, clear and beautiful, in a single mixture, from which the four elements have been separated out. What has been assigned to the fiery element and arrayed beneath its power will now be treated. In the beginning for sure the first element of *aër* was extracted from the *yliaster*. Then the element of fire, out of which this separation occurred: first was extracted the white

1 Huser gives *Gnarus* in the text and *Gnomus* in the margin, as a variant reading, although *Gnarus* may well be a false reading. On this variant and the etymology of *Gnomus*, see above, H 8:10, note a. Gnomes are expressly described as living *within* (as opposed to *upon*) the earth in several treatises of P., e.g. *De Meteoris*, ch. 8 (H 8:200, 202). The only other mention of gnomes in the present treatise (H 8:116) is not consistent with all other accounts of these beings by P., including this one. In Kahn 2021 this particular occurrence has been omitted. The word *Gnomus* was translated into French as early as 1583 by Blaise de Vigenère in his French adaptation of P.'s *Liber de Nymphis* (see Kahn 2010, 126 and 90–95; the data about sylphs on 126 are partially inaccurate).

2 See an earlier draft in *Liber Tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:316–317).

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Canditet / vnnd dorauß ein Maß gemacht vnnd *Materia*, das ist die Sonn : In derselbigen ist aller Element Fewrs Weisser *Candor*, vnnd weither im gantzen Element kein Weisser *Candor* nicht. Die Rott Diaphanitet ist auch herauß gezogen / vnnd ist kommen in die Stern. Diese ist der Mond vnnd andere Stern / vnnd seindt getheilt inn viel stück. Wie der Weiß *Candor* inn Ein stuck zusammen Globuliert ist : Also seindt die inn viel stück auß Diuidiert / was den Rotten *Candorem* begreifft.

68 Auß dem folgt der Tag vnd die Nacht : Dann vrsachen / dieweil aller Weisser *Candor* in einer Globul Coaguliert ist / so ist der Tag allein wo die Globul ist. Wo nuhn die Globul nicht ist / do ist kein Weisser *Candor*, do ist die Nacht vnnd die Finsternuß. Dann der Rott *Candor* gibt kein Liecht / in den Weissen *Candorem*. Also auch zu wissen ist / das im Element Fewr zwo Natur seindt / Heiß vnnd Kalt. Die Hitz ist alle im Weissen *Candore*, die Kältti im Rotten. All das Fewr / so do Heiß ist / ist all in der Sonnen / vnnd weither in keim Firmament nicht : All andere Kältti ist inn Sternen / vnnd weither in der Sonn nicht. Dorauß folget / das der Sommer auß der Sonnen kommt / vnnd die Kältti auß den Gestirn. Dann / in der Sonnen ist *Calor expulsiuus*, in den Sternen *Frigus expulsiuum*, also : Die Sonn wirfft vonn jhr Jhr Hitz hinauß durch jhre *Radios* auff die Globul. Gleich als ein Windt / der auß einem Loch geht / oder als ein Halm der auß der Erden geht auff die Erden : Also gehet die Hitz von der Sonnen herauß auff die Globul. Dann die Hitz ist die Frucht der Sonnen auff die Globul / vnnd hatt sunst keine Frucht nicht. Dorauß folgt / das die Sonn zwo Wirckung hatt / ein mehrer / vnnd ein weniger Hitz / also : Sie theilt jhr Hitz in zweyen wegen / dorauß wirdt dem Kaltten Gestirn zugelassen / sein Kältti zu erzeigen / vnnd ist das also. Auff vns Deutschen / so die Sonn am höchsten ist / so ist jhr Hitz am grössisten bey vns : Dann do ist jhr Herbst vnnd jhr Ernd. Im Winther ist sein Kälttin : Nicht dorumb / das sie nider steht / dann es ist die Altt Sonn / die do wol mag durch jhr *Radios* die Hitz allzeit geben : Aber jhr Ernd ist nicht auff der Zeit / sondern es ist jhr Brachmonat : Dann alle Frücht seindt in der Broch / vnnd inn der Ernd. Das sie aber vnder vns / *in Aethiopia* vnnd sonst / so sie *Antarcticum Polum* begreifft / Heiß ist / vnnd bey vns Kaltt : Ist jhr Ernd amselben orth / vnnd bey vns die Broch : Sie brochet also / viel vnnd wenig. Dann alle ding müssen ruwen vnnd schlaffen / was do Frucht geben soll. Wo diese Broch nicht were an der Sonn / so wer jhr Hitz bey vns im Winter / gleich wie im Sommer.

69 Aber dieweil nuhn die Sonn brochet[a] / so ist die Ernd vnd Herbst der kalten Sternen also geordnet / daß das gantze Jahr nimmer ohn Frucht ist. Dann also

a Where the first "tract" of book two was divided into two numbered chapters, this second "tract" of the book has no numbered chapters; instead Huser (likely mimicking the disposition

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brightness that was turned into a mass and *materia:* namely the sun.[1] In it resides all the white *candor* of the entire fiery element, leaving none remaining in that element. The red diaphanous quality was also extracted; and it passed into the stars, into the moon and the other stars of many kinds. Just as the white *candor* is made into one globe, the others are divided into many encompassing the red *candor*. | From this follow day and night. For since the entire white *candor* 68
has been coagulated into one globe, it is only with it that day prevails. Where the globe is absent, no white *candor* abides: night and darkness thus prevail. The red *candor* does not send any light into the white *candor*. Moreover, it must be understood that there are two natures in the fiery element: hot and cold. The heat resides entirely in the white *candor*, cold in the red *candor*. All the hot fire resides in the sun and there is none beyond it in the firmament. All remaining cold is in the stars and none in the sun. From this it follows that summer proceeds from the sun and cold from the stars. For the sun has *calor expulsivus*, the stars *frigor expulsivus*. The sun expels its heat through its *radii* onto the globe. It is like a wind blowing out of a hole or a shoot out of the earth appearing on the earth. In the same way the heat of the sun proceeds onto the globe. For heat is the fruit of the sun upon the globe; other than heat it has none. From this it follows that the sun has two effects, a greater and a lesser heat. It divides its heat into two modes. Thus, the cold stars are allowed to manifest their cold in the following way. So it is for us Germans that, when the sun is at its highest, the heat is greatest here. This constitutes its fall and harvest. The winter is its cold. Not because it stands low, for it is the same old sun which alone through its *radii* yields heat any time. But it is not its harvest time but rather its fallow season, when all fruits have been harvested and things lie fallow. As for the fact that the sun is hot below us in *Aethiopia* and other places encompassing the *antarcticum polum* while it is cold here, this is because in those places it is harvest and here fallow. It is thus lying fallow more or less; for all things must rest and sleep in order for there to be fruit. Without the fallow time of the sun, there would be the same heat here in winter and summer.

But though the sun rests the harvest and fall of the cold stars is arrayed in such 69
a way that the year as a whole is never without its fruits. For when the snow

of the autograph manuscript) had the first line of its several parts printed in small capitals. We chose to merely separate these parts with a blank line throughout this "tract."

1 Here again we can see, unsurprisingly, that P. knew the classics: Aristotle, in one of his arguments aiming to prove that "the celestial sphere is not hot or fiery," stated that "the sun, which most of all the stars is considered to be hot, is really white and not fiery in colour" (*Meteorologica*, I, 3, 341a, trans. Webster 1923).

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falt der Schnee / also geht der *Boreas :* denen nach geht der *Eurus* vnd der *Auster*, die seind der Sonnen Gespan : Also wird der Winter vnd der Sommer / die Nacht vnd der Tag / vnd das Jahr : Auß deren Gang von einem Herbst in den andern / das Jahr *Solis*, das Jahr *Stellarum*.

In solchem ist weitter zu wissen / daß die Tröckni vnd Feuchti mitlauffen / also. Die Tröckni ist in der Hitz / das ist / in der Sonnen : vnd sonst ist kein Tröckni im gantzen Element Fewr / als allein was die Sonn in jhr hatt. Die Feuchti ist in der Kelti / das ist / in den kalten Sternen / das seind die deß rotten *Candoris*, vnd ist also. Die Feüchte mag in keiner Hitz stehn / dann die Hitz verzehrt alle Feüchti / vnd will Trocken sein : die Kelti steht in keiner Tröckni / dann was kalt ist / dz Resoluirt vnd Dissoluirt sich / so sich die Hitz Coagulirt. Also ist das Element Fewr in zwen theil getheilt : In Einem ist die Tröckni / vnd ist in der Sonn : Im andern die Feuchti / vnd ist in der Kelti. Vnd ob die Kelti trücknete / als gemerckt möcht werden : So ist es gleich ein Tröckni / als wann einer an der Sonnen schwitzt / ist ein frembde Feuchti : Also ist das ein frembde Kelti. Nuhn ist das war / ein feuchter Cörper auff Erden mag durch die Stern getrücknet werden / aber nit durch jhr trockne arth / sondern durch jhr Kelti mögen sie denselbigen Coaguliren / das er wirdt als sey er trocken. Also ist jhr trockne Natur zu verstehen / wie ein gefroren Wasser. Also die Sonn auch die Feuchti also / durch jhr Hitz Resoluiert sie das Wachs / das zergeht / also dz Vnschlet : Also der *Agapas*[a] : Was geht aber das den Grund an ? Nichts / als Eüch zu einem Exempel. Also sind in den Sternen Tröckni / das ist der Schnee / das ist das Rißlen / das ist der Reiff / das sind die *Grandines*, dz sind die *Fulgura*, vnd dergleichen / Metallen vnd Stein / so auß jnen gehnd. Was ist aber sein Schnee für ein Tröckne / der nit trocken bleibt ? was ist sein *Fulgur* für ein Tröckni / der nit bleibt ? was ist sein Metall für ein Tröckni / der wider in sein Erst *Materiam* geht ? vnnd anders dergleichen. Also dergleichen von der Sonn / was ist sein
70 Feuchti ? | sie bleibt nit. Dann was ists / daß sie den *Agapas* feucht macht / so lest sie von jhm nicht / sie macht jhn wider trocken / vnd wirdt darnach nimmen feücht. Gleich als das Fewr / das macht das Holtz trocken / das nimmen feucht wirdt / das ist die Eschen. Was thut aber der Stern ? Er feucht den *Salpallam*,[b] der nimmermehr trucken wirt / sondern feücht bleibt. Sie machen den Regen der bleibt feücht / vnd wirdt nimmer trocken : ehe gehts alls hin auß dem Vaß / vnd komm wo es hin woll / noch ist es feucht / noch ist es naß. Also was trocken ist / das steht in der Hitz / was feucht ist / in der Kelti : vnnd die Tröckni wirdt nimmermehr feücht / dit Feüchte nimmer trocken. Alß der Kalch bleibt Kalch / Glaß Glaß / Wasser Wasser / Wein Wein / vnd dergleichen ander Exempel.

a The only two occurrences of this word in P. appear here and on the following page.

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falls, *Boreas* performs its work, followed by *Eurus* and *Auster* which are the sun's associates. This thus constitutes winter and summer, night and day, and the entire year, following their courses from one harvest to the next, through the year *solis* [of the sun] and the year *stellarum* [of the stars].[1] Moreover, it should also be understood that dryness and moisture collaborate as follows. The dryness is in the heat, that is, in the sun; for there is no dryness in the entire element of fire but that which the sun possesses. The moisture lies in the cold, that is, in the cold stars, those of the red *candor*, and indeed this is as follows. The moisture cannot abide in the heat, for the heat consumes all moisture to make it dry. The cold abides in nothing dry, for what is cold resolves and dissolves itself if the heat coagulates itself. Thus, the element of fire is divided into two parts: in the one abides the dry, and it is in the sun; in the other the moist, which abides in the cold. And should the cold seem to become dry, it would be the same sort of dryness as when one sweats in the sun: this is an alien moistness. In the same way, it would be an alien coldness. Now it is indeed true that on earth a moist body can be dried by the stars, but not through their dry nature; rather, their coldness can cause it to coagulate so that it appears as if it were dry. Thus their dryness is like that of frozen water. Thus does the sun dry moisture; by its heat it resolves wax so that it disintegrates like tallow, and like the *agapas*.[2] But what does that change about the foundational principle? Nothing at all. Here is an example for you. In the stars there are indeed various sorts of dryness, namely snow, sleet, frost, *grandines* [hail], *fulgura*, and so on, as well as the metals and stones that come from them. But what sort of dryness is that of the snow which does not remain dry? Of *fulgur*, which does not abide? Of metal, that returns to its prime *materia*? And so on with other examples. As for the sun, what is its moisture? | It does not abide. How is it that it makes the *agapas* moist, and it 70
does not depart before it makes it dry again and it never becomes moist again, just as the fire dries the wood so that it is never moist again, that is, until it is ashes. But what is the effect of the star? It moistens the *salpalla*[3] so that it never becomes dry again but remains moist instead. The stars make the rain, which remains moist and never becomes dry. It might all overflow to whatever place, yet it will remain moist and wet. Thus the dry abides in heat; the moist in cold. The dry never becomes moist again and the moist never again dry. Thus, too, lime remains lime, glass glass, water water, wine wine, and so on.

b There is no other occurrence of the word *Salpalla* in the Huser edition.

1 Half of the year is dominated by the sun, the other half by the stars, i.e., the "cold stars," as stated above.

2 *Agapas* might be a simpler name for *Agapanthus* (a genus of herbaceous perennials).

3 We cannot interpret this unknown word.

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Damit weitter das Element Fewr verstanden werd / wollen wir die Sonn am ersten beschreiben / die ist also. Alle Hitz ist in ein Magdalion[a] gezogen / vnd ist rotundirt / darinn ist aller weisser *Candor*. Also ist der weisse *Candor* vnd die Hitz ein *Magdalion*, gemacht auß dem fewrenden weissen *Sulphure*, in ein *corpus* deß edlesten *Mercurij*, vber all andere Element auß / vnd Coagulirt durch den subtilisten *spiritum Salis*. In disen dreyen Ersten stehet die Sonn / also dürz vnd heiß / dz do kein Feüchti platz hatt / sondern verzehrt wirt : gleich als dz Fewr dz Holtz verzehrt / also verzehrt sie die Feüchti. Also zuverstehn / dz täglich Wasser der Regen / auch der Globul / vnd alles so auß den andern 3. Elementen geht / dasselbig wird durch die Sonn verzehrt vnd hingenommen / dz deß Wassers nit zu viel wirt : Vnd ist der Todt der wasserischen arth vnd deß Meers / deß Rheins vnd der Thonaw / *Nili* vnd *Tiburis*. Dann durch jhr Hitz werden sie verzehrt / daß sie nit vberhand nemmen : dann in allen dingen ist der Todt / allein darumb / das desselbigen nit zu viel werde / sondern in der Maaß bleibt. Also der Mensch hat den Todt / der ist vnsichtbar : die Tröckni hatt den Todt / das ist das Wasser : die Wasser hand den Todt / dz ist dz Fewr. Vnd ist nit / was dz Fewr verzehrt / daß an ein ander orth komm / sondern es geht gar hin in seiner form : Aber der *spiritus* bleibt / denselbigen verzehrt die Sonn / vnd ist der recht Todt / der die andern drey Elementen hinnimpt / vnd es gar verzehrt / auch den Menschen in der Erben / den Bärn in seim Loch.

71 Nuhn aber von der Sonnen weitter zu Philosophiren / nimpt sie jren Gang auß der *Prouidentia diuina*,[b] die Ein ding vnd alle ding wol weist / wo es stehn soll oder wie es stehn soll : der gibt Statt vnd Platz / Gstalt vnd Form / Weg und Steg : der hatts also geordnet / daß sie jhren Circkel gehn soll vmb die Globul / auß keiner vrsachen wegen als deß Herbsts vnd Ernd der Sonnen. Dann in disem Gang ligt nichts als allein der Tag vnd Nacht / Sommer vnd Winter / Licht vnd Finsternuß / Eim Land geben / dem andern gnommen / vnd also im Abwechsel. In jrem Gang wirt kein Wind / sondern sie geht als ein Kuglen auff der Erden / von der kein Wind gehet : oder als ein Schiff auff dem Meer / das von jhm selbst kein Windt gibt : Also gibt die Sonn auch kein Wind. Demnach so nimpt sie kein Hitz daruon : auß vrsachen / wann ein Kuglen hundert Jahr

a This pharmacological word is also used twice by P. in his surgical works (H C:366c, 612c).

b The action of the divine Providence is rarely mentioned in the medical and philosophical works of P. Aside from this early occurrence (see also below, H 8:118) it only appears in late works: once in *De Meteoris* (H 8:217), twice in the Carinthian writings (*Das Buch von den Tartarischen Kranckheiten*, H 2:244, 287), and several times in the *Astronomia magna* (H 10:158, 186, 208, 210, 328, 372). It seems to be equally scarce in the theological works: occurrences are

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In order to explicate the fiery element further, we first of all intend to describe the sun. All of its heat is concentrated in a round *magdalion*[1] containing the entire white *candor*. Thus, the white *candor* with its heat is a *magdalion* made from the fiery white sulphur into a *corpus* of the finest *mercurius*, superior to all other elements and coagulated by means of the subtlest *spiritus salis*. In these three principles abides the sun, so dry and hot that moisture has no place in it but is consumed. As fire consumes wood, so does it consume moisture. This means that the sun consumes and removes the water of rain and of the globe as well daily along with everything else that proceeds from the other three elements so that there is not too much water. This is death for the aqueous nature and for the sea, the Rhine and Danube, *Nilus* and *Tiburis*:[2] by its heat they are consumed so that they do not rise too high. For death abides in all things so that they should not increase too much but instead retain their measure. So, too, death abides within the human being invisibly. Dryness has its death which is water, water its death which is fire. Moreover, it is not as if what is consumed reappeared elsewhere: it is entirely destroyed in its own form. But its *spiritus* persists and it is this same *spiritus* that the sun consumes, which is the true death that removes and consumes the other three elements as well as the human being on earth and the bear in its lair. | 71

To continue our speculation concerning the sun, it derives its course from the *Providentia divina* which directs each and every entity where and how it should abide, lending each its place and position, its form and configuration, path and stair. It has arrayed its circling of the globe for no other reason than to secure the autumn and harvest of the sun. For in its course are solely grounded day and night, summer and winter, light and darkness, its conferral upon one country and deferral from another, in rotation. No wind arises from its course. It passes like a globe over the earth without giving rise to any wind, like a ship upon the sea which of itself causes no wind: just as little does the sun do so. Accordingly, it receives no heat; for even if a globe were to circle for a hundred years, it would

found in the *Liber de imaginibus idolatriae* (NPE 1:520) and the draft of *Das Buch von Maria der Jungfrauen* (B2,148r, forthcoming in NPE 2). In German however, there are more occurrences of the words "göttliche fürsichtigkeit" in all P.'s works. We thank Urs Leo Gantenbein for his insights on this matter.

1 *Magdaleo*: "paste formed into cylindrical shape and administered as medicine, pastille" (DMLBS).

2 This is a misreading for *Tiberis*, the Tiber.

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lüffe / sie würd nichts dester heisser von jhr selbst : Ist sie aber heiß / so muß sie vor heiß sein. Also ist die Sonn / ein schleichende Kuglen / dem gleich geformirt / den *Auibus* zu vergleichen / im Wesen seins Gangs / vnd seiner Natur. Sie mindert die Hitz / dz ist / durch sein Broch : aber sein Schein nit / der bleibt gleich in alle weg. Dann das ist die vrsachen / do ist ein fixer *Magdalion*, der do also bleiben wirdt vom Ersten Puncten biß in letsten / in Einer Form vnd Weiß / seines Lichts halben / *Sulphuris*, vnnd *Salis* vnd *Mercurij* : vnd haben nur Ein Jahr in seiner fixitet / dasselbig weret vom Ersten *Yliastro* biß in *extremum Yliastrum*, in welchem ein newe Welt wirt : vnd ist Ein Jahr / vnd *Annus Solis*. Also alle Stern dise Fixitet haben / vnd ist *Annus Ignis, vel Annus Stellatus*, vnd hat die Zeit der Welt inn / biß auff jhr Tochter.

Aber weitter von andern Sternen zureden / in denn die Kelti steht / vnd der Rott *Candor*, Mond / Planeten / vnd ander / ist also die vrsach. In dem rotten Candor / ist ein ander Broch als in der Sonn : Nemlich als im Mond / der brocht nit / sondern stirbt ab / vnd geht hin : do bleibt ein Sahmen allein / auß dem wachst ein newer Mond : vnd ist also sein geburt / dz sein Sahm von der Sonn die wachsende krafft nimpt. Dann alles dz do wachst / wachst auß der Sonn / durch jhr Hitz / was do Elementisch ist / vnd ohn sie wachst nichts. Dieweil nun der *Fabricator* den Mond geschaffen hat / abzugehn / zunemmen
72 vnd abnemmen : | So hatt er der Natur ein folgung gethan / vnd verordnet / daß der Mond als ein Sahm sich mit der Sonn vereiniget / vnd do entpfecht die wachsende krafft : als dann so er wachst in sein höchste Krafft vnd Grössy / so nimpt er wider ab : Auß vrsachen / was do wachsen soll / das nimpt ab. Vnd wie der Mensch durch sein Kranckheit abnimpt / vnd hingehet : Also ist das Abnemmen deß Monds / sein Kranckheit zum Todt / vnd geht hin / vnd lest allein ein Einigen Sahmen : vnd ist der Firmamentische *Phœnix*, auß dem alle mal ein Newer entspringt : Also ander Sternen mehr. Vnd seind gesetzt auß der Rötti deß *Sulphuris, Mercurij*, vnd *Salis*, vnd ist ein Keltin *Sulphuris, Mercurij* vnd *Salis :* vnd nimpt sein Gang auß der Krafft / auß der die Sonn jhre hatt :

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not of itself become any hotter.[1] But it is indeed hot: thus it must already have been so.[2] Thus, the sun is a wandering globe, similar in formation, comparable to the *aves* [the birds] in the essence of its path and nature. It lessens the heat with its fallow time, but not its light, which remains equal at all times. The reason is that it is like a fixed *magdalion* that remains from the first point to the last constant in its form and nature with respect to its light, its *sulphur* and *sal* and *mercurius*. Moreover, if it had but one year in this fixed form, it would last from the first *iliaster* to the *extremum Yliastrum*, whereupon a new world will come into being, which is one year and *annus solis*.[3] Thus, do all stars have this fixity that is *annus ignis vel annus stellatus*,[4] containing the time of the world until that of its daughter.[5]

But to continue with our speculation about the other stars in which the cold abides along with the red *candor*, the moon, planets, and so on, the cause is as follows. The red *candor* has a different fallow time than the sun. The moon does not become fallow but rather fades away and departs, leaving behind only a seed from which a new moon grows. It is the new moon's birth, the seed of which takes its growth power from the sun. For whatever grows does so from the sun, by virtue of its heat which is elemental and without which nothing can grow. Since the *Fabricator* created the moon to depart, to wax and wane |, 72
he made nature follow, arranging things so that the seed of the moon should unite with the sun to receive the power of growth. Having grown to its highest strength and size, it wanes again, the cause being that whatever should grow, should wane. Just as disease makes the human being wane and depart, the waning of the moon is its disease unto death, its departure leaving only one seed. It is the *Phoenix* of the firmament, from which always a new one emerges. Other stars do likewise. They are composed of the redness of *sulphur, mercurius*, and *sal*, while the moon is a cold quality of the same. It takes its course

1 This goes against the Aristotelian conception of heat and motion: "We see that motion is able to dissolve and inflame the air; indeed, moving bodies are often actually found to melt. Now the sun's motion alone is sufficient to account for the origin of terrestrial warmth and heat" (*Meteorologica*, I, 3, 341a, trans. Webster 1923).

2 P. states at the bottom of this page that the sun's heat is elemental. Hence it is vain to seek another explanation to its heat; not even its composition of the three principles can account for it, since providing heat is the sun's very nature, its very essence (*Wesen*).

3 *Annus solis*: "year of the sun." Here, P. is evidently alluding to the singularity of the *annus mundi* ("year of the world"); as a work of God, the sun remains unchanged until it is to be transformed in a new heaven and earth.

4 *Annus ignis, annus stellatus*: "year of the fire," "year of the stars." See below, H 8:73, on 193, n. 1.

5 Palthen merely translated this word as *filiam*, which is faithful but not helpful.

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vnnd hatt viel wirckung auff Erdtrich von wegen jhrer Kelti vnd Nessi / dann sie ist vber alle Stern in diesem Element deß Fewrs Kelti. Die ander Stern sind gesetzt auch auß diesen dreyen Ersten : aber in viel *partes* gestellt : Auß vrsachen / das do die Kelte des Elements Fewrs / in viel tausent *gradus* diuidirt ist / vnd in viel Wesen vnd Natur. Also auß ettlichen Sternen wachsen Wind vber die gantze Globul : auß andern Regen / Schnee / vnd dergleichen. Darumb so seind jhr vilerley / damit vielerley Arth vnnd Krafft von jhnen gangen auff die Erden / welche sonst nit gehn möchten / so es an einem Magdalion were als die Sonn / die allein Ein Wesen hatt / das ist / die Hitz. Aber in Sternen seind viel kalter Natur : dann die Kelti generirt viel mehr *Egestiones*[a] dann die Hitz. Ein hitziger Mensch ist gesundt / ein kalter hatt viel newer Wesen an jhm / Einer mehr / dann xx. Hitzige. Also dieweil die Kelti der Natur ist / dz widerspiel gegen der Sonnen / mit so viel seltzamer arth : Ist das Element Fewr also getheilt worden in viel Stern / damit ein jedtliche Krafft für sich selbst standt vnd sey / ohn jrrung eines andern Wesens. Dann auß jnen gehnd auß warme Windt / warm Regen / warm ander Gewitter / Himmellitzen / Dracken / *Lanceae*, vnd dergleichen : So ist doch das alles ein kalt Fewr ohn alle Brunst. Was aber hitzig ist vnd brennt / das nimpt sein vrsach *ex accidente*, wie jhr Capitel außweisen. Darumb hie also zuverstehen ist / das weitter von Eigenschafften der Stern hernach folget / das gantz Libell / derselbigen *Egestiones*, vnd was jhr aller arth ist / von einer arth zu der andern gemeldt wirdt.

73 *DE VENTIS.*

Also stehnd zu rings weiß vmb die Globul die Windtstern / die do für vnd für jhr Ernd vnnd Herbst haben : vnd stehnd im Circkel *Zeboch*,[b] vnd begreiffen

a This term of frequent use in P.'s writings on syphilis transfers a pathological aspect to his cosmology; cf. *Von Vrsprung, Herkommen vnd Anfang der Frantzosen Acht Bücher:* "Also hie auch von der Haut des Menschen verstehe / auß jr mag nichts gehn / als allein was der kranckheiten **Egestiones** sind / dann Virtus Expulsiva treibt sonst nichts auß" (H C:231c).

b The word *Zedoch* or, like here, *Zeboch*, occurs nowhere else in the works of P., who uses, however, the word *Zodiacus* a few pages below (H 8:95) as well as in other works.

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from the same power from which the sun takes its power.[1] It has many effects upon the earth with respect to its cold and moisture; for its power surpasses all the stars in the coldness of the element of fire. The other stars are likewise composed of these three principles; but those others are distributed among many parts: this is because the coldness of the fiery element is divided into many thousands of *gradus*, into many beings and natures, so that from certain stars winds rise up over the entire globe; from others rain, snow, and so on. They are many in order that many types and effects can proceed from them onto the earth, which otherwise would not happen should there be only one *magdalion* like the sun, which has only one nature, namely heat. In the stars, however, there are many kinds of cold natures. For cold generates many more *egestiones* [evacuations, excretions] than does heat. A warm human being is a healthy one, a cold one has many new natures within him.[2] One single cold one has more than twenty warm ones. Since the cold nature with its many odd peculiarities is the counterbalance to the sun, the fiery element has been divided among many stars so that each power can stand on its own without erring with another nature. For from them, proceed warm winds, warm rain, and other warm storms, lightning, dragons, *lanceae*,[3] and the like. Thus, it is all a cold fire without heat. But whatever is hot there and burns takes its cause *ex accidente*,[4] as will be shown in the appropriate chapters. Thus, here it must be understood that more will follow about the properties of the stars, a whole book where those *egestiones* and their several natures will be discussed one after the other.[5]

DE VENTIS 73
[On Winds][6]

So it is that the wind stars circle the globe, having there their harvest and autumn. They abide in the circle of *Zeboch*,[7] encompassing the globe above

1 The divine Providence (see above, H 8:71).

2 Here P. is drawing an analogy between the cold stars and a man with a cold, compelled to blow his nose. See below, H 8:75.

3 *Lanceae* are falling stars. See below, H 8:85.

4 *Ex accidente* means "accidentally, not essentially" (in Aristotelian terms), i.e., resulting from an external cause.

5 Since this discussion begins almost immediately with the winds emitted by the tempered stars, before the third treatise follows with other meteorological topics involving all other sorts of *egestiones*, this statement appears as another indication that the structure of the work has not been entirely revised by P.

6 See a less refined draft below in *Liber Tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:314–316).

7 *Zeboch* / *Zedoch*: is it some neologism for *Zodiac*? See also vis-à-vis.

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die Globul / vnten vnd oben. Also wie das Firmament in einer Rundi vmb die Globul geht / vnd die Globul rund in jhr ligt : also im Circkel *Zeboch* stehnd die Stern / vnd treffen den *Zeboch* der Globuln in sein Mittel. Als dann so die Wind gehnd / so schlahend sie sich auff zwo seitten / vntersich vnnd vbersich : das ist / vnter den *Polum Arcticum*, vnd der ander theil auff die *Regiones Poli Antarctici*. Dise Windtsternen sind die rechten Windsternen : Auß vrsachen / daß sie *annuatim* gehnd zu vns / vnd haben jhr Jahr / das ist *Annus Ventorum*. Die andern Windtstern / ob vns vnnd vnter vns / gehnd nicht nach dem Jahr / sondern ettwann / ettwann nicht / treffen auch nuhr Ein Land / es sey wo es woll. Aber die rechten Windtsternen gehnd nach jrem Jahr / allzeit / vber vnd vber / vber die gantz Kuglen / vnnd seind ohn Hagel / ohn Strahl / ohn Schawr / Himmlitzen vnnd dergleichen : Sie seind allein Windtsternen vber die gantz Globul. Jhr seind viel / vmbgeben den gantzen *Zedoch*, gleich dem *Galaxa*, vnd ist der *Deneas* gegem *Galaxa*.[a] Von diesen Sternen Elementischer arth ist zu wissen / daß sie alle naß seind / vnd das in den weg. Von alter her haben sie 4. Nammen / die wir nun bleiben lassen : doch nit mit der alten außlegung. Also aber : *Boreas*, seind alle die Stern / so vndter der Mittnacht ligend / durch den gantzen *Zedoch :* vnd wirdt trocken vnd kalt gerechnet / vnd ist aber nit trocken : also ist [er] aber kalt vnd Congelirt / dz ist / sein Nessy ist Congelirt / darumb sit trocken erscheindt. Der *Zephyrus*, seind die Stern / so vnter *Occasu* ligendt / vnd seind alle feucht vnd kalt / aber nicht congelirt : darumb der *Boreas* gegen jhn trocken gerechnet wirdt / von wegen seiner congelirung. Die andern Stern im *Zedoch, Eurus* vnd *Auster*, sind gantz kalt : aber so bald sie auß jren Sternen gehnd / so wermet sie die Sonn / durch der *Radios* sie gehn müssen / vnd werden für warm erkennt / daß sie aber an jhrer Natur nit seind. Der *Eurus* wirt trocken geheissen / vnd ist nit trocken : die feüchti aber / so er in
74 jhm hatt / verzehrt jhm die Sonn / biß an die so in jhm ist / die jhm die Sonn | nicht nemmen mäg. Der Auster wirdt feucht geheissen / vnd ist feucht : auß

a *Galaxias* (the correct Latin form), the Milky Way, is essential for P.'s understanding of the microcosmic-macrocosmic relations, as in *Paragranum:* "Euch humorales Artzt möchte wol wunderen / wie der **Galaxa** durch den bauch gienge / auch wo der vnder vnnd ober polus stünden / auch wo die Planeten / wo der Zodiacus durchgiengen" (H 2:42).

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and below. Just as the firmament is round, containing a rounded globe, the stars likewise stand in the circle of *Zeboch* and intersect with the middle of the globe's *Zeboch*. Accordingly, when the winds blow, they pass on two sides below it and above it: the first part below the *polus arcticus* and the second onto the *regiones poli antarctici*. These are the true wind stars, for they come to us *annuatim* [yearly] and have their own year which is *annus ventorum* [the year of the winds].[1] The other wind stars, whether above or below us, do not proceed by the year but occasionally; and they effect only a particular land whatever it might be. But the true wind stars always follow their year, thoroughly, across the entire globe and are without hail, lightning, or showers, heat lightning, and that kind of thing. They act only as wind stars across the entire globe. There are many of them and they encompass the full *Zedoch*, like the *Galaxa*, and there is the *Deneas* toward the *Galaxa*.[2] What must be understood about these elemental stars: they are all moist, and it is in this way. From ancient times, they have four names[3] which we will keep as such, but not with their ancient interpretation. *Boreas* is the name for all the stars arrayed under Midnight throughout the entire *Zedoch:* they are assumed to be dry and cold, although they are not dry, but rather cold and congealed, which means that its moisture is congealed, which makes it appear dry. The *Zephyrus* encompasses the stars arrayed under *Occasus* [the Occident], all of which are moist and cold, but not congealed. This is why by comparison the *Boreas* stars are considered dry due to their congelation. The other stars in the *Zedoch, Eurus* and *Auster*, are completely cold, but as soon as their effects leave the stars, the sun warms them by its *radii* [rays] through which they must pass and they are considered warm; but this is not their nature as such. *Eurus* is considered dry but is not really dry; rather the moisture within it is consumed by the sun except for that warmth within it which the sun | cannot take away. The *Auster* is called moist and is indeed 74

1 The only other occurrence of this phrase known to us is on the so-called "Alchemische Weltlandschaft" engraved by Matthäus Merian in 1618 for Johann Daniel Mylius's *Basilica Philosophica* (see Wagner 2024). There we can read inscribed on one of the concentric circles in the middle of the picture the words in capitals: *Annus solaris—Annus stellatus—Annus ventorum*—words obviously borrowed from the present treatise, unfortunately without further explanation.

2 *Galaxa*: the Milky Way. *Deneas*: this is the only occurrence of this unknown word in the Huser edition.

3 See Pliny, *Natural History*, 1, 46: "The Ancients only reckoned four winds—Homer does not mention more indeed." The four winds named by P. are those mentioned in Greek by Homer (e.g., *Odyssey* 5:295–296), although *Notos* is cited here by its Latin name: *Auster*. These four winds (including *Auster*) are named as those of the four compass points in such popular textbooks as the thirteenth-century *De anni ratione sive de computo ecclesiastico* by Johannes de Sacrobosco (section "*De quatuor temporibus anni*").

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vrsachen / das jhm die Sonn sein Feüchti nit nimpt als viel / als dem *Euro :* das wehret das Meer / daß der Sonnen Feüchte genug giebt zu verzehren / das also der *Auster* in seiner Feüchte herkompt zu vns / auff die vnter vnd ober Globuln.

Wie aber auß den Stern der Windt geht / ist die *Ratio*, das zugleicher weiß wie die Sonn jhr Hitz gibt auff die Welt : Also ist in diesen Sternen kein andere Arth oder Eigenschafft / als allein der Wind / der also vom *Sulphure, Mercurio* vnd *Sale* decoquirt wirdt vnd außgeht nach seinem *Adech*.[a] Jhr Windt ist täglich / all stund / vberwehet die gantz Welt / lind vnd sanfft : darumb jhre Windt erkennt sollen werden / in dem so die andern Windtstern außgelegt werden.

DE STELLIS TEMPERATIS de Zedoch.

Die andern Windstern wie sie im Firmament stehnd / sind also. Ein jedtlicher Stern hatt in jhm die Kelti / die macht Wind : dann aller Windt Mutter ist allein die Kelti. Nun aber ist die Kelti also / das etliche Wind machen mit sampt dem Regen / ettliche mit sampt dem Schnee / ettliche mit Hagel / vnd dergleichen. Darumb zu wissen ist / alle die Wind / so auffhören vnd nachlassen / nit auß dem *Zedoch* gehnd / allein hin vnd her versamlet auß Particularischen Sternen / wie dann in jhren Capiteln gefunden wirdt / ein ander nach erzehlt. Vnd jhr aller Geburt ist / daß sie durch jhr Keltti geberend mit der zeit ein Egestion / deren mancherley seind. Was aber von Winden ist / das ist also / daß die Stern *Emunctoria*[b] haben / also was sie in jhnen geberend / außwerffen mögen : Also so die Wind geboren werden / herauß geworffen werden / nach dem vnd der Windt ist / an das orth / do dann das *Emunctorium* hin sicht oder geht / vnd weret als lang vnd dasselbig Egest ist. Die Zedochstern aber / dieselbigen gehnd täglich in jhr Egest / vnd machen den Wind der Welt / zu Temperiren die Hitz der Sonnen / vnd zu zertreiben die Gefröst der kalten Ern. Dann sie mitigiren

a See vis-à-vis, and above, Introduction, 28 and n. 62. See *Grosse Wundarznei* (H C:90c): "Auch ist der Mensch zwifach / als sein Person ist ein Arbeiter in die groß Welt / in jhm ist auch die klein Welt / vnd in derselbigen hat er seinen Geist / welcher der ander Mensch ist. Also arbeitet derselbig die Kunst vnd Zier der Menschen / als wol als der Mensch in der eussern Welt : Also arbeitet der Mensch aussen vnd innen. Vnd ob ich denselbigen Geist **Adech** hiesse / von wegen der vnderscheidt / wer wolts verargen ? Also verstanden / das der Mensch an zweyen orten arbeitet / durch sein Person / vnd durch sein Laboranten Adech."

b *Emunctorium* again transfers a term from human anatomy to cosmology: "Es mag nicht widerredt Werden / dieweil Schwitzen ist ein **Emunctorium** / dardurch gereinigt wer / den etliche geschlechte der Frantzosen / das hie vom Schwitzen nicht billich sey anzuzeigen seine Corrigierung"—*Drey Bücher von den Frantzosen* (H C:168c). See also below, H 8:213.

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moist because the sun cannot reduce its moisture as much as with *Eurus*. The sea prevents that, which offers the sun enough moisture to consume already. Accordingly, *Auster* reaches us with its moisture above and below the globe.

Wind proceeds from the stars for the same *ratio* [reason] that the sun sends its heat to earth. In these stars, then, there is no other nature or property but the wind that is brewed from the *sulphur, mercurius*, and *sal* and that leaves its star in accordance with its *adech*.[1] Their wind is diurnal, blowing across the entire face of the earth at all times gently and softly. This is why their winds must be known when the other wind stars are discussed.

DE STELLIS TEMPERATIS
de Zedoch
[On the Tempered Stars of *Zedoch*]

The other wind stars arrayed in the firmament are as follows. Each of the stars bears the cold within it that causes wind, for the mother of all wind is the cold. But the cold is such that some cause it with rain, some with snow, some with hail, and so on. Therefore, it must be understood that the winds that let up or cease do not proceed from the *zedoch*, but rather are only occasionally gathered from particular stars, as will be explained in the proper chapters one at a time. The birth of all lies in their occasional power to generate an egestion of which there are several kinds. As for the winds, they result from the stars having *emunctoria*, so that what is born within them can be ejected. When the winds are born they are cast out in accordance with the nature of the wind, in the location to which the *emunctorium* is directed, with a duration that is that of the egest.[2] But the stars of the *zedoch* have daily egests; the result is that the winds of the world temper the sun's heat and dispel the frost of the cold stars

1 *Adech*: this word is explained in the *Grosse Wundartzney* (H C:90c). Adam von Bodenstein explains it faithfully in accordance with this text in his *Onomasticon* (1575): "internus opifex in homine" ("internal worker within a man"). Toxites offers ampler detail in his *Onomasticon* (1574): "homo invisibilis interior, qui omnibus rebus formam dat in animo, quas exterior homo manibus visibiles atque tangibiles efficit" ("internal invisible man spiritually giving all things their form while the external man produces them as visible and tangible ones"). The *adech* is similar to the *archeus*: an invisible, driving, formative force residing in man as well as things. On *Archeus* see below, H 8:129.

2 The scatological subtext is blatant. See likewise below the explicit mention of snot (H 8:75).

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zu beyden seitten / die Hitz vnd die Kelti : vnd ist das höchst Temperament im
75 Sommer vnd im Winter.[a] Wo sie nit | werendt / so gefror der *Chaos* gleich wie das Wasser. Dann das Wasser gefreürt auß vrsachen / das diese Zedochwindt in dasselbige nicht gehndt / drumb so gefreürt es : aber den *Chaos* durchgehnd sie / darumb sie jhn nit gefrieren lassen. Vnnd seind vmb nichts anders / als allein daß sie die Temperation in jhnen haben beyder zeit im Jahr / zu mitigiren alle vberflüssige Viele / daruon schaden kommen mag der Erden.

DE RORE.

Auß allen Sternn / so weitt der Himmel begreifft in jhm / deß gantzen Firmaments / ist ein arth an jnen allen / daß sie täglich schwitzen / all Puncten vnd all Stund / vnd das also. Die Stern zihen an sich die Hitz der Sonnen / gleich wie die Frucht der Erden dieselbig auch empfacht : Dieselbige Sonnliche Hitz macht / daß die Stern sich in jhrer Kelti resoluiren : vnd ist allein ein Resolution / als ein kalter Stein der do schwitzt / vnd nimpt sich auß dem Dunst so in jhnen selber ist / vom *Mercurio, Sulphure* vnd *Sale* genommen. Dieser Dunst ist in allen Elementirten *Corporibus* der vier Elementen.

Dann zu gleicher weiß wie der Mensch *Phlegma* auß der Nasen Emungirt / mit natürlichem Lauff vnd Fluß : Also auch die Stern vnd alle Element solche natürliche vberfluß geben. Diser Dunst geht alle tag von Sternen / vnnd falt herab auff die Erden. Im Tag wirdt er verzehrt von der Sonnen / zu Nacht aber falt er auff die Erden / vor dem vnnd die Sonn auffgeht / vnd ist der Tow. Aber in dem Winter / vnd zu der zeit der kalten Ern / so gefreürt er / vnd wirdt ein Reiff dorauß : vnnd ist allein der Schweiß der Stern / deß gantzen Firmaments / der schwitzt also herab : wie ein siedents Wasser hinauff gen Himmel dempfft / vnd sein Reiff vbersich gibt / also geben sie jhn vntersich.

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a Here the same transfer can be observed more closely. The daily purgation of the "tempered stars of Zedoch" ensures the balance of seasons in the whole world just as daily purgation of the human body enables the latter to stay healthy: "Dann zweyerley seind Emunctoria in allen dingen / Natürlich vnd vnnatürlich. Die Natürlichen werden selten zun kranckheiten gebraucht / sonder allein zu der täglichen Reinigung des Egests / so sich im Leib natürlich samlet : Dieselbigen geben die lange gesundheit / vnd so derselbigen eins verstopfft oder gehindert wirdt / als dann volgt hernach / das du demselbigen Emunctorio zu hilff kommest. Aber in den kranckheiten ist es nicht also […]. Dann wie die kranckheiten vnnatürlich seind / Also vnnatürlich machen sie auch jre Emunctoria." (*Von Vrsprung, Herkommen vnd Anfang der Frantzosen Acht Bücher*, H C:209a).—Likewise, the process leading to rainbows via emungation of water stars releasing their spirit of salt unto the *medium interstitium*, finds a medical parallel in the case of zoster (*zinzilla*): "Aber ich sag / das zinzilla sey der liquor

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[*Ern*].[1] For they mitigate both heat and cold with the greatest tempering effects in summer and winter. If they did not | do so, the *chaos* would freeze as does 75
water. It is only because these *zedoch* winds do not enter it that water freezes. But they do enter the *chaos* to prevent it from freezing. Moreover, they exist for no other reason than to effect tempering in those two times of year, mitigating all superfluous levels that could harm the earth.

DE RORE
[On Dew]

All the stars of the entire heavenly firmament have it in their nature that they perspire daily everywhere and at all times. The stars attract the heat of the sun just as the fruit of the earth receives the same. That same solar heat causes the stars to resolve in their cold. The resolution is nothing other than happens when a cold stone sweats because of the vapor in it taken from the *mercurius, sulphur*, and *sal*. This vapor resides in all elemental *corpora* of the four elements.

For just as the human being emungates *phlegma* from the nose with its natural course and flow, so do the stars and elements yield a natural superfluity. This vapor proceeds always from the stars and descends onto earth. During the day, it is consumed by the sun. At night, however, it descends onto the earth before sunrise. It is the dew. But in winter and in the time of the cold stars [*Ern*],[2] it freezes and turns into a cold frost.[3] It is nothing other than the sweat of the stars of the entire firmament which perspires downward just as a boiling water steams upward, and just as a frost can rise upward, the stars send them downward.

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salis, auß dem diaphragma / vnnd nach der höch des diaphragmatis, treibt er nach eim ring auß seim Excrement. […] Ita zinzillae non sunt, nisi quod radices diaphragmatis liquorem salis transmittunt, id est, se emungunt, & cum ille liquor foris venerit, tunc primum exulcerat […]" ("Thus the zoster lesions are nothing else than the roots of diaphragm emitting liquor of salt: they emungate indeed, and, as this liquor comes out, it immediately produces ulcers": *Von Offnen Schäden, Geschweren, Syronen* etc.—H C:599c).

1 Sudhoff lets this word stand as it is here: "ern." We interpret it as a typographical error omitting the "St-" of "Stern" and translate it as "star." If it is an error, it occurs not once but twice (see below, H 8:75), which could have been caused by the assumption of the typesetter and proofreader that "Ern" was one of P.'s many neologisms. Only "star" makes sense in context.

2 See note 1.

3 The same idea is found in a draft below, *Liber Tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:299).

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DE NEBVLIS.

Der Nebel ist auch also nichts als dieser Dunst : allein in dem verendert / das er nicht zeittig ist / auß ettlichen Sternen geworffen. Wann er als der Reiff auff die
76 Erden kompt / so widersteht er der Erden vnd dem Wasser / | wirdt gleich eim Rauch : Auß vrsachen / daß es sich nit zu Taw oder Reiff gantz mag resoluiren. Darumb es ettlichs theils falt in Taw / das ander theil in Nebel gehet / dann er ist ein vnvollkommner Taw / der nichts zeittig ist : zeucht sich etwann gen Boden vnnd verschwindt / so er subtil ist : So er aber noch grob ist / vnd nicht bereitt / so steigt er vbersich in sein Region / do wirdt er von der Sonnen verzehrt : Es sey dann / das ein Regengewülch zu jhm vermischt wirdt vnd vereiniget / so werden Regen darauß / vnnd seind subtiler Regen als ander Regen. Sie fallen offt / vnd bringen vil Regenwetter : dann auß vrsachen beschicht das / daß die Stern wässerig sind / darumb so mögen sie nicht in Tow gehen / allein in solch Nebel. Wo sie aber Schöny bringen / ist die vrsachen / daß er subtil bereitt ist / vnnd verschwindt auff der Globuln.

Finis Tractatus secundi.

TRACTATVS TERTIVS.

De Tempestatibvs.
Prologus in stellas tempestatum, quomodo in eis sit materia prima ad faciendas tempestates. Principium Tempestatum.

Also wie dermassen gesagt ist / das ettliche Stern sind die do Wind machen : Also sind andere Stern / die do Gewitter machen / als der erst Tractat von *Coniunctionibus & natura stellarum* innhalt. Wie aber vnd in was weg dasselbig beschicht / ist also. Anfenglich so die Tempestatstern angehnd / daß sie sich emungiren / geschicht / daß der *Mercurius* vnd *Sulphur* vnd *Sal* in jnen selber sich selbst durch jren *Adech* reinigen den vberfluß / so in den Stern nicht gehört. Dann das geschicht auß der vrsachen / das ein jedlicher Stern in jhm selbst hatt ein arth / daß sie geben in jhnen selber nach arth deß Elements Fewrs.

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DE NEBVLIS
[On Fogs][1]

Likewise, fog is nothing but this same vapor. The only difference is that it has been ejected from some stars when it was not ripened. For when it descends upon earth under the form of frost, it opposes earth and water | and turns into 76
something like smoke because it cannot be resolved entirely to dew or frost. A part descends as dew and the rest floats as fog; for it is an incomplete dew that is not yet ripe. It is drawn to earth and then disappears if it is subtle. But if it is still rough and not ready, it ascends into its region and is consumed by the sun. If a rain cloud is added and mixed with it, rain results, a subtler kind of rain than is usual. These often fall, causing extensive rainy weather, and this happens because the stars are aqueous. For this reason, they do not pass into dew, but into this kind of fog. When it anticipates fine weather, this is because it has been made subtle and so it disappears from the globe.

Finis Tractatus secundi
[End of the second treatise]

TRACTATVS TERTIVS
De Tempestatibvs
[Third Treatise. On Storms]
Prologus in stellas tempestatum, quomodo in eis sit materia prima ad faciendas tempestates.
Principium Tempestatum
[Prologue on the rainstorm stars and how they bear the prime matter of rainstorms. The origins of rainstorms]

As we have said that there are certain stars that cause winds, so, too, there are others that cause rainstorms, as is elucidated in the first treatise on *conjunctiones & natura stellarum*.[2] How this happens can be explained as follows. Should the tempest stars begin to emungate, it happens that their internal *mercurius, sulphur,* and *sal* through their *adech*[3] purify themselves of the excess matter which does not belong in the stars. This happens because each star has a nature within it to yield in accordance with its kind and in accordance with the element of fire.

1 The reader may compare this chapter with the draft below, H 8:301–302.
2 See above, H 8:66. The actual title of this first treatise is different, although the reference is accurate. It may be, however, that the phrase "von *Coniunctionibus & natura stellarum*" only referred to the matter dealt with here. Huser might have misunderstood it as a title.
3 See above, H 8:74.

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I.
DE NVBIBVS.

Also dermassen wie die Stern seindt / von denen die Windt kommen : Also seindt auch Stern / von denn das Gewülck vnnd Regen kommen / vnnd das in den Weg. Die Regenstern[a] so sie auffgehn zu jhren zeitten in jhrem Circkel vber die Globul / so geben sie das Egest nach jhrer Arth / also / das der *Sulphur* vnnd *Mercurius* vnnd Saltz / so in dem Stern seindt / ein Wasser Natur seindt / vnd sonst nichts in jhnen haben / als allein die Wasser Natur / dorauff sie dann geordnet seindt. Wann nuhn also das Egest angeht / so wirdts am aller ersten ein Rauch / der geht auß den Sternen / herab auff die dritt Region / do wirdt er sichtbar : Als dann ist der Rauch ein Wolcken / nach dem vnnd der Stern viel seindt / oder viel von Sternen außgeworffen wirdt / groß vnd klein. Dorauß folget / das mancherley farben im Gewülck seindt / Weiß vnnd Graw / gar mannigfalt : Auß vrsachen / das der Schwefel vnd Saltz mit sampt dem *Liquore Mercurij* also von mancherley Stern zusammen kommt / vnnd vndereinander gehndt. Als dann ist jhr arth / das sie still stehendt : Aber von jhr leichti wegen / vnnd das sie ring seindt / bewegt sie der Windt / der an sie kommt / nach seim Gang zu gehn. Wiewol das auch ist / dz von etlichen orthen mehr Gewülch gehnd als von andern : Auß vrsachen / dz an denselbigen orthen mehr der Wolcksternen seind / dann an andern Enden : Als nemlich bey dem *Zephyro* vnnd *Austro* seindt der Stern am mehristen der nassen Gewülch / vnd bey *Borea* vnd *Euro* die drucknen Gewülch : Auch die warmen Gewülchsternen bey *Euro* vnd *Austro*, die kaltten bey *Zephyro* vnd *Borea :* Vnnd ist nicht der Winden schuldt / oder deß Meers / sondern das dieselbigen Stern am selbigen orth jhren Lauff haben. Vnnd so sie außwerffen jhre Egest / vnnd ein Wolcken wirdt / als dann treiben sie die Windt vber das Meer / auff die Globul. Dorumb dieselbigen Wind / so bey den Sternen stehnd den Sternen nach / Drucken oder Naß geheissen werden / vnnd doch der Natur nicht ist.

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a Contrary to "Windstern" (H 8:73, 210, 264 among others), but like "Schneestern" (see our note below, H 8:79), the word "Regenstern" is not confined to the meteorological writings: it reappears in a version of the treatise on tuberculosis from the *Eilff Tractat* (*Vom Schwienen oder Schwindtsucht*, H 4:222). There P. explains that remedies against "Schwindtsucht" must have the power to oppose the rain stars of the microcosm: "so muß es durch ein solche Cur beschehen / die des Himmels vnd der Regensternen gewaltig sey : durch welche Regenstern der Liquor gemehrt wirt vnd erhalten […] : das ist die *Philosophia* der *Astrorum* des vntern Himmels der do ist dem Artzt in seiner Hand."—The "Liquor" mentioned here, essential to the healthy condition of man, is presumably analog to the *humidum radicale*, the radical moisture without which the body will succumb to its own innate heat, according to standard scholastic medicine. See H 4:220 and the treatise *De renovatione et restauratione* (H 6:101–102), commented on in Kahn 2018, 192.

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I. 77

DE NVBIBVS
[On Clouds][1]

As are the stars from which winds proceed, so are the stars from which clouds and rain proceed, and to be sure in this way. When the rain stars ascend in their time across the globe, they yield the egest in accordance with their nature. This means that the *sulphur* and *mercurius* and salt in them are of an aqueous nature, containing nothing else but this watery nature which arrays them accordingly. When the egest begins, it is initially a smoke proceeding from the stars down to the third region[2] where it becomes visible. Then the smoke becomes a cloud in accordance with the multitude of stars or that which they have ejected, large or small. From this it follows that the clouds have many colorations, white or gray, with many nuances. This is because the sulphur and salt together with the *liquor mercurii* aggregate from many stars and get mixed together. It is in their nature to remain standing. Yet because of their lightness and because they are slight, the on-coming wind moves them in its direction. Moreover, it happens that more clouds go in some places than others, because in some there are more cloud stars than in others. In the case of *Zephyrus* and *Auster* there is the greatest number of stars of the moist cloud type; with *Boreas* and *Eurus*, there are the dry clouds. The warm cloud stars are with *Eurus* and *Auster* and the cold ones with *Zephyrus* and *Boreas*. This is not because of the winds or the sea, but rather because those stars frequent those places. If they cast out their egest which yields clouds, the winds drive them over the sea on the globe. Those particular winds that stay by these stars are called dry or moist because of them, but are not so by nature.

1 See on the same topic H 8:216 (*De Meteoris*) and 302 (*Liber Tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis*).

2 This third region can only be the upper region of air. In scholastic cosmography, the air between the earth and moon was divided into three regions. The upper one was located under the region of elemental fire (situated above the whole region of air). Therefore, it was thought to be hot. The lowest region of air was the one closest to the earth. It was thought to be warmed by the reflection of the rays of the sun, rebounding on the solid bodies on earth and returning into the air. The middle region, situated between the two others, was cold, untouched by this reflection. These characteristics are ignored by P. See above, H 8:61, on 165, n. 1. For a text easily available to P., see e.g. Albertus Magnus, *Meteora* [first published c. 1517/1519], in P. Hossfeld (ed.), *Opera omnia*, vol. 6, 1 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2003), 11–12.

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Dergleichen seindt auch viel Stern / die auff der Globul stehend / vnnd
78 Gewülch machen : Drumb offt ein Wolck ob einem | Land ersteht / vnd kommt nicht vber Meer / sondern von dem Land do der Wolck stehet : Vnd werden auch etwann vber die Globul gejagt in andere Land. Solcher Wolcken werden viel vnnd mancherley : So seind sie doch allein drucken Wolcken / von denen wir hie die Red thund : Dann der *SS. S.* vnd *Mercurius* sind nichts / als allein ein durrer Rauch vnd Egest / auß jhren Sternen herab gefallen / vnd werden also verzehrt / als ein gemeiner Holtzrauch.

II.
Vom Regen.

Die Regenstern sindt geg *Zephyro* vnd *Austro*, wenig gegen *Septentrione* vnd *Euro*, vnd doch auch : Stehend *in Mercurio, Sulphure, Sale* gewaltig / vnd so sie sich Emungieren / so geht jhr Egest auß / der durch den Adech zu Resoluiren bereytt wird / vnd geordnet auff den Regen. Dieser Egest ist anfenglich ein Dampff / auch gleich eim Rauch / dorumb es am ersten als ein Gewülch ist : Derselbig Wolck macht jhm selbst ein Wind / der geht auß nach seinen *Emunctoriis*, die do gemeinlich gehnd gen Orient oder Mitnacht[a] : Dorumb der *Auster* vnd *Zephyrus*, als die nassen Wind vnd Regenwetter erkennt werden / vnnd sindt doch nicht dieselbigen : Wol aber jhr Nachbauren. Am ersten ist ein Wolck / gleich den andern / vnd ist voll im Saltz / mit wenigem *Sulphure* vnd wenigem *Mercurio :* Geht also in seiner Region / vor dem vnd er ein Regen macht / etlich Zeit oder Stund. Nach dem vnd dz Saltz Resoluirender Natur ist / also hebt dz Saltz an / herauß am Lufft sich zu Resoluiren / ausserthalb seins Sterns / vnd wird zu Wasser : Was also Resoluirt wird / dz falt herab auff die Globul Tropffenweiß. Dann gleich wie es herab falt / also Resoluirt es sich von dem Gewülck einander nach / viel oder wenig. Dorumb offt kleine Tropffen fallen / etwann groß / nach der stärcki der Resolution : Etwann lang / nach dem vnd der Wolcken viel seind : Etwann ein Wolckenbruch / dz kommt auß dem / das die Resolution zu schnell geschicht / vnd vndereinist wirdt / vnd vndereinist herab falt. Also Ordinirt es der *Adech* das es zu Tropffen Resoluiet wird / vnd Stillirt ab dem Marmel herab tropffenweiß : Als subtil ist die Arth der Natur /
79 vnd kein Regenwolck gibt kein Wasser / es sey | dann / dz am Ersten die Resolution dorinn sey / dieselbig geht also gemachs / dz nur Ein Tropff dem andern nach auß der Materien fallt. Solch Regen die werend als lang / als der Stern

a The word *Mitnacht* ("midnight") does not make sense. Huser suggested in the margin: "Forte lege Mittag" ("Perhaps read *Mittag*"—i.e., "South").

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Such are also many stars that reside over the face of the earth causing clouds. Hence, often a cloud originates | not over the sea but over the land below it. 78
And often they are driven across the globe into other lands. These clouds are many and diverse. But here our subject is confined to the dry clouds, for the *sulphur, sal,* and *mercurius* are nothing other than a dry smoke and egest that have descended from their stars and they are consumed like a common wood smoke.

II.
On Rain[1]

The rain stars are toward *Zephyrus* and *Auster*, less toward *Septentrio* and *Eurus*. They powerfully consist of *mercurius, sulphur*, and *sal;* and should they emungate, their egest goes out, prepared by the *adech* to be resolved and configured by it for rain. This egest is initially a vapor not unlike smoke, which makes it initially into a cloud. That cloud generates by itself a wind that proceeds outward in accordance with its *emunctoria* which are commonly directed toward the Orient or toward the South. Hence *Auster* and *Zephyrus* are known as the moist winds and rainy weather, yet that is not the same thing, but close to it. There is initially one cloud like the others, replete with salt but with little *sulphur* and little *mercurius*. It proceeds in its region for quite some time before yielding rain. But since the salt is of a resolvent kind, it begins to resolve itself when it is exposed in the air outside its star and thus turns into water. What has been resolved falls to the face of the earth in drops. In descending it resolves itself from the cloud gradually to a greater or lesser degree. This is why often tiny drops fall; sometimes large ones, in accordance with the strength of resolution; sometimes for a long time whenever there are many clouds; sometimes a cloudburst resulting from the resolution happening too quickly, and it suddenly comes about and comes down. This is how the *adech* directs it so that it is resolved into drops and distilled from the marble[2] in drops. The ways of nature are so subtle that no rain cloud yields water | without first having resol- 79
ved it within itself so that the rain falls softly drop by drop. That sort of rain lasts as long as the stars stay there and effect their egest. Those who discern the

1 On rain, see also below, *Ein Anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8:276–277) and the more different passage in *Liber Tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:303).

2 "Ab dem Marmel:" a possible misreading for the Swiss term *Marfel* ("hibernation; rest, calm, inaction"). See *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* (accessed 20 July 2019).

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do seindt vnd Egest machen. Welche deren Sternn Arth vnd Eigenschafft recht erkennen / vnd Krafft jhres Saltzs / dieselbigen wissen den Tag vnnd Stund jhres hingangs vnnd hergangs / anfahens vnd Ends / viel oder wenig / mit eim mehren Verstand als die / so sich *Astronomi* nennent.

III.
DE NIVE

Die Schneestern[a] / stehn ob vns / vnd deß mehrern theils gehnd auß der *Linea Lactea*, den jhr nennent *Galaxa*. Dann im *Galaxa* ist der mehrist theil der Schneestern / dieselbigen haben jhr Emungiren im Winter : Auß vrsachen / dz durch die Kältti jhr Emungiren geschicht. Wie der Regen Effect durch die Wärmi wird deß Luffts : Also hinwider der Schnee durch die Kältti deß öbern Luffts. Aber viel Schneesternen Emungiren sich im Summer : So sie kalt Wind haben / so treiben sie die Stern in den Effect : Als etliche Regenstern auch thund / im Winter bey den warmen Lüfften / zu dem Egest vor seiner zeit gebracht werden. Anfenglich wann die Schneestern außgehnd / so wird es ein weisser Schaum / vnd falt in die Breitti auß / vndersich gegen der Kuglen / do ligt er biß er sich bereitt / also. Es ist ein Weisser *Sulphur*, der Coagulirt sich durch sein Saltz vnd *Mercurium*, wie dann der Schnee ist / vnd falt also herab stück weiß auff die Erden. Dann wie die Resolution der Regen sind / also ist do die Coagulation deß Schnees. Vnd ist nit / dz auß der Regensternen der Schnee werde / sondern er hatt sein eigne Stern / die der Schnee Arth seind : Dann kein Regen Congelirt sich in sein *Regionibus :* Aber die Schneesternen mügen jhren Egest nicht allzeit behalten / daß Congelirt werden : Vrsachen / dz offt im Winter oder andern zeitten ein solcher Schneewolcken durch die Wärmi Resoluirt werden / vnd zu Regen gehnd : Etwann ein Regengewülck dorunder kommt / vnd bricht dz Schneegewülck in seiner Operation / vnd Resoluirt es mit jhm / oder es fallen Schnee vnd Regen miteinander : So die Kältti in jhren *Regionibus* den Schnee nicht lest Resoluir en / so falt der Regen / als sein Arth ist / vnd der Schnee / als sein *Adech* ist.

80

IIII.
Vom Rißlen.

Vrsprung der Rißlen / kommen auß den Schneesternn / in dem Weg. So im Sommer / oder zu solchen zeitten / wann Wärmi ist / die Schneestern am Ersten

a The same can be said of "Schneestern" as of "Regenstern" (see above, H 8:77): while repeatedly used in the meteorological tracts (see e.g. H 8:226 and 270), it reappears in a medical, microcosmic context in the *Eilff Tractat*, in the treatise on podagra (H 4:183–184).

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nature and properties of such stars and the power of their salt know the day and hour of their arrival and departure, inception and completion, their fullness or paucity, with a better understanding than those who call themselves *astronomi*.[1]

III.
DE NIVE
[On Snow]

The snow stars abide above us. Most of them proceed from the *Linea Lactea* which you call *Galaxa*. For the greater part of the snow stars abide in the *Galaxa* and effect their cleansing in the winter. This is because their cleansing is caused by cold. Just as the rain is effected by the warmth in the air, snow results from the cold in the upper air. Yet many snow stars cleanse themselves in summer. If there are cold winds, they compel the snow stars to have this effect, as are some rain stars compelled to egest before their time in the winter when there is warm air. At first, when the snow stars proceed, there is a white foam which falls across the wide space toward the globe. It lies there until it is prepared. This is a white *sulphur* coagulating itself by its salt and *mercurius*, which is what the snow is; and it falls bit by bit onto the earth, for the coagulation of the snow is like the resolution of the rain. It is not the case that from the rain stars snow comes; for snow has its own stars that are of a snowy nature. For no rain congeals in its *regiones*. However, the snow stars cannot always retain their egest until it is congealed. This is why it often happens in winter or other seasons that a snow cloud is resolved by warmth and turns to rain. It can happen that a rain cloud gets mixed into it, breaking up the snow cloud in its operation and resolving it along with its own contents. Or it can happen that snow and rain descend together. If the cold in its *regiones* does not allow the snow to become resolved, then rain will fall according to its nature and snow according to its *adech*.

IV. 80
On Sleet

The origins of sleet come from the snow stars in the following way. In the summer or some other warm season, if the snow stars are initially driven to yield

1 To P., meteorology is superior to standard, mathematical astronomy inasmuch as it requires understanding the ways stars effect their egestions made of the three principles. Meteorology offers an intimate knowledge of the stars that standard astronomy cannot provide.

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durch Kältti außgetrieben werden zu einem Schnee / vnd so derselbige Schnee nicht volkommen mag werden in seinem Effect / also das er zu früe in die Resolution geht / durch die Wärmi deß *Chaos :* Als dann so wirdt ein Regen dorauß. So aber der *Boreas* dorein kommt / vnnd begreifft jhn / so Coaguliert er jhn / vnnd macht dorauß Granen / so groß die Schneetropffen sein sollten. Vnnd so sie also Coaguliert werden / so fallen sie herab. Vnd dorumb ist zu wissen / das auß keim Regenstern / kein Rißlen kommt : Dann sie nemmen die Coagulation nicht an / in jhren *Regionibus*, es müssen allein Schneestern sein.

v.
Vom Donnern.[a]

(Das Donnern gebiert sich auß seinen eignen Sternen / die do stehn *in Sulphure, Mercurio* vnnd *Sale*, also in dem Weg. Diese Stern / so sie von jhnen außwerffen jhren Egest / ist ein gewaltige vermischung do der drey Ersten.)

Das Donnern entspringt also. Die Donnerstern so sie außwerffen jhren Egest / so ist es ein Materialischer *Sulphur, Sal* vnnd *Mercurius*, derselbig wirfft sich auß in sein Region : Als dann Dissoluiert er sich / am Ersten greifft der *Sulphur* den *Mercurium* an vnd das *Sal*, vnd soll ein Commixtur werden / vnnd Ein ding : Dasselbig mag das *Sal* nicht leiden vnnd *Mercurius*, das die Sulphurische Arth in jhnen Materialisch mit seiner wirckung sey. Dann der *Sulphur* ist am heissisten / vnd das *Sal* ist Salpeter : Wann auß jhrem Regen wirdt auch der beste Salpeter. Dieweil nuhn also die drey Ersten zusammen müssen / vnnd sich vereinigen / so geschichts nicht ohn Wunderwerck. Dann die Coniunction dieser drey Ersten kommt auß einem Stern ohn vereiniget herauß / vnd ist deß Adechs / sich im Gewülch zuvereinigen. So der *Adech* das wirckt / so zündt
81 er den *Sulphur* an / vnnd den *Mercurium* | vnd Salpeter mit jhm / eins kaltten Fewrs / wie der Stern Arth ist in dieser Generation. Vnnd so der *Sulphur* annimbt den Salpeter vnd *Mercurium*, so wird ein Kuglen dorauß Compactirt zusammen : Dieselbig Kuglen / ist der Salpeter grob vnd vnzeittig / so bleibt er im Sulphur nicht / vnnd zerschlecht dieselbig Kugel von einander : Dasselbig zerschlagen macht ein Knall / der erbidmet im Gewülch / etlich Meylwegs weit / gleich als gieng der Knall für vnd für in seiner Substantz : Vnd ist nichts als allein wo der Donner hingehet / doselbst hinauß hatt der Salpeter die Maß

a An understanding of these and other wondrous celestial phenomena discussed in this volume is superseded by an obligation to surmount them in the *Liber de Fundamento Scientiarum Sapientiaeque:* "Gibt er [God] Cometen im Himmel / zwo Sonnen / drey Sonnen / gibt Stein von Himmel / gibt Strahl von Himmel: Also auch wider hinauff. Nicht allein Stein

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a snow that does not become consummate in its effect because it enters into resolution too early because of the warmth in the *chaos*, then what results is a rain. But since *Boreas* enters into it and encompasses it, this coagulates it and makes it yield grains the size of the snow drops. Coagulated, they descend. This should make it clear that no rain star yields sleet. For the grains do not acquire coagulation in their *regiones*. This is reserved for the snow stars.

V.
On Thunder[1]

(Thunder is born from its own stars that abide in *sulphur, mercurius*, and *sal* in the following manner. While these stars are emitting their egest, a powerful mixture of the three principles occurs.)[2]

The thunder arises as follows. In emitting their egest, the thunder stars project a material *sulphur, sal*, and *mercurius* into their region. When it dissolves, the *sulphur* first of all attacks the *mercurius* and the *sal*, which results in a composed mixture, a single thing. But the *sal* cannot endure, nor can the *mercurius*, that the *sulphurous* nature should materially exert its effect on them. For *sulphur* is the hottest of all and the *sal* is saltpeter. From its rain, indeed the best saltpeter arises. When the three principles are thrown together and are uniting, this cannot happen without wondrous effects. For the conjunction of the three principles emerges from a star without yet being united and it pertains to *adech* that they be united in the cloud. When the *adech* effects it, this ignites the *sulphur* and *mercurius* | and the saltpeter with it in a cold fire that has the 81
nature of the star in this generation. When the *sulphur* accepts the saltpeter and the *mercurius*, a ball is compacted. If the saltpeter is in a crude and unripe form, it does not abide in the *sulphur* and explodes the ball. This exploding causes a boom which resonates in the cloud for miles around as if the boom were continuing in its substance. And the way towards which the thunder goes is not-

---

vnd Strahl / sonder auch **Blitzen vnd Donnern**. Diese ding seind dem Menschen fürzubilden / nicht allein das er sich verwundere / darumb das der Himmel / darumb das die Erden so seltzam ding machen vnd zeigen: Sonder das er noch seltzamer sey / dann diß all / vnd der Mensch nicht vnter dem vnvernünfftigen vnd vnmündigen Gestirn vnd Erden lebe / sonder vber sie erhöhet: Wo sie Eins / der Mensch zehen hergegen: Dann er thuts alles auß den Künsten vnd krafft Gottes" (H 9:433).

1 See a parallel chapter in *Ein Anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8:269ff.), and another one in the *Liber Tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:304–306).

2 Why this paragraph is in brackets has not been explained by Huser. It seems to be a tentative, abandoned introduction to the production of thunder.

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zerbrochen. Solcher Kuglen mögen viel Dotzet[a] werden von Eim Stern / die alle in der schnell / so sie außgeworffen werden vom Sternen / einander nach zerbrechen / nach dem vnnd jhr viel oder wenig seindt. Vnnd so baldt also dieser Donner geschehen ist / so kommt ein Wind / vor oder darnach : Auß vrsachen / das diese *Coniunctio* dieser wiederwertigen drey Ersten / vor dem vnnd sie geschicht / ein grossen *Impetum* von Windt machen / vnnd kommt allein in der Coniunction / so sie streng gegen einander ist. Als dann so Resoluiert sich der Salpeter / vnnd Soluiert mit jhm den *Mercurium* vnnd *Sulphur*, vnnd gehnd in ein Regen : Vnnd seindt schnelle Regen / auß vrsachen / das ein schnelle Resolution vom Salpeter do geschicht.

VI.
Vom Strahl.

So aber do ein Strahlstern wer / dz ist / ein Fewriner *Sulphur :* Als dann wirfft derselbige Stern sein Egest Fewrin auß / also das sie zusammen Coagulirt sind im Stern / vnd kommen Coagulirt herauß in sein Region. Aber die Kältti der zulauffenden Wind / vnd deß *Chaos*, ist jhn wiederwertig / vnd widersteht diesem Egest : Dornach dieses kommt / das diese drey Ersten sich selbst zerbrechen durch die Kältti vnnd Feuchti der eussern Wolcken / die auch mitlauffen auß seinem eignen Sternen. Dann wo Strahl außgehnd / do gehet am ersten ein Regengewülch vor auß / im selbigen ligt diese *Materia*. Vnnd so sich dieß Regengewülch Soluieren will zu einem Regen / so netzt es diese Materien / die dann Fewri ist : Vnd so der [*SS.*] dz Naß empfindet / so zerschlecht es sich von
82 einander : Als dann | geht am ersten das Blitzen auff die Erden vom *Sulphure*. Dann es schlecht es weith im Circkel vmbsich / vbersich als vndersich / ein gantzen Ring vmb sein *Centrum*. Vnnd so baldt der Blitz naß wirdt / so lescht er auß : Im selbigen leschen ist die zerbrechung der Kuglen / vnnd schlecht ein Donner / wie obsteht. Solcher kommen offt viel auffeinander / nach dem vnd die Stern außwerffen / viel oder wenig. Dergleichen auch zuwissen ist / das der *Mercurius* offtmals also härrt ist / vnnd mit dem *Sulphure* vnnd *Sale* Compactiert / das er sich nicht zerschlecht / vnnd bleibt gantz in einer Maß / vnnd ist Fewri / vnnd gewaltig in seiner Operation / vnd durch Nässi der Gewülch / so nur Ein Tropffen diß Fewr der drey Ersten berürt / so schlecht er sich gantz auff die Erden / oder in die Himmel hinauß / nach dem vnnd die Nassi an jhn vnden oder oben ankommen ist. So es oben trifft so schlecht es vndersich / zun

a We consider this word which is unknown to Grimm to be a misreading or misprint of "Donner."

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hing else than wherever the saltpeter has shattered the mass. Balls of the kind can cause many thunderbolts from a single star which, precipitously emitted, shatter one after another, whether they are many or few. As soon as this thunder has occurred, it is preceded or followed by a wind.[1] The reason is that this *conjunctio* of the opposed three principles cause a great *impetus* of wind even before the explosion, which only occurs in the conjunction in which they are tightly set against one another. It is then that the saltpeter is resolved and with it the *mercurius* and *sulphur* going over into rain. The rains are tempestuous because a precipitous resolution of the saltpeter takes place.

VI.
Of Lightning[2]

If there is a lightning star, that is, a fiery *sulphur*, it expels its egest in a fiery mode, so that it becomes coagulated in the star and exits in this form into its region. But the coldness of the opposing winds and *chaos* acts against it, resisting the egest. Thereupon, it happens that the three principles are broken by the coldness and moisture of the outer clouds that accompany it from their own stars. For wherever lightning manifests itself, it is preceded by a rain cloud in which this *materia* is latent. Moreover, when this rain cloud would become resolved to a rain, it moistens this material which is fiery. When the *sulphur* receives the moisture, it shatters; then | from it lightning flashes to earth.[3] Then 82
it impacts a broad surrounding radius, above and below, a full circle around its center. As soon as the bolt becomes moist, it is extinguished. That extinction coincides with the shattering of the balls so that the thunder strikes as described above. These, whether they are many or few, often follow in succession as they are emitted by the stars. It also must be noted that the *mercurius* is often so tightly compacted with the *sulphur* and *sal* that it does not shatter, but instead remains in a mass that is fiery and powerful in operation; and through the moisture of the clouds, whenever a single drop touches the fire of the three principles, it strikes fully down onto the earth or up into the heavens depending on whether the moisture has touched it high or low. If they meet high up, it strikes downward or sideways this way or that, meeting wit-

1 See the parallel passage below, H 8:305.

2 See a parallel chapter in *Ein Anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8:269 ff.), and another one in the *Liber Tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:304–306).

3 See the parallel passage below, H 8:305.

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seitten / zu der seitten / auff die ander seitten / wie es dann im Circkel trifft / dieselbige Lingen hinunder geht : Vnnd schlecht also mit einem solchen *Impetu* in die Erden / das es Mauren zerschlecht / Beum ab / Felsen endtzwey spalt / vnnd offtmals so es ein Teych trifft / auff Ein Platz das Wasser alles hinauß schlecht / Roß vnnd Mann zu todt / etlich hundert Clafftern in die Erden : Vnd ist deßgleichen kein schnelleri Wirckung im Himmel nicht. Das ist der grosse gewalt *Mercurij*, der das Fewr viel weniger dann der Salpeter leiden mag / vnnd tausentmal grimmiger schlecht dann der Salpeter : Vnd ist allein ein Coagulation dieser drey Ersten / in gewaltigem Fewr / durch die Nässi der Gewülch herab geschlagen.

VII.
Kaltt Strahl / Schawer.

Dergleichen die kaltten Strahl vnd Schawr also werden / allein das sie im Fewr nicht stehnd : Vnnd ist die vrsach / das der Regen ablescht / vnd das Fewr nimbt. Solcher kaltter Strahl schlecht auch heral wie der Fewrin : Dann der *Mercurius* mag die Nässi auch nicht leiden. Vnnd so er auff die Erden kommt / so wirdt er offt funden / vnd ist ein Berillische[a] *Materia :* Auß vrsachen / das der
83 *Liquor Mercurij* vnnd *Salis Petrae* lautter ist / mit einem Weissen oder Grawen | Schweffel / etwann Schwartz / vnnd dergleichen. Offt Soluiert er sich wiederumb / offt bleibt er also in das dritt Jahr oder lenger. Dermassen kommen auch die Schawr / also / so die drey Ersten in der Operation ligendt / vnd der Salpeter ligt ob / mit den andern : So ist sein *Adech*, das er auß jhm selbst Korn macht nach seiner Arth / vnd Dissoluirt sich gleich Tropffenweiß ein Regen von einandern / allein das die *Coagulatio* mitlaufft. Vnd so die Zerbrechung geschicht / am ersten der Blitz / dornach das Zerbrechen / das den Donner gibt : Dornach fallend auff den Knall herab die Schawr / groß oder klein / nach dem vnnd sein Arth ist. Etwann der Strahl damit / Kaltt oder Fewri / vnnd grosse Wind vnnd Regen damit : Auß vrsachen / das diese drey Ersten / *Sulphur, Sal, Mercurius* also trefflich vnnd am gröbisten do außgeworffen werden / also das kein wenige Vngestümmigkeit kommen mag / nur groß. Dann solche Stern / die diese *Materiam* außwerffen / machen groß Gewülch / vnnd grosse Wind / vnnd schnelle *Operationes*, mit viel Blitzen. Dann es gibt sich offt / das viel Blitzen kommen eh[e][b] Ein Donner kommt : Auß vrsachen / das menche Maß also härrt ist in jhm Coaguliert / daß in der schnell so baldt nicht zerbrochen wirdt. Dorumb als offt ein Versuchen geschicht / ein Himlitzen daruor geht.

a On this word see above, H 8:15, on 83, note b.

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hin a circle with the line extending downward. If its full *impetus* strikes the earth, it shatters walls, knocks trees down, breaks stones in two; and often if it strikes a pond, it throws up all the water, killing horse and rider at a range of several hundred fathoms to the earth. There is no more precipitous reaction in all the heavens. This shows the great power of *mercurius* which suffers fire even less than the saltpeter, exploding a thousand times more furiously. And this is merely a coagulation of these three principles in a powerful fire, shooting down through the moisture of the clouds.

VII.
Cold lightning, Showers[1]

Cold lightning and showers arise the same way, except that they do not abide in fire, the reason being that the rain comes down and eliminates the fire. This kind of cold lightning also strikes down like the fiery one. For the *mercurius* can just as little suffer the moisture. When it comes down to earth, it is often found as a crystalline *materia*, the reason being that the *liquor mercurii* and *salis petrae* are pure with a white or gray | sulphur and sometimes black 83
or what have you. Sometimes it dissolves. Sometimes it remains for a third of a year or longer. The showers also come when the three principles are in operation and the saltpeter is up there with the others. It is its *adech* to turn itself into grains in its own peculiar way and be resolved into drops, one rain distinct from another, while the coagulation continues. Moreover, when the shattering takes place, it is preceded by the flash and then occurs the shattering that causes the thunder. After the boom, the showers descend, great or small ones, as is their nature, sometimes with lightning, cold or fiery, and it may bring great winds and rain along with it. The reason for the latter is that these three principles, *sulphur, sal*, and *mercurius*, are emitted so strikingly and coarsely, that no small disturbance results, but only a major one. For the stars that emit this *materia* cause great clouds and winds and precipitous *operationes* with great lightning. For it happens often that great flashes precede the thunder, the reason for this being that a great mass is so firmly coagulated in it so that it is not rapidly broken up. So that as soon as it tries to break up, lightning occurs.

b Huser has "ehb," a clear misprint for "ehe."

1 Cold lightnings are mentioned as well in *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8:273).

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Es geschehen auch viel Himmlitzen bey Schönem Wetter : Ist die vrsach nicht also wie do vom Schawr vnnd Strahl / sondern es ist viel *Sulphur* in etlichen Sternen / so er außgeworffen wirdt / brennt ohn allen Schaden hinweg / mit Lautterm Himmel : Seind nur Egest auß Lautterm Sulphur / vnd mehr bey der Nacht dann bey Tag : Wann die Sonnen verbrennt diesen Schweffel von den Sternen / der sonst bey der Nacht herab kommt / vnnd sich selbst hinbrennt. Vnnd ist nur ein Dunst vom *Sulphure*, do kein Hitz inn ist : Etwann auch lindt Donnern also kommt / ohn Schaden / von linden Sternen.

Stein von Eussern / *ad Capitulum de Gemmis è Supernis. Nota.*

84

TRACTATVS QVARTVS.

I.

De Iride.

Iris ist ein Stern / der do gewaltig steht allein *in Sale*, dz ist / das er sein *Corpus* auß dem Saltz hatt : Derselbig gehet auff mit den Wassersternen / aber er gibt selbst kein Wasser / aber er ist in der Wassersternen Gang vnd Circkel. So er sich Emungiren will / so wirfft er herauß den *Spiritum salis* ohn ein Corpus auff *medium Interstitium :* Als dann so er ligt in demselbigen / so dehnt er sich in ein Circkel auß mit viel Farben / allein Eins Elements / dz ist das Fewr. Wann die Farben so er hatt / kommen auß dem Saltzgeist / der Braun / Bleichgelb / Grün / etc. gibt[a] : Vnd ist nit ein versamlung der vier Elementen / als etlich

a In an earlier draft of this chapter Paracelsus did not mention "salt spirit," but a liquor of salt (*liquor salis*): see *Liber tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:310). Depending on the liquor's strength, P. explained, the rainbow extends in its entirety, or only half of it, or only a third. It disappears when the liquor has been entirely consumed or dispersed. In another draft he explains the production of rainbow by firmamental salt by comparing it with the various colors that appear when salt is thrown into fire (see below *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris*, H 8:251; likewise, 310–311). The idea that all colors are contained in salt occurs again below (H 8:121). It is repeatedly found in several other works of Paracelsus as well. See his *De Mineralibus*: "Vnnd verstanden da ein kurtzen begriff / nemlich / das alle Farben kommen auß dem Saltz / dann das Saltz gibt die Farben / den Balsam / vnnd Coagulation : Der Sulphur gibt das Corpus, die Substantz / vnd Aedificum : Der Mercurius gibt die Virtutes, Vires, Arcana" (H 8:345). See furthermore *Drey Bücher der Wundartzney Bertheoneae* (H C:363a, ch. VI): "Nuhn weiter zu wissen ist / daß die Farben so den Löchern zufallen / sich auß den Salibus erheben : Wann auß jhnen gehen alle Farben / dergleichen auch die Form / Als ein Exempel / Wo nicht Sal inn ist / da ist kein color / vnnd im außzug der Eigenschafft des Sal, / werden die Farben eröffnet." Similarly, *Opus Paramirum* (H 1:115): "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." In a fragment on *De virtutibus rerum* P. explains: "Anfenglich so wissen / das in dreyen ein jedlich ding steht / im Fewr / im Saltz / vnd *in Mer-*

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Thus, too, there often occur flashes during fine weather. The cause is not that of showers or lightning. Rather, there is much *sulphur* in certain stars. When it is emitted, it burns itself off harmlessly in a clear sky. These are nothing but the egest of pure sulphur. This occurs at night rather than by day, when the sun burns off this sulphur of the stars which usually descends at night, and it burns by itself. This is merely a vapor of *sulphur* without any heat within it.[1] So, too, gentle thunder arises harmlessly from gentle stars.

Stones from without *ad Capitulum de Gemmis è Supernis. Nota*.

[For stones from without, see the chapter about stones falling from above.][2]

TRACTATVS QVARTVS. 84

I.

De Iride.

[Fourth treatise.]

[I. On Rainbow]

Iris is a star abiding powerfully in *sal* alone, taking from it its *corpus*.[3] It ascends with the water stars but does not of itself yield any water while abiding in their course and circle. When it would cleanse itself, it ejects the *spiritus salis* without any *corpus* onto the *medium interstitium*.[4] As soon as it reaches it, it extends itself into a circle of many colors but of a sole element, namely fire. For the colors it bears stem from the salt spirit, which yields brown, pale yellow, green, and so

curio. Im Fewr leit die Transmutation vnnd die Subtilitet derselbigen: Im Saltz die Farben : Im *Mercurio* die Artzney […] Im Saltz werden alle Farben / wann wo nicht Saltz inn ist / do ist auch kein Farben: Vnd wie alle ding in Farben stehend / also auch alle ding im Saltz" (H 7:412). On the next page he offers examples taken from minerals. Salt, he insists, gives everything their color; lapis lazuli has its color from silver salt, cinnabar from mercury salt, amethyst from iron salt, and so on: "Auff das mercken / das *Sal* alle farben gibt / sie seind Grün / Blaw / Weiß oder Schwartz: Als die Lasur hatt jhr Farben auß dem *Sale Lunae, Cinobrium* auß dem *Sale Argenti viui:* Im Amethisten auß dem *Sale Martis*. Also auch der *Cacedonius*, der *Iaspis*, also ist sein Arth vnd Eigenschafft: vnd eim jedlichen Gewechs ist sein Saltz geben / dem es sich nach ferben muß: dergleichen aller *Gustus*, mit dem kompt Sawr / Süß / Räß / Bitter / etc. wie dann die Natur an dem orth verordnet ist" (H 7:413).

1 See another version of the same ideas in the *Fragmenta Meteorica* (H 8:325–326).

2 See below, H 8:90.

3 On the relationship between salt and rainbow, see vis-à-vis.

4 On the *medium interstitium* (the intermediary space, i.e. the *chaos* extending from the heavens to earth and holding the element of fire within the element of air), see above, H 8:61 and 63.

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gewaltig ligend : Sondern also die Arth deß *Iridis*, der also / wie ander Stern auch / ein jedlicher nach seiner Geschöpfft sein Impression gibt / also dieser *Iris* den *Arcum Cœlestem* gibt auß seiner eignen Krafft ohn all andere Element. Sie kommen offtmals mit schönem Wetter / vnd bringen kein Regen : Vnd ist die vrsach / dz derselbig *Iris* allein sein gang hatt / ohn andere Wassersternen : Etwann mit Regenwetter / dann etliche gehnd mit denselbigen Wassersternn / kommend früe vnd spaht im Tag nach jhrem Lauff / vnd zu Nacht gleich so wol : Dann das die Farben nit mögen erkennt werden / vor dem Schatten der Erden vnd der Dünckli. Das sie aber im Sommer kommen / ist die vrsach / das der *Iris* stern nicht mag zeittig werden bey Winters zeitten / sondern allein durch die Sonn / wie die *Tonitrua* werden / auch gezeittiget werden. Dorumb sie zu jhren zeitten kommen vnd auffgehnd. Welche aber im Winter kommen / ist die vrsachen / dz sich etwann ein *Arcus Cœlestis* im Sommer geboren hatt / vnd ist nicht außgeworffen / vnnd also blieben biß vber sein zeit / als etlich Donder auch / vnd Blitzen / vnd dergleichen. Sein Form / sein getheilte Farben / ist alls auß der angebornen Natur seins Adechs / so im Stern *Iride* ligt. Dorumb weither / was vom *Iride* die andern Alten *Philosophi* vnnd der Modernen jnnhalten / als ein Sewische Arth angenommen soll werden / die do mit keiner Philosophey nie Probiert ist worden / jhr fürgeben vnd arth.

85

II.
LANCEA.

Vrsprung der Lancen kommen auß den Sulphursternen / so sich der Stern emungiren will / vnnd wirfft von jhm sein Putrefaction / die in jhm nit stahn mag. Dann alle Stern seind bestendig vnd bleiben : was aber auß jhnen geboren wirdt / das zu der Feülung gericht ist / das falt von jhnen auß. Also ist der Sulphurstern / von dem der Lantz geboren wirdt / ein Sulphurisch *Corpus*, vnnd generirt in jhm ein Scheinents ding / gleich jhm selbst an der Farben : dann das sicht alle mal dem gleich / von dem es kompt / dieweil es in desselbigen Wermi noch ist. Drumb so der Stern das außwirfft von jhm / so mag es bey Tag nit gesehen werden / allein bey der Nacht : vnd wird außgeworffen wie ein Klotz an Eim stück / aber im fallen so denet es sich von einander / daß es gleich wirdt einem Spieß / vnnd ettwann ein Spieß geheissen / ettwann ein Sterngeschoß. Dann es hatt Ein *Materiam*, vnd ist Ein ding. Vnd so bald es auff die Erden kompt / so

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on.[1] It is not an aggregate of the four elements, as certain persons authoritatively assert;[2] it is, rather, the nature of the *iris*, which is alike other stars, yielding their impression in accordance with their own creation. Likewise, this *iris* yields the *arcus coelestis* [the rainbow] from its own force without being aided by the other elements. They often occur during fine weather and cause no rain. This is the reason why the *iris* has its own course without any other water stars. Sometimes it is during rainy weather, for some do travel with the water stars, occurring early or late in the day in accordance with their course, as well as at night. At that time, the colors are not recognized on account of the earth's shadow and darkness. Their occurrence in the summer is because the *iris* star cannot reach its maturity in the winter, but only through the sun, as is the case with the *tonitrua* [thunderclaps]. This is why they occur and ascend at their own times. That some do occur in the winter has its cause in an occasional *arcus cœlestis* being born in summer without being emitted, so that it abides after its time, as do some thunder and lightning bolts, and things of that kind. Its form and distributed colors result from the innate nature of its *adech* abiding in the *iris* star. Thus, whatever else has been said by other ancient and modern *philosophi* should be regarded as being of a vile authenticity that has never been proven by any philosophy in its assertions and character.[3] | 85

II.
LANCEA.
[II. On Lances][4]

The origin of the lances is from the sulphurous stars, when the star would cleanse itself by casting out its putrefaction which cannot abide within it. For all stars are constant and abiding; but that which comes out of them and is subject to decay, falls from them. Thus, the sulphurous star that gives rise to the lance is a sulphurous *corpus* which generates within itself a shiny entity similar to it in respect of the color, for it always resembles that from which it comes, since it still shares the same warmth as its source. When the star casts this out, it cannot be seen by day but only at night. When it is emitted, it is like a clump on a stick,

1 Every explanation of the rainbow taken from physics or optics is ignored by P. in favor of his strictly chymical explanation. See the end of the chapter.

2 On the association of the rainbow's colors with the four elements, see the occurrences from Jerome, Isidore of Seville, Bede, or Ivo of Chartres in *Medieval Christian Literary Imagery*, 176–177.

3 This rebuttal includes all explanations by such philosophers as Robert Grosseteste, Dietrich of Freiberg and their likes taken from the fields of geometry, optics and physics.

4 *Lancea* is the Latin name for falling stars since Late Antiquity. See Quetelet 1861.

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steht es still wie ein Sultz / oder Laich / oder gleich einem *mucilagini :* das sich von der Sonn verzehrt / darauß wirdt ein fixer Schweffel / vnd ein härter : darauß wachsen auch sondere Käferform / auß etlichen kleine Würmlein / gleich jungen Schlangen : Ettliche vnter jhnen sind hitzig / also daß sie brennen / vnnd derren wo sie ligend : auß vrsachen / daß sie so schnell auß dem Stern fallen / vnd hitzig herab kommen / doch selten. So sie fallen auff die Letten Erden / so machen sie den Letten zu Stein / so weitt sie jhn fassen : wo sie in Wasser fallen / verderben sie die Fisch / vnd seind den Krebsen fast gutt.

III.
DE DRACONIBVS volantibus.

Vrsprung der natürlichen Drachen / kommen auß dem Corpus deß Sulphurs / aber mit vil Mercury vnd Saltz vermmischt : werden auch in den Sulphursternen : aber in dem vnterscheiden von Lantzen / daß sie / als bald sie kommen vom Stern herauß / an Einer Maß bleiben / wie sie vom Stern herauß gestossen
86 werden / compact in einander. Aber so hitzig in jhn selbst / | vom *Sulphure*, das der *Mercurius* vnd das Saltz nicht still stehen mögen / sondern zittern in jhrem schiessen / gleich als wer es ein lebendiges Thier / das sich also rührte : das macht die Wildy / so im Salniter ist / *Mercurio* vnd im *Sulphure*, dieweil die Hitz darbey ist : vnnd scheust nach der seitten hinauß / auß vrsachen / daß seins Sterns *Emunctorium* nach der Seitten steht : vnd demnach vnnd es sicht auff die *planitiem* der Erden / also schlechts hinauß / vberzwerch / ettwann in 30. oder 40. Meil / mehr vnd weniger. Vnd so er nider falt / so ist er nichts als ein Gest oder verbrannter Schaum / vnd ligt in *planitie terrae*, als *Vsnea*[a] an einer Eychen. Dieser Schaum vbersilbert ein jedtlichs Kupffer / auß arth deß *Mercurij*, so in diesen Dracken ligt : vnd so es in ein Fewr geworffen wirdt / so springt es als ein Buchs / vnd gibt ein bibeten Knall.

a The word *usnea* is used here in its most standard meaning as a mere comparison, contrary to several other occurrences. *Usnea* taken from the skull of a dead man was one of the well-known ingredients of the infamous *unguentum armarium*, the weapon salve described in many Paracelsian writings such as those of Rudolf Goclenius the Younger (1608) or Oswald Croll (1609). Yet in the first occurrence of this recipe, in the spurious *Archidoxis magica* first published in 1570 (H 10A:81), the word used was not *usnea*, but *Mieß* ("moss"). Both words were used in the authentic works of P., though *usnea* was used much more often. See the likely source of the spurious recipe in the *Grosse Wundarzney* ("Hernach folgen etliche Künst der Blutstellung. […] Das Mieß auff den Todtenköpffen", H C:35a), and the same recipe in the *Praelectiones de vulneribus* and the *Scholia & Obseruationes in Macri Poemata de virtutibus herbarum* ("Zu Blutstellen, *R. terrae ex Usnea capitis mortui unc. x.* [etc.]", H C:465c, likewise

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but in falling it spreads apart to become like a spike and indeed it is sometimes called a spike, and sometimes a shooting star. For it does have a precise *materia* and is a distinct entity. When it arrives on earth, it is still, like a gelatin, or like roe, or *mucilaginous*. Consumed by the sun, it turns into a fixed sulphur and hardens. From it certain insect forms arise; from some, little worms like infant snakes. Some of them are so hot that they burn and dry where they lie, because they have descended so rapidly from the star that they land hot, but this is only rare. If they fall onto the potter's red clay, they turn it to stone where ever they fall. If they fall into a body of water, they ruin the fish but are quite good for the crabs.

III.
DE DRACONIBVS volantibus.
[III. On Flying Dragons][1]

By origin, the natural dragons stem from the corpus of sulphur, but mixed with much mercury and salt. They also arise in the sulphurous stars; but unlike the lances they retain the same measure when expelled, remaining compact in composition. But within they are so hot | from the *sulphur* that the *mercurius* 86
and salt do not remain quiet but rather quake in their trajectory, as if it were a living creature that move. This is caused by the wildness that abides within the salt nitre, *mercurius* and *sulphur* when they retain their heat. This causes them to shoot out laterally, since the *emunctorium* of their stars is on the side. Thus, following its angle to the *planities* [lowlands] of the earth, it arcs crosswise for as much as thirty or forty miles more or less. When it comes down, it is nothing more than an expulsion or singed foam, lying in *planities terrae*, like *usnea*[2] in an oak tree. This foam glazes all copper silvery from the nature of the *mercurius* that abides in these dragons. Cast into the fire, it shakes like a musket and gives off a resounding bang.

H 7:269). Elsewhere *usnea* is used in the context of the tartar diseases: "*Vsnea est Tartarus tenuissimus & spongiosus*: Ettliche Grieß anhencken sich dünne / vnd doch Porosisch wie ein Mieß *quod in arbore nascitur aut latere, nam Vsnea dicitur* Mieß" (H 3:209). P. also evoked *usneae cœlestes* in *De Meteoris* (below, H 8:240).

1 In the words of Albertus Magnus, "If coldness impedes such a trabs [a meteor like a lance] while it is driven forward, it will be bent, and takes the shape of a curled dragon. This is why people say that they have seen dragons flying through the air, spitting fire" (trans. Vermij 2010, slightly modified, on 653). "The 'firedragon' became a stock element in later medieval meteorologies," according to Vermij.

2 This word of Arabic origin designated moss and lichen.

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IIII.

Von stillstehenden Geschoß.

Sich begibt auch offt / dz von ettlichen Sternen der Egest außgehet gleich seim Stern / vnd bleibt in der höhy der Mitteln Region / vnd falt nit auff die Globuln / bleibt also in der Höhy : auß vrsachen / das viel Egest der arth sind / die nit gen Boden sincken / sondern in der Hohi bleiben / als die Obern Wolcken auch seind. Also sind auch solche Egest zuerkennen / dann sie nicht herab fallen / sondern schweben : vnd sind von einem scheinenden *Sulphure*, der allein ein Rauch ist / an Eim Corpus / vnnd also zu seiner zeit verzehrt wirdt wie ander Gewülch. Sie werden auch etwann getrieben von einer statt zu der andern / nach Lauff deß Windts vnd seins *Emunctoriums*. Solcher stillstehenden Sterngeschoß werden vil für new Sternen angesehen / die mit der zeitt wider vergehndt. Ettwann gibt sich / das solch Stern alle Nacht gehndt Ein straß / vnnd Ein Zeitt / vnnd zu Morgen nachts wider hinden stehn vnd wider gehnd : Ist die vrsachen / daß das *Emunctorium* also steht wie es geht / vnnd im ersten Gang geht der Stern biß er verzehrt wirt / es sey in der Nacht oder im Tag / vnd falt darnach ein newes Egest auß / vnd gehet aber wie der alt : also offt in viel Wochen / alle Nacht ein newes Egest außfalt / früer vnd spätter / an der statt do derselbige Stern stehet.

87 V.

DE RANVLIS & SANGVINE & Lacte.

Dermassen sind auch ettliche Sternen / die jhren Egest außwerffen wie ein Laych / vnd fallen auff die Erden / darauß wachsen Würm / Fröschen / Krotten / vnd dergleichen vielerley Käffer. Dieser Egest ist ein fauler *Sulphur* vnd *Mercurius*, vnd ein hitzer *spiritus salis :* vnnd sein *Adech* ist der arth solcher Putrefaction / dorauß solche Thier wachsen. Dann es sind allerley Geschlecht so auff Erden seind / Stern im Himmel / nach den Thieren : vnnd waß Wechselbalg sind / werden all auß den Sternen geboren. Dann es sind zweyerley Schlangen / die rechten Schlangen / so beschaffen sind Schlangen zusein / vnd Sternschlangen : Also mit allen andern Thieren dergleichen. Solche Egest so sie außgehndt / werden viel wunderbarlicher Wirckung darauß. Dann ettlicher ist wie Blutt / das ist ein Rotter dissoluirter *Sulphur*, vnnd so er Coagulirt wirt wie der (Wein)[a] so wirt ein *Sulphur* darauß / der do brindt. Ettwann felt ein Weis-

a Huser added an asterisk and suggested “Windt” as an alternate reading in the margin.

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IV.
On Stationary Shooting Stars.

Often it happens that, from some stars, the egest proceeds close to them and remains at high altitude in the middle region without falling onto the globe but rather remaining there. This is because there are many kinds of egest which do not fall to earth, but instead remain high up, as happens with the upper clouds. It is characteristic of these kinds of egest that instead of descending they hover. They are of a shiny *sulphur* that is a mere vapor adhering to a *corpus*, which is consumed in its time like other clouds. They can be driven from one place to another following the direction of the wind and its *emunctorium*. These stationary shooting stars are often regarded as new stars which in time disappear. Sometimes it happens that such stars follow a course at the same time every night; and the next night stand where they started and do so again. The explanation of this is that the *emunctorium* stands and proceeds that way. The star abides in its initial course until it is consumed whether at night or by day, after which a new egest comes out, yet it proceeds like the former one. That happens often enough for many weeks: every night a new egest is expelled, whether sooner or later, in the same place where that star abides.

V. 87
DE RANVLIS & SANGVINE & Lacte.
[On Frogs, Blood and Milk][1]

Certain stars are also of a kind that cast out their egest like a sperm that falls to earth and gives rise there to worms, frogs, toads, and many similar kinds of vermin. Their egest is a rotten *sulphur* and *mercurius* and hot *spiritus salis*. Its *adech* is of a kind of putrefaction from which such creatures grow. For there are all kinds of genera on earth or stars in heaven corresponding to animals; and changelings of every sort are born from the stars. For there are two types of snakes: the true snakes born to be such, and star snakes; and the same holds true for all other animals. Once emitted, those egests lead to many wondrous effects. Some are like blood: a red dissolved *sulphur*, which when coagulated like the wine,[2] turns into a burning *sulphur*. Sometimes a white *sulphur*

1 See the corresponding draft in *Liber Tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:311).

2 Although Huser suggested *Windt* as an alternate reading, *Wein* seems the only one that makes sense. "Coagulated wine" is the lees of the wine.

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ser *Sulphur*, gleich einer Milch / vnd durch sein Coagulation wirdt er Fix / vnnd brindt nicht : Auch offt ein ander farb. Ettwann falt er als ein dick Wasser / wie wüste Oel / mit einem Gestanck / der gibt auch ein fixen *Sulphur*. Ettliche / was die rechten Putrefaction Egest seind / die machen jhre Thier ettwann in Sternen / vnd fallen also herab : Ettwann *in regionibus medij Interstitij* : Ettwann erst auff der Globuln / nach dem vnd die arth ist. Derselbigen *putrefactionum* werden viel vnnd mancherley erfunden auff Erden / die alle werden geboren auß dem *Stercus* der Sternen / welche Sternen sonst dermassen seind.

88

TRACTATVS QVINTVS. De Metallis è superis, Mineralibus & Lapidibus.

I.
DE METALLIS.

Die Metallen so von oben herab kommen / nemmen jhren vrsprung auß den 7. Planeten. Dieser 7. Planeten sind viel : als viel sind die *Soles* seind / viel *Lunae*, viel *Martes*, viel *Mercurij*, viel *Ioues*, viel *Saturni, &c.* vnnd heissend Sieben / darumb sie siebenerley Metallen machen : wirdt Ein arth zusammen für Ein Planeten genommen. Vnd seind nicht die / so die *Astronomi* also nennen / sondern jrrig Practiciren nach denselbigen / also daß sie die den Metallen zulegen / vnd reimen sich gantz nichts zusammen / wie sie das fürgeben. Auß diesen 7. Arth der Planeten gehnd auß die sieben Metallen[a] / vnnd sind in den dreyen Ersten gleich wie im Element Wasser : allein in der vnterscheidt / daß die drey Ersten Volatilisch sind / vnnd nit Fix in jhren *speciebus*. Darumb was solcher Metallen erfunden werden / bestanden die Proben nit der vntern Metallen : Auch bestanden die vntern Metallen der obern Proben nicht / haben auch nit gleiche Schmeidigkeit / Fluß / oder Hertty. Auch nach dem Grad der Farben nicht gleich / sondern in aller vnterscheidung von einandern. Also ein solche Volatilisch arth vnd Krafft ist im Element Fewr / das in den 7. Geschlecht der Sternen / alle Metallische wirckung ist vnd Materien / vnnd zu gleicher weiß von jhnen herab falt auff die Erden / wie der Regen / vnd ander dergleichen *Egestiones*. Solcher Metallen liegend viel vnter jhren Sternen / in *Asia* etliche / aber weniger in *Affrica*, vnd gar viel weniger [in] *Europa*. Dann die-

a In accordance with planetary medicine and astrology, P. has much to say about the planets in relation to medicine and the human body. As for the metals, his denial of their correspondence to the seven traditional planets can be noted in the *Liber de Mineralibus*: "So ist auch nichts auff das zu halten / das man sagt / Sieben Planeten / also auch siben Metallen" (H 8:350).

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descends which is like milk. Through coagulation, it becomes fixed and does not burn. Often there is another color. Sometimes it descends like thickened water, like a rancid oil that stinks; this also yields a fixed *sulphur*. In some cases, involving the true putrefaction egest, their creatures are made in the stars and descend in that form: sometimes in the *regiones medii interstitii* [the regions of the intermediary space], sometimes only on the earth instead, depending on the nature of the thing. Many various *putrefactiones* of that kind are found on earth, all of which being born from the *stercus* [excretion] of the stars which are of that kind.

TRACTATVS QVINTUS. 88
De Metallis è superis, Mineralibus & Lapidibus.
I.
DE METALLIS

[Fifth treatise. On Metals Falling from above, and Minerals, and Stones.]
[1. On Metals]

The metals that descend from above have their origin in the seven planets. Of these seven planets there are many: many *Soles*, many *Lunae*, many *Martes*, many *Mercurii*, many *Ioves*, many *Saturni*, etc. They are called seven because they make seven kinds of metals: one kind is given to each planet. These are not the same ones the astronomers call by those same names. Their erroneous interpretation makes them assign them to the metals. This does not all fit together as they would have it. From these seven kinds of planets, proceed the seven metals;[1] and they abide in the three principles just as in the element of water, except that the three principles are volatile in this case rather than fixed in their *species*. As a result, what is reported about such metals does not withstand the evidence of the lower metals. Nor do these lower ones withstand that of the upper ones. They do not have the same malleability, melting speed, or hardness. Nor are they the same in color, but rather all distinct from the others. There is such a volatile nature and strength in the element of fire so that in the seven kinds of star all metallic action and material abide, descending from them to earth in the same way as does the rain and other similar *egestiones*. Of these metals, many reside beneath their stars, some in *Asia*, fewer in *Africa*,

1 As demonstrated by the next words, these metals are those descending from above, as opposed to the seven metals "grown" from the element of water. All are made of the three principles, but differently, according to their firmamental or aqueous origin.

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selbigen Stern berüren vnsern Boden nit / darumb zu vns dasselbig nit kompt. Aber alle Körner / was gediegen Metallen sind vnter den sieben / vnd rauh am eusser theil / kommen von Sternen / vnd nit vom Element Wasser : vnd vnter allen Metallen die Coagulirt sind ohn Fewr / vnd in der Rotunditet formirt / mit Erbsen gestalt / sind alle / welcherley Metallen es sey / auß
89 den 7. Sternen herab | kommen / sie ligent druff oder nit. Dann die Erden vberschütts / auch die Güß. Vnd wo sie gefunden werden / do findt man kein Anbruch nicht / noch kein Wurtzen / sondern Nierenweiß. Dann jhr vrsprung kompt auß den Sternen / vnd seind alle gediegen : dann do ist im Element Fewr kein gröbigkeit / die sich vntermische : Darumb so Purgirts fur jhr Stern / vnnd Coaguliert sie rein vnnd gantz : vnnd stehnd in jhrer vermischung gleich wie von Metallen / im Element Wasser steht / mit *Sulphure, Sale*, vnd *Mercurio :* allein daß die Fewrischen Metallen die Wasserische Fixation an jnen nit haben / vnd die Wasserischen / der Firmamentischen Fixatz nit haben.

II.

So nuhn also die drey Ersten im Metallenstern jhren Effect vollendet haben / also daß die *Compositio* im Stern *Solis* den *Mercurium Solis* mit dem *Sulphure Solis* vnd *Sale Solis* vermischt hatt : als dann digerirt es der *Adech* in ein vollkommens Metall / vnd macht dorauß die Form seins *doni*. Als [dann] so wirfft der Stern das auß also heiß vnd zerlassen / wie auß eim Schmeltzofen / vnd im fallen zerschellt es sich vnd Coagulirt sich an der Keltti / vnd falt auff die Globuln. Dergleichen der Stern *Luna* macht auß *Mercurio Lunae, Sale Lunae* vnd *Sulphure Lunae* ein Composition : vnd so dieselbige in jhr Effect kommen ist / so wirffts dergleichen auß / wie *Sol*. Also auch der *Saturnus, Mars, Venus, Mercurius* vnd *Iupiter*. Vnd ist do zu mercken / das vnter denen 7. Geschlechten der 7. Sternen / ein jedlicher allein in jhm hat Eines Metallen drey Ersten : vnd nit als im Element Wasser / do in Einem *Ares* 7. ligend. Darumb die Nammen der 7. Metallen dienen auff die 7. Metallen / so von den Sternen fallen / vnd nit der Erden. Dermassen auch fallen viel *Liquores* von Sternen herab / die do nit Coagulirt sind : vnnd so die Erden daruon genetzt wird / darauß wirdt dann ein Glantz / gleich den Cachymien / Talck / ettwann den Margasiten / vnd ist doch dasselbig nit gantz vollkommen / vnd jhn doch nit gleich. Auff das zumercken ist / daß die obern Metallen weut vber die vntern sind in der Gütti / Reinigkeit vnd Arth / mehr als die vntern / vnnd in allen dingen mehr lobs werdt.

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and fewer still in *Europa*. Since those stars do not touch our soil, such metals do not yield themselves to us. Yet every grain of mature metal of the seven, externally unrefined though it might be, comes from the stars and not from the element of water. Of all the metals that have been coagulated without fire and given a round form like a pea, all of them, no matter which ones they might be, have descended from the seven stars | whether those stars dwell above or not. 89
For they shower the earth, as do downpours. Wherever they are found, there is no breach in the soil, nor any root, but rather they are clustered. Their origin is in the stars; and they are all mature. For in the fiery element, nothing crude is mixed in. Therefore, the star must have purged it beforehand, coagulating it pure and whole. Moreover, they abide in their mixed condition like any metal abides in the element of water with *sulphur, sal*, and *mercurius*. But the fiery metals do not bear the watery fixation within, and the watery do not have the firmamental fixation.

II.

When the three principles have perfected their effect in the star of the metal, so that the *compositio* has combined in the star of *Sol* [the star of the sun] the *mercurius solis* [the mercury of gold] with the *sulphur solis* and the *sal solis*, the *adech* then digests it to a perfect metal and turns it into the form of its *donum* [its gift, its fruit, that which it yields]. The star emits it, hot and molten as in a smelting oven. Descending, it fragments, coagulating in the cold, and falling onto the globe. Thus, the star *Luna* makes out of the *mercurius lunae, sal lunae*, and *sulphur lunae* a compound. When the latter has attained its effect, it is cast out in the same way as did *Sol*. The same applies to *Saturnus, Mars, Venus, Mercurius*, and *Jupiter*. Moreover, it must be observed that of the seven kinds of the seven stars, each contains the three principles of a metal, not as in the element of water, where the seven abide in one *Ares* alone.[1] This is why the names of the seven metals serve as the names of the seven that descend from the stars, not of those that are in the earth. In the same way, many *liquores* descend from the stars, which are not coagulated; and if the earth is thereby moistened, a gleam occurs, like that of the cachimia,[2] talc, or even marcasite, yet it does not have the same degree of perfection and is therefore not the same. Furthermore, it should be noted that the upper metals are far superior to the lower ones in quality, purity, and nature, so that they are more highly praised in every regard. | 90

1 *Ares*: see above, H 8:66.
2 See above, H 8:56.

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90 III.

DE LAPIDIBVS è supernis.

Also dermassen seind auch ander Stern / die von jhnen außwerffen Gemmen vnd Granaten / vnd ander form der Steinen. Dann der *Sulphur* vnd *Mercurius* vnd *Sal* ist im Element Fewr gewaltig in der geberung der Gemmen. Es sind viel Stern die im Rubinischen *Sulphure* stehnd / viel im Saphirischen Saltz / vil im Schmaragdischen *Mercurio*. Dann do seind Stern / die die Küpffern Ersten innen haben des Vitriols / ettlich des Alauns / ettlich deß Saltzs. Darumb mancherley dergleichen Regen erscheinend / so sie praeparirt / eröffnet werden. Auß solchen Sternen werden die blawen Saphir / dann do ist dz Saltz der *Corpus*, vnd coagulirt gar mit dem lauttern Sulphurgeist vnd Mercurigeist. Im Schmaragdstein ist der *Merc*. der *Corpus*, vnd hat an jm ein Kupfferisch arth / aber den Corpus nit : darumb er dz *Corpus* von jm nit / aber die Farb vom Kupffer. Dann also werden alle Farben der Gemmen / so auß dem Element Fewr kommen / erfunden / nach arth vnd wesen der dreyen Ersten / die Farben halben in Metallen Einig bleiben. Als im Kupffer ist allein Rott : dieselbigen drey Ersten aber so sie den Metallen Corpus nit haben / so werdens grün. Also vom Silber / so der Metall Corpus nit do ist / so wirdt do Blaw : vom Eisen Rott / vom Bley Rot / vom *Ioue* Geelweiß / vom Gold Braun / vom *Mercurio* Gelb. Dergleichen auch so dz Saltz allein praedominirt / so macht es viel Farben / als in ettlichen Steinen sind / Braun / Blaw / vnd die baß vnd vbel geferbet. Dergleichen auch herwider / was vom *Mercurio* allein wird / in viel farben stehnd / Gelb / Rott / vnnd ander : vom *Sulphure* Weiß / Rott / Gelb / Schwartz vnd Graw. Solche Stein sind die wenigsten / allein was der Metallen arth sind / sind die Edlisten. Als *Smaragdus* ist ein Kupfferstein / *Carbunculus* oder *laspis*, ein Goldtstein / *Rubinus* vnd *Calcedon* ein Eisenstein / Saphyr Blaw ein Silberstein / Saphyr Weiß ein *Iouis* stein / *Hyacinthus* ein Mercuristein. So nun also die Stein geboren werden in jren Sternen / die neben den Planeten stehnd / so werffen sie die ausser / wie die Metallen außgeworffen werden / vnd werden also auff der höhi der Erden gefunden in viel form vnd weg / wie sie dann geboren werden.

91 IIII.

DE CRYSTALLIS & Berillis.

Aber von Crystallen vnnd Berillen ist zu wissen / auch von den Citrinen / daß sie geboren werden auß den Schneesternen / von denen der Schnee kompt /

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III.
DE LAPIDIBVS
è supernis.
[On Stones Falling from above]

Of the same kind are other stars that emit gems and garnets and other kinds of stones. For the *sulphur, mercurius*, and *sal* in the element of fire are powerful in generating gems. Many stars abide in the rubinous *sulphur*, many in the saphiric salt, others in the emerald *mercurius*. For there are stars that contain the cuprous principles of vitriol, others of alum, others of salt. This is why the same kinds of rain appear; when they have been prepared, they open up. Such stars yield blue sapphire, for the salt is the *corpus* and it coagulates with the pure sulphurous spirit and mercurial spirit. In the emerald stone, *mercurius* is the *corpus*, having within it a cuprous nature but not the corresponding *corpus*. Hence, it does not receive its *corpus* but rather its color from copper. This is how we arrive at all the colors of the gems which stem from the element of fire: in accordance with the nature and essence of the three principles which remain united in metals in accordance with their colors. Thus, in copper there is only red; but when the three principles do not have the *corpus* of the metal, they turn green. Likewise, when it comes to silver: when the metal *corpus* is missing, blue is obtained; from iron, red; from lead, red; from *Jove* [tin], yellowish white; from gold, brown; from *mercurius*, yellow. The same applies when the salt predominates by itself. It results in many colors so that some stones contain brown, blue, and are colored better or worse. Likewise, that which stems only from *mercurius* abides in many colors: yellow, red, and so on. From *sulphur:* white, red, yellow, black, and gray. Such stones are the least valuable. Only those that have the nature of metals are noblest. Thus, *smaragdus* is a cuprous stone, *carbunculus* or *Jaspis* a goldstone. *Rubinus* and *calcedone* are an iron stone. Blue sapphire is a silver stone. White sapphire, a *Jove* [tin] stone. *Hyacinthus*, a mercury stone. When the stones are born in their respective stars which abide alongside the planets, they eject them just as the metals are ejected; and the stones are then found on the surface of the earth in many forms and fashions, as they have come into being. | 91

IV.
DE CRYSTALLIS & BERILLIS.
[On Crystals and Beryls]

However, about crystals and beryls, as well as citrines, it must be understood that they are born of the snow stars, the ones that produce snow, and to be

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vnnd die in dem weg. In Schneesternen ist ein solche Congelation krafft / daß sie ettwann zwifacher arth sind : das ist / das ettwann einer Schnee vnd Gefrieren in jhm hatt / vnnd sind doppelt Stern. Wo also ein solcher Stern ist / der also ein Congelation krafft zu sampt dem dz er ein Schneestern ist / leichtlich ein Crystallen / Citrinen oder Berillen macht. Dann vrsachen / so der Schnee falt / vnd sein Kelti mittgeht / vnd hatt ein statt auff der Globul darzu / daß der *Boreas* do praedominirt / vnd die Sonn oder Sommerliche arth nit starck regiret : so coagulirt er das Wasser so im Schnee mitgeht / zu einem Stein. So er dasselbige Wasser vnter wegen / dieweil der Schnee schneyet / vor grosser Keltti so in jhm ist / begreifft vnd außlost / so werden Steinli darauß / ehe es auff die Globul kompt : do werden Körnli gefunden / groß vnd klein / nach arth wie er den Schnee begriffen hatt im schneyen. So aber dz so schnell nit geschicht / sondern kompt auff den Boden / so treibt die Kelti alles Wasser / so im Schnee ligt / vnd nit Schnee ist / zusammen in ein *centrum* gegen dem Boden der Erden. Vnd so bald er die zusammen bringt / so Coagulirt er es zu einem Eyß : aber es zerschmiltzt nit hinwider / als ander gefröst / auß vrsachen / daz es auß Schneewasser geworden ist / dz resoluirt sich nit hinwider. Aber andere Wasser so do gefrieren / dieselbigen ob schon Schnee wasser were / so ist der Schnee mit zergangen / dz soll an dem ort nit beschehen / sondern dz Wasser soll auß dem Schnee gezogen werden : vnd dz der Schnee bleibt / dz beschicht allein durch die Schneestern / in welchen die Congelation krafft auch ist / also dz sie / so sie vff die Erden kommen an ein statt / do der Schnee ohn zerschmeltzt bleibt / biß zu End seins Intentz vnd Operation. In solchen Schneen werden die Stein / als Crystallen / etc. lautter vnd trüb erfunden : auß vrsachen / nach den vnd der *SS. Merc.* vnd *Sal* sich clarificirt vnd geleüttert hat / vnd an jm selbst ist. Es werden auch offt solcher Crystallen / Berillen /
92 vnd Citrinen erfunden an enden vnd ortten / | do nit Schneestett sind : vnd ist die vrsach / daß in obern *Regionibus* Coagulirt sind worden / vnd Coagulirt herab gefallen : vnd sind nichts dann ein Congelirts Schneewasser : Nimpt sein Form vnd Eck vnd Gestalt / nach dem vnnd das Saltz bey jhm subtil oder grob ist.

Prologvs IN TRACTATVM SEXTVM, De Fati Impressionibus.

I.

Wie wir nun vom Element Fewr gesagt haben / wie alle jhre *operationes* kommen / vnd was sie machen : So folgt auff das hernach ein ander Operation / die etlichs theils denselbigen Elementischen *operationibus* gleich sind vnd sehen / vnd von jhnen ettlichs theils kommen. Wiewol sie doch nit des Elements Natur

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sure in the following manner. The snow stars possess such power of congelation that this can occasionally be of two kinds: it can happen that one has the power of snow and ice within it and is therefore a double star. Such a star, bearing the power of congelation, besides being a snow star, can readily produce a crystal, citrine, or beryl. Here is the reason for it. When the snow falls, taking with it its cold, and the star has one particular spot on the globe where *Boreas* predominates and where the sun or the nature of summer does not prevail, it [i.e. *Boreas*] can coagulate the water which descends with the snow and create a stone. If in transit it [i.e. *Boreas*] seizes and releases the water with the great cold that it [i.e. *Boreas*] has within itself while the snow is still falling, tiny stones result before reaching the ground. Grains are found, large or small, depending on how *Boreas* has seized the snow while it was falling. But if the process is not rapid and it reaches the ground unfrozen, the cold acts upon all the extraneous water in the snow, pressing it into a compacted *centrum* against the ground of the earth. When compacted, it coagulates to ice and does not melt back as do other frosts. The reason for this is that it did arise from snow water and therefore does not transform itself back again. However, other kinds of freezing water might have been snow water, but if the snow melts back as well as the frozen water, they do not display this reaction: the water must come from the snow. And the snow only remains if it happens through the agency of the snow stars, in which the power of the coagulation abides. As a result, it reaches the earth in a place where the snow remains unmelted until the end of its foreseeable operation. In such snow, stones are found, like crystals, etc., which are light or dark depending on how the *sulphur, mercurius*, and *sal* have clarified or purified themselves. It is often the case that these sorts of crystals, beryls, and citrines are found in places | that lack snow. The reason is that they 92
have been coagulated in the upper *regiones* and then descended in that mode. Yet they are only coagulated snow water, which receive their form, place, and shape depending on whether their salt is subtle or coarse.

PROLOGUS
IN TRACTATVM SEXTVM
De Fati impressionibus.
[Prologue of the sixth treatise, on the Impressions of *Fatum*]

I.

We have enunciated concerning the element of fire whence all its *operationes* arise and what they effect. We will follow this with another kind of operation somewhat like the other elemental ones and in part from the same source. These, however, are not of an elemental nature, but are rather pure *praesagia*

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sind / sondern nur allein *Praesagia :* wollen wir sie doch hie auch anzeigen / auß vrsachen / daß die Influentz vnd das Gestirn dester baß erkennt mögen werden : vnd daß das Gestirn / dauon wir gephilosophirt haben / in nichten wircke in vns. Das Gestirn aber / so in vns wirckt / ist das von dem wir do sagen / vnd heissen es *Fatvm*,[a] nach der Philosophey / vnd nit als ettliche *Fatum* außlegen. Damit aber das *Fatum* wol erkennt werdt / ist es also / dz ein jedlicher Mensch ein Geist hat / der ausserthalb jhm wohnet / vnd setzt sein Stul in die obern Stern.[b] Derselbig gebraucht die Bossen seins Meisters : derselbig ist der / der do die *Praesagia* demselbigen vorzeigt / vnd nachzeigt / dann sie bleiben nach diesen. Diese Geist heissen *Fatvm*.

II.

Damit aber die Astronomey auch erkennt werde / so merckendt : Was sie anzeigt von natürlicher wirckung der Gewittern / auß Arth vnd Gang der Sternen wol sein mag / wo sie anderst dieselbigen recht erkennen / vnd erfahren jhren Auffgang / Herkommen / Arth vnd Wesen. Aber anderst dorauß zu Practiciren vnd *Praesagia* zu geben / werden die gutten Leüth schwerlich gevexiert
93 vom *Fatum*. Dann es ist also / das im | Ascendenten ein *Fatum* ist / dz do anzeigt / was das sein soll / vnd nit der Stern. Aber dz *Fatum* darinn spilt mit den gutten Männern / die sich gewaltig in der Macht deß Gestirns vermeinen. Als ein Exempel : Sie wollen die Geburt der Kindern wissen vnd Zukünfftigs jres Lebens : Das mügen sie nit anderst wissen / dann wz jhn das *Fatum* Spöttsweiß vergönnet.[c] Wiewol sie für sich nemmen *Martem*, vnnd machen auß jhm ein Eisenbeisser : Das Eisenbeissen[d] wissen sie auß der Vexatz deß Fatums / so *in Marte* ist / der *Mars* heist : Aber er haltt jhn seine rechte Tück inn / vnd sagt

a P. usually employs the word *Fatum* in its most standard sense: "fate" (H C:430b, 534b, 536a; H 1:65; H 10:364). Only in a few other treatises such as *De Generatione Stultorum* (H 9:32) or the *Erklärung der Gantzen Astronomey* (H 10:400, 401, 422), is *Fatum* described either as a sort of prophetic spirit or power, or an elementary being; see also above, H 8:6–8; *De Vita Longa*, H 6:150.

b This is the sidereal spirit described in the *Astronomia magna* (H 10:13, 14, 17, 41, 56, 58, 71, 122, etc.) and its drafts, esp. the *Erklärung der Gantzen Astronomey* (H 10:419, 422, etc.) and, most significantly in regard to the topic of divination, the *Practica in Scientiam Divinationis* (H 10:434–441). In nearly all these texts the sidereal spirit is described as a sidereal body, an ambiguity Ernst Wilhelm Kämmerer tried to theorize under the heading "Verleiblichung des Geistes" (French: "corporification de l'esprit")—probably making P. more a philosopher than he really was (Kämmerer 1971, 37).

c An illustration of this warning can be found in the so-called Harpersdorf manuscript described by Sudhoff 1898, on 517: "Nu schaw was ist dein witz. Die *fata* sagen dir von deiner zukhunfft due werdest 5 Kinder haben, darumb meinstu du wollest nur 4 machen, als dan

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[omens]. We want to include them here because in so doing the influence and the stars can be understood all the more clearly, and because the stars about which we have been speculating do not act within us. The star that does act thus is that which we call and speak of as *fatum*, but in the sense of philosophy and not in the way some people interpret *fatum*.[1] To gain a proper understanding of *fatum*, it must be recognized that every human being possesses a spirit that dwells externally and has its seat in the upper stars.[2] This spirit uses the figures of its master:[3] it is the latter who reveals to it again and again the abiding *praesagia*. Such spirits are known as *fatum*.

II.

In order that astronomy is better understood, let us take note that what it reveals concerning the natural effect of storms can be learned from the mode and course of the stars if these let themselves be known otherwise correctly, as well as their rise, origin, nature, and being. Yet it is something else to interpret and offer *praesagia*, since good people doing this are sorely vexed by the *fatum*. For it may be the case that a *fatum* is in the | ascendant, indicating what 93
is to be, rather than the star. Yet the *fatum* plays its tricks on good men, making them think that they are ruled powerfully by the stars. Here is an example: good men want to know about the birth of their children and their future lives. They can only know what the caprice of the *fatum* allows.[4] They might claim Mars and from him think of their child as a future blowhard, whose boastfulness is known to them from the deceit of the *fatum* residing in Mars called by the same

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wurdestu lange leben vnd lange machen an dem funfften, nu sich wie sie dich betrogen haben, das du meinst das vierdt Kind wird gebohren, do werden 2. kinder drauß, also schaw was ist dein witz."

d This is the only occurrence of this word. P. plays on the word Eisen ("iron"), always associated with Mars. See Grimm, "Eisenbeiszer" and "Eisenfresser." Grimm lists quotations by Sebastian Franck and Johann Fischart, among others: "die im eisenbeiszer Mars verirret sind" (Fischart).

1 The proper meaning of *fatum* in Latin is "a prophetic declaration, oracle, prediction." P. ignores its common meaning of "fate." On this word, see our note on the *Philosophia ad Athienses*, above, H 8:7.

2 See vis-à-vis.

3 This master is, it seems, the star that it belongs to, or perhaps God.

4 See vis-à-vis.

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sie dem gutten Mann nicht / was rechts Grundts auß jhm werden soll. Er hatt auch die Waal darinn / sich zuerzeigen wie er will / heutt nicht als morgen. Solche Kunst nimbt sein Vrsprung auß dem Fatum / vnnd geht in das / dorauß sie kommen : Drumb kein gewisse Kunst nicht do ist / noch sein mag.

III.

Auff das alles folgt hernach / daß das *Fatum* sich selbst offentlich erzeigt / vnnd verstendtlich in sein Praesagiren / deß *Fatum* es dann ist. Dann ein jedlicher Mensch hatt ein *Fatum*, ein jedliches Handtwerck hatt sein *Fatum*, ein jedliche *Facultas* hatt jhr *Fatum*, ein jedliche Sect jhr *Fatum*, ein jedlicher Glaub hat sein *Fatum*, ein jedlicher Stand sein *Fatum*. Diese *Fata* rürend sich vnnd brauchend sich täglich / mehr dann vns inn Wissen ist. Vnd welcher *in Fatamantia*[a] ein Erfahrner ist / der mag die *Praesagia* wol anzeigen / in dem das die Menschen antreffen in jhrem Glück oder Vnglück / vnd dergleichen. Dieß *Fatum* ist durch sein *Adech* in das Firmament gesetzt / dz es dorinn sein Wirckung haben soll / vnd gleich dem Firmament sich erzeigt. Wiewol jhr viel seindt / nicht allein in diesem Element / auch in den andern : Sie werden von *Fatamantia* geredt in jhren Capiteln / nach den Elementen in denen sie seindt. Was aber vnder dem Element Fewr ist inn Gestalt deß Firmaments / seindt die / wie hernach folgend.

IIII.
DE FIGVRIS.

Die Figuren aber so im Himmel erscheinend / als etwann seltzame Mann / Kirchen / vnd ander vnersehen oder erkannt Form vnd Gestalt / mit viel Farben
94 vnd dergleichen : | Etwann als Menschen / etwann als Krieg / etwann als ander Gleichnuß. Der Jrrdischen Gleich nimbt sein Vrsprung von der Erden in die öbern Gestirn / also das die vnder Influentz sich der obern vergleicht vnnd

a This is the only occurrence of this neologism. P. extensively employs the notions of "(h)ydromantia," "pyromantia," "geomantia," "chiromancia," "necro-" or "nigromantia" (once called "narromancia": *Bertheonea*, H C:332b) throughout his work. Sometimes as here, he invents words such as "nectromantia" (*Liber de Caducis, Das ist von dem Hinfallenden Siechtagen*, H 4:333; *Astronomia magna*, H 10:67–68, 73–75, etc.), "chaomantia" (*Von den Podagrischen Kranckheiten*, H 4:310; *Astronomia magna*, H 10:68d, 80–81; *Fragmentum auß der Philosophia super Esaiam Prophetam*, H 10:491; *Prognosticon auff das 30. 31. 32. vnd 33. Jahr*, H 10F:25), "austro-" or "austrimantia" (*Liber Artis Praesagae*, H 9:82; *Erklärung der Gantzen Astronomey*, H 10:400, 402, 476). These neologisms are found as well in spurious or disputed works as in book nine of *De natura rerum* (H 6:359, 361), *De pestilitate* (H 3:87), *Liber Azoth* (H 10A:8). The

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name.[1] But he will keep up his trickery and tell the good man nothing solid about what should become of him. It is up to him to reveal himself as he pleases, not today but tomorrow. That art arises from *fatum* and can be traced back to its source. Hence, there is no real art there and never will be.

III.

From all of this it follows that the *fatum* reveals itself openly and understandably in its presaging of that of which it is *fatum*. For every human being has a *fatum*, every craft has one, as does every *facultas* [school],[2] every sect, every faith, and every estate. These *fata* are active and in use every day, more so than we are aware of. Whoever is experienced in *fatamantia* [divination by means of *fata*] can reveal the *praesagia* regarding the fortune and misfortune of people, and such things of this kind. Such a *fatum* has been placed in the firmament by its *adech* to exercise its effect there; and it manifests itself like the firmament. There are many of them, not in this element alone, but others as well. They will be discussed as *fatamantia* in the appropriate chapters in accordance with the element to which they pertain. What pertains to the fiery element in the configuration of the firmament are those that follow here.

IV.
DE FIGVRIS.[3]

There are the figures that appear in the heavens such as strange male figures, churches, and other unforeseen or unknown forms and figures possessing many colors and | other such qualities, some of them human, some about 94
war, or some other likeness. The likeness of the earthly takes its source from the earth within the upper stars, so that the lower influence assimilates to

word *sciomantia*, inherited from the Roman poet Lucan (*Bellum civile*, VI, 667) via the Latin commentary on Vergil by Servius (on *Aeneid*. 6.149), is used once in book nine of *De natura rerum* (H 6:351), but never in P.'s undisputed works, although P. uses a German equivalent "Schattenkunst" (*Liber Artis Praesagae*, H 9:94).

1 The meaning of this passage is unclear. We have followed Palthen's interpretation while remaining as close as possible to the German text: "Sic Martes proponentes, fœtum ferocem et indomitum fore praedicant. Ferociam hanc praenorunt ex vexatione fati, quod in Marte est, et Mars vocatur."

2 See H 1:3–4.

3 A chapter parallel to this one, but obviously written earlier, is found in *Ein andere Beschreibung Meteororvm* (H 8:252–253).

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vereiniget / vnnd seind *Prognostica certa* deren dingen / die sie in der Form anzeigen. Wiewol etwann dieselbige Form grob ist / vnnd vnuerstendig : Auß vrsachen / daß also grob in der Coniunction sich zusammen gefügt haben / vnnd ist die Coniunction also. Zweyerley Geist seindt in der Influentz / vnden vnd oben / auß denen die *Prognosticae figurae* gehnd / vnd nicht auß der Materialischen Influentz deß Elements Fewr. Aber darumb wir sie in diß Element setzen / ist die vrsachen / das [sie] den *Corpus* vom Element Fewr nemmen. Dorumb so viel vnd den Corpus antrifft / in vnser Philosophey setzen. Was aber weiter von beyden Geistern der vndern vnd obern Influentz zu wissen ist / *de Fatis* erzelt wird. Aber der Figuren halben ist es also / dz die vndern *Fata* die obern anlegend / vnd Formiren nach jhrer Form / dz sie zukünfftig geschehen soll. Darumb endlich wz also die Form anzeigt / beschicht mit seiner zeit : Vnd geschehen nicht vergebens / vnd ist der *Adech* der sich bedeckt hatt mit dem Rock *Mercurij, Salis* vnd *Sulphuris*, vnd geformirt denselbigen / nach arth seiner Klagen oder Freud.

v.
DE COMETIS.

Der Vrsprung von Cometen ist ein *Fatum* aller Völcker / die vnder seinem Gang ligend : Bedeut vnder jhnen alles Elend vnd noth / oder Freyheit / oder etwz vnerhorts newes dings oder Wesens / vnd seiner dienstbarkeit : Wird geboren auß dem Fatum der Herren / der Geistlichen / der Leyen / vnd dergleichen. Etlicher wird allein geboren auß dem *Fato* der Herren / vnd bedeut vnder jhnen den newen Murmel / derselbig sicht Herrlich : Etwann allein der Geistlichen / derselbig sicht Schwentzet : Etwann allein der Bauren / derselbig ist grob. Vnd setzen jhre Form von dem / das sie bedeutten : Als ein Stern vnd ein Schwantz / auß vrsachen / dz ein langer Schwantz werden wird auß dem handel den er bedeutt. Ist er breitt / ein breitter weitleuffiger handel / vnnd wie es ein Endt nimbt am Schwantz Frisch oder Frölich / also endet sich das auch. Dorumb weiter | von Cometen nichts anderst zuverstehn ist / dann allein dz sie von vndern *Fatis* geboren werden in dz ober / zu einer Prognostication auff die Welt eines newen Geschreys vnd Geschichts.

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the upper: they are *prognostica certa* of those things indicated by their figure. The figure may be rough and incomprehensible because lower and upper have fused together in rough conjunction which therefore appears crude. There are the two spirits in the influence, lower and upper, from which the *prognosticae figurae* proceed. They do not proceed from the material influence of the fiery element. Yet we place them within this element because they derive their *corpus* from that element. For the same reason we place all that pertains to this *corpus* in our philosophy. As for everything pertaining to the two spirits of the lower and upper influence, it will be explained in *de Fatis*. But as regards their figure, the lower *fata* determine the upper, configuring them in accordance with their own image of what should happen in the future. So, in the end, what is indicated by the image does happen at its appointed time. Nothing is in vain, but rather it is the work of the *adech* which has disguised itself with the cloak of *mercurius, sal*, and *sulphur*, shaping that cloak in accordance with its own sorrow or joy.

V.
DE COMETIS.
[On Comets][1]

The origin of comets is a *fatum* of all nations that lie below its course. They point to all the misery and suffering, or to freedom, or to some unheard-of thing or being and its servitude. They are born from the *fatum* of the lords, the clerics, the laypeople, or other estate. Some are born exclusively from the *fatum* of the lords and point to some new rumor among them, that sort of comet appears lordly. Then there is a kind pertaining solely to the cleric: it appears to have a tail. And the kind pertaining to the peasants: it appears coarse. They take their form from what they signify. A star and its tail mean that the activity it signifies will have a long "tail." If it is wide: there will be a broad, inclusive activity. And if its tail ends abruptly, this is how the event will end too. So, beyond this, | nothing 95
else can be understood about the comets, except that they emerge from other *fata* into the upper region in order to prognosticate on earth a new tumult and event.

1 See the corresponding draft in *Liber Tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:319–320).—On comets in P. see Kahn 2016, 103–106, with the relevant bibliography—esp. Benzenhöfer and Pfister 1993, Gantenbein-Holenstein 2006, and Pfister 2009, 66–69.

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VI.
DE TRIBVS SOLIBVS & Lunis.

Also an statt der Cometen werden etwann newe Sonnen ersehen / vnd newe Mond / vber die / so do sind : Dieselbigen bedeutten das Wesen der Welt so vnder jhr ist / aber nicht zukünfftig / sondern am Tag vnd zugeschnitten zubeschehen. Nemmen jhr *Fatum* auß den Obersten Heuptern der Welt / vnd geht allein in denselbigen auß : Vnd bedeut nichts als allein / dz demmen sie / auß dem sie gehnd. Vnd sind Sonnen vnd Mond / auß vrsachen / dz solch Oberhand bedeuten Jrrung oder dergleichen / vnd nur new seltzam vnd vnerhört sachen / die seltten beschehen. Vnd bedeuten am mehristen groß Narrheit der Obern vnd Torheit / vnd narrecht händel. Drumb werden Sonnen dorauß / auß vrsachen / als wenig drey Sonnen oder / etc. noth ist / als wenig ist dz noth / das sie bedeuten : Vnd als gnug an Einer Sonnen ist / also gnug wer es an Einem das es bedeuttet. Dorumb wie zwo oder drey Sonnen ein vberfluß ist oder vnnoturfft : Also ist auch des ein vnnoturfft / vnd ein vergebni sach / die sie bedeutten.

VII.
DE NOVIS STELLIS.

Dergleichen werden auch etwann seltzame Sternn im Himmel / gantz new / vnd nicht ersehen : Bedeutten new Geburt der Menschen / oder etwann ein newen Menschen / der dorzu nicht gemeint wird / dorzu er nuhn bedeutt. Auch bedeutten sie vndergang solcher Personen / also dz sie abfallen / das ist / das ein Mechtiger wird vom Stuel gesetzt. Nemmen jhr *Fatum* von denen die sie bedeutten / vnnd nemmen jhren Gang vber dasselbige / do sie handlent oder handlen sollen : Vnd nemmen jhren Corpus auß derselbigen Ascendenten der Planeten vnd *Zodiaci*, dorumb sie denselbigen etwas gleichförmig seind vnnd erscheinend / also das denselbigen die sie bedeutten ettwas in der Form gleich seind vnd gehndt / nach dem vnd die Concordantz[a] geboren ist.

96 Drumb so desselbigen Ascendent vnd Planet gewiß ist / derselbige dorauß wol mag erkennt werden. Also seind dergleichen viel seltzamer vnd andere Stern / die auß den Planeten deren gehnd / die sie anzeigen / mit verdecktem Schein vnd Form : Vnd geschehen nimmer / es sey dann das derselbige Mensch

a The *Concordanz* of stars and medications is of practical importance, as is of theoretical significance the concordance of the great and small worlds, in *Von Vrsprung, Herkommen vnd Anfang der Frantzosen Acht Bücher:* "Wie nun also dem Mon ist / also soll den Scribenten der Medicin auch sein / dann ein jegkliche kranckheit / wie der Mon / von seinem Artzt erkent

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VI.
DE TRIBVS SOLIBVS & Lunis.
[On Triple Suns and Moons]

Instead of comets, at times new suns and moons are sighted above the ones already there. These signify the essence of the world below, not the future, but rather designed to occur on the same day. These receive their *fatum* from the highest heads of the world and have results for them alone. They signify nothing other than that from which they proceed. There are suns and moons because there is prevalent error and strange and unheard-of new things that rarely occur. Moreover, they signify above all great foolishness of those in the upper reaches of authority and foolish actions. This is why suns arise: No more than we need to have three suns, no more than that do we need the thing that they signify. Just as one sun is enough, one of the signified things would suffice. Therefore, just as two or three suns are superfluous and unnecessary, the same can be said of the vain thing they signify.

VII.
DE NOVIS STELLIS.
[On New Stars]

In the same way, there sometimes appear in the heavens strange new stars, novel and as yet unseen ones. These signify new births of human beings or even a new human being, who is not intended to be that which is signified. Moreover, they may betoken the demise of such people, that they will fall away. In other words, a powerful one may be dethroned. They receive their *fatum* from those that are signified and their course in the same, as to whether they act or should act. And they derive their *corpus* from those very ascendants of the planets of the *zodiacus*, for which reason they are configured like them and appear like them. Thus, they are alike in form to those that they signify and they progress like them, and this is that which the concordance has originated from.

So, if those ascendants and planets are certain, that is what can be known 96
from them. Thus, they are much stranger and different stars that proceed from the planets of those about which they forecast, with a veiled luminosity and

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wil werden. Auß dem nun volgt die grosse schwerliche Verfürung / in dem das die **Concordantz** Micro[co]smi von keim Artzt nie gemeldt sein worden / darumb auch vngemeldt ist bliben die Warheit der Artzney" (H C:222b).

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etwas trefflichs sey / oder werden soll. Vnnd vnder diesen Sternen allen ist keiner natürlich / sondern all auß den Faten geboren / vnd nichts auß der Natur der Obern.

VIII.
DE CRVCIBVS.

Die Creutzli aber so do fallen auff die Leutt / nemmen jhren Vrsprung auch auß den *Fatis*, vnd seindt *Prognostica* vnd Weissagung / desselbigen gleichen ein zergehung / das ist / deren so die fast gebrauchen / oder sich mit solcher Formen neeren : Vnd geben jhr anzeigung starck vnd erschrecklich / also dermassen ergehts auch : Contrafect sich der Zeitt vnd Stund / auff die es geschehen soll. Als die Creutz die do gefallen seind in 100. etc. Jahre / das ist / im Jubel Jahr[a] / seind anzeigung deß nechsten Jubels Jahrs betrübnuß. Die mancherley Form / die sie gewesen seindt / haben angezeigt mancherley geschlecht vnder zugehn. Als Rost / vnd dergleichen Zeichen der Heyligen domit sie gemartert seindt worden / bedeutt / das dermassen die / so derselbigen Heyligen pflegen / vndergehen werden / vnd fallen von jhrem Stuel / wie die vom Himmel fallen. Creutz / Hanen / Leyttern / Würffel / etc. bedeut / das die *Vicarij Christi*[b] noth leiden werden. Vnnd fallen auff die Leutt / auff jhre Kleider : Auß vrsachen / das jhn dermassen das strefflichste *Prognosticon* ist : Vnd fallen an den Enden / do solchs geschehen wirdt / oder nahet darbey. Jhr vrsprung nimbt sich auß dem *Fato*, vnd Materialiciert sich vom *Sulphure*, so in den Sternen außfleust : Formiert sich auß Krafft der Geist im *Fato*, vnnd fallen auff die Leutt vnsichtbar / als deß Fatums Arth ist.

Finis Tractatus Sexti de Elemento Igne.

a In Huser's edition, the notion of jubilee is only evoked in another version of the present chapter (see below, H 8:321), except in *Von den Blatern, Lähme, Beulen, Löcheren vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen* (1528) where P. satirically compares Fugger to the Pope in a context polemicizing against guaiac wood (H C:257c).

b This is the only occurrence of this word in Huser's edition. It occurs more often in the theological writings, as in *De septem punctis idolatriae christianae*: "Dergleichen hat gott sein gewalt nie aus der hand geben. dann so er sein gewalt durch **vicariis** müeßt ausrichten, so wer er nit volkomben und müeßt ein taglöhner setzen, die er nie gelobt hat" (G 3:45).

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figure. They never manifest themselves unless the person in question is or should become exceptional. Of all these stars, none is natural; all are born from the *fata* and nothing from the nature of the upper stars.

VIII.
DE CRVCIBVS.[1]
[On Crosses]

The cross-like configurations which descend on people also have their source in the *fata* and are *prognostica* and predictions, and the destruction of those who use them frequently or sustain themselves with such forms.[2] They reveal themselves starkly and terrifyingly, indicating how things will come about. They compose the time and the hour of the event. Thus, the crosses that have descended in the hundredth year, and so on, that is, on a Year of Jubilation, are a notification of the troubles to come on the next Year of Jubilation.[3] The various forms they have taken have denoted the fall of various dynasties. Likewise, gridirons and similar signs of the saints and of how they have been martyred signify that those who have thus treated the saints will decline and fall from their thrones, as the signs fall from the heavens. Cross, rooster, ladder, dice, etc. signify that the *vicarii Christi* [the popes] will suffer torment. And if the signs fall upon people, or people's clothing, this is because the *prognosticon* involves them directly. They also descend on those sites where it is to happen or at least nearby. Their source stems from the *fatum;* and it materializes from the *sulphur* that emanates from the stars. It configures by the force of the spirit in the *fatum*, and it falls invisibly upon the people, as is the nature of the *fatum*.

Finis Tractatus Sexti de Elemento Igne.

1 On the phenomenon of crosses falling from or appearing in the sky, their repute in the early sixteenth century is exemplified by numerous pamphlets, including by Johannes Trithemius (1500, unpublished), and illustrations, one by Albrecht Dürer (1503). On the impact in P.'s works (under the names of *necrocomica* or *necrocomiae* among other designations), see the wealth of documentation in Möseneder 2009, 118–122.—An earlier draft of this chapter is found in *Liber Tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:317 ff.).

2 We follow Palthen's interpretation, although the meaning remains obscure: "*suntque prognostica et praedictiones, et interitus eorum, qui illis frequenter utuntur, aut formis talibus sese sustentant*."

3 This topic is also addressed in *Liber tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:321).

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97 *LIBER TERTIVS PHILOSOPHIÆ THEOPHRASTI, DE ELEMENTO TERRÆ.*

TRACTATVS PRIMVS. De Materia Elementi Terræ & Esse.

I.

DE TERRA PER SE.

Zu Philosophieren von dem Element der Erden / ist sein *Materia* am ersten geworden / vnnd die in dem weg / das seine drey Ersten / wie auß dem grossen *Yliastro* von den Ersten zweyen Elementen / gescheiden seind in einer andern Form vnd Wesen / das anfenglich nicht allein das *Elementum Terrae*, sondern auch das *Elementum Aquae* mit sampt diesen gescheiden ist / vnnd beyde zusammen in Ein Globul gefaßt / die der *Centrum* ist der Eussern Elementen. Dieselben zwey Elementen / am Ersten ist die Erd erfüllet / demnach dz Wasser. Nuhn aber von der Erden ist zuwissen / das alle die Krafft vnnd Arth / so im grossen *Yliastro* gewesen ist / zu ernehren den Menschen vnnd das Viehe / mit seiner Speiß / vnd angehörenden notturfft / in das Element Erden kommen ist : Als alle Beum / Kreutter vnd andere Gewächs der Erden : Vnd sind also gescheiden von den andern drey Elementen hinweg / also dz diese Krafft allein im Element *Terra* ist / vnd sonst in keim andern. Darumb ist daß / das Element *Terrae*, sein sonder *Yliaster*, die Narung zu geberen / vnd ist auß der vrsachen ein Element / das in jhm steht die Krafft der Nehrenden dingen / so zu dem Lebendigen gehörend.

98 II.

Die drey seindt die Erden / *SS. S. M.* genommen auß dem grossen *Yliastro*, auß der Arth / do dz Element *Terrae* ist : Dann do ist gewesen dz Element vnnd die andern drey / Ein *Yliaster*, dorinn sind gestanden 4. Element : Aber sie sind gescheiden / vnd der *Yliaster* zergangen : Dorumb weiter 4. Element nimmer bey einander stohnd / oder sein mögen / ein jedlichs ist besonder fürthin in

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LIBER TERTIVS
PHILOSOPHIAE THEOPHRASTI, DE ELEMENTO TERRAE
[Book Three of Theophrastus' Philosophy, on the Element of Earth]

TRACTATVS PRIMVS.
De Materia Elementi TERRAE & ESSE.
[On the Matter and Being of the Element of Earth]

I.
DE TERRA PER SE
[On the Earth per se].

In order to philosophize concerning the element of earth: its *materia* was first made in such a way that its three principles were separated from the first two elements out of the great *Yliastrum* into a new form and essence; initially not only the *elementum terrae* but also the *elementum aquae* were separated together. Together, the two were placed into a single globe which is the *centrum* of the external elements. Of the two, initially the earth was fulfilled and then the water. Concerning earth, it must be understood that every power and kind that had resided in the great *Yliastrum* for the purpose of nourishing human beings and animals with food and related needs was all inserted into the element earth: all trees, herbs, and other vegetation of the earth were separated from the other three elements, so that this power resides only in the element of *terra* and nowhere else. Hence the element of *terra* is its separate *Yliaster* for giving rise to nourishment. It is an element because in it resides the power of nourishing entities that pertain to the living. | 98

II.

These three, *sulphur, sal, mercurius*, are the earth, extracted from the great *Yliastrum* in accordance to the nature which is that of the element of *terra*. For in it were that element and the other three, a single *Yliaster* in which the four elements resided. But they were then separated, and the *Yliaster* disintegrated.[1] Therefore, the four elements no longer resided together and will not do so again. Each has become particular to reside in its place from then on. Hence,

1 This idea can also be found in *Philosophia ad Athenienses* (above, H 8:14). See above, 53, note 5.

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sein statt gestelt. Darumb vergebens arbeytten die / so do scheiden wollen 4. Elementen / oder die hinüber suchen das 5. Wesen.

Auß disen dreyen Ersten / do sie gescheiden sind von den andern drey Elementen / do ist die *Materia* geboren der Erden / wie sie dann gestalt ist : Zu gleicherweiß wie der Lufft zum Himmel geworden ist / dz Fewr zum Firmament / dz Wasser zu dem Meer. Also vrsacht die scheidung / dz diß Element also in die *Materia* geworden ist / vnd ist gangen in die Form der Kuglen / in sein Rotunditet / gesetzt in den *Centrum* der Welt / vnd darein beschlossen alle Kräfft der Bäum / der Kreutter / der Schwammen[a] / dz auß jhr soll Procreirt werden all Geschlecht auff die Welt / so darein geseet seindt.

III.

In disem Element *Terra* ligt der Sahme deß Holtzes / der Wurtzen / der Kreutter / vnd der Schwämm / vnd die Krafft / dz der Stamm an tag kommt / vnd mag getragen werden nach willen seines Baumanns / vnd gepflantzt vnd gezigelt. Dieser Sahmen ligt vnsichtbar / vnd kommt auß Arth deß Elements / dz allein dieser Sahm ist / vnd auch sein Hauß vnd Statt / darinn es kocht wird. Am ers-

a Fungus or mushroom (**Schwamm**) is both a botanical and pathological entity denoting in the latter case burgeoning tissue. See *Von Vrsprung, Herkommen vnd Anfang der Frantzosen Acht Bücher:* "Wartzen haben / oder vergleichen sich den Feigwartzen / vnnd welche das geyl Fleisch machen / welche Moder oder drüsen außtreiben / oder welche **schwam** fleisch geben / gehören auch zusammen vnter ein Artzney vnd Heylung / vnd ist die Sechste / heißt Cura Ingenita" (H C:240a).

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they labor in vain who would further separate the four elements or seek beyond them the fifth essence.[1]

From these three principles that have been separated from the further three elements, the *materia* of the earth has been born in the form that it now has. In the same way, the air became the heavens, the fire the firmament, and the water the sea. Thus, the separation occurred in such a way that this element became the *materia* and was shaped in the form of a ball with its rotundity, placed at the *centrum* of the world, and within it were enclosed all the powers of trees, herbs and mushrooms so that from the earth would be produced all the species in the world that had been sown into the *centrum* of the world.

III.

In the element of *terra* lies the seed of all wood, of all roots, all herbs, and schrubs, as well as the power that lets the stalk rise up to be born in accordance with the will of its builder and planted and cultivated. This seed resides invisibly and stems from the nature of the element, to which is itself this seed

1 The quintessence is a fifth essence beyond the four elements. In scholastic cosmology, it is the celestial matter, a non-elemental, incorruptible matter, named "ether" by Aristotle, and also "quintessence" by several medieval philosophers since the twelfth century. See Pereira 2000, 139–141. In medieval alchemy, the quintessence was the sublunary counterpart, or analog, of the celestial matter. As theorized by the Franciscan Johannes de Rupescissa ca. 1350, countless distillations of *aqua ardens* (alcohol) had to be continuously performed until, through divine agency, the quintessence separated from the corruptible compound of the four elements: the resulting product was another, a fifth, being: *quinta essentia*. See Rupescissa 1561, ch. 5, 26–27. This theory was widespread until the eighteenth century: more than two hundred manuscripts of Rupescissa's *De consideratione quintae essentiae* have been preserved. In addition, this treatise was adapted in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, in a "lullified" style, by pseudo-Raymond Lull in *De secretis naturae sive de quinta essentia*, which became an alchemical best-seller in the early sixteenth century. Hieronymus Brunschwig also adapted the doctrine of Rupescissa in his German *Liber de arte Distillandi de Compositis* (1512), which was plagiarized and translated into Latin by Philipp Ulstad in his influential *Cœlum Philosophorum* (1525). See Kahn 2007, 56–57, 59–60. The denial of any quintessence at all in the *Philosophy of the Elements* is still another way for Paracelsus to negate the physics of the four elements taught in university curriculum. By the same token he distances himself from traditional medieval alchemy (of which the separation of the four elements, also known as "fractionated distillation," was also part regardless of the Rupescissan theory of the quintessence). His own ideas on quintessence widely evolved over time, however: see Kahn 2018. As for Rupescissa, whom P. called *non medicus, sed monachus*, "not a medical doctor, but a monk" (*Thessalus secundus*, i.e. the second version of *De Gradibus*, H 7:352), P. never had but harsh words about him and his "useless words" (*De vita longa*, H 6:159, 179 and 211; see also *Drey Bücher von den Frantzosen*, H C:169b; *Von den Blatern, Lähme, Beulen, Löcheren vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen*, H C:289a; *Ander Buch der Grossen Wundartzney*, H C:105b).

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ten theilt sich die Krafft in sein geschlecht / also / dz nit zwen bey Eim bleiben / sonder ein jedlichs geschlecht ist seines allein : dz in Holtz / dz in Kreutter / dz in Schwamm. Vnd herwiderumb ein jedlichs in sein geschlecht / dz *in Cedrum*,[a] das *in Anthos*,[b] dz *in Balsamum*,[c] dz *in Botin*.[d] Vnder den Kreuttern / dz *in Melissam*,[e] das in Gilgen *inter Spinas*,[f] vnd nun also von den andern. Nun aber den Sahmen recht zuverstehn in seiner theilung / ist also / dz in der scheidung deß grossen *Aniadi*, auff Ein orth geführt ist der Beum arth / auff dz ander der *Botin*, auff die dritte der [*Ebenus*][g] ; Also je mit andern. Dergleichen mit Kreuttern der
99 groß *Aniadus* auff Ein Land Graß / auff dz ander Klee / auff | das dritte Lauandel geworffen / hatt eim jedlichen Land sein Krautt vnnd Beum geben. Darumb wir acht auff dieselbigen sollen haben / wie der *Aniadus* gefallen sey.

IIII.

Von aber wie der *Aniadus* gefallen ist mit den Beumen / also dz in Eim Land wachsen Pomerantzen[h] / im andern Schlehen[i] / in Eim Feigen[j] / im andern

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a Though these trees or herbs are introduced as examples of whatever grows from the earth, several are of medical interest in *Opus Paramirum: Cedrus, Anthos, Balsamus, Botin, Gilgen.*— ***Cedrus*** is also cited to evoke the variety of kinds of plants or diseases which may include those cited here: "Vnd wie ein Land Eysen / den ander Bley / etc. tregt / Eins *Pinum* das ander *Cedrum* / das geht auß seiner Anatomy" (H C:260c).

b **Anthos** is a known *materia medica* often cited by P. in *De Gradibus, De Vita Longa* and several surgical writings. See e.g. this German fragment of *De Vita Longa*: "Darauß zunemmen ist die Arth vnd Natur seines Corpus. Dann Cheyri ist mehr als Venus, **Anthos** mehr als der Mars" (H 6:206).

c **Balsam** is of various kinds, including B. Christi and B. Naturae, the latter at times equivalent to resina; it is occasionally named as a member of the *tria prima* (most often salt) as in *De Meteoris* (below, H 8:186–187 where balsam is also an equivalent of mercury), *De Mineralibus* (H 8:335), the *Labyrinthus Medicorum Errantium* (H 2:205), or *Das Dritte Buch der grossen Wundartzney:* "Nun weiter so wisset / daß ein jeglich Corpus Dreyerley Substantz an jhm hat / den **Balsamum**, den Sulphur, vnd den Mercurium" (H C:147c). On balsam as the equivalent of salt within the *tria prima* and an essential component of life, see Kahn 2018, 205–207, 216–217, 222–224.

d **Botin** (cf. vis-à-vis) is somewhat equivalent to familiar species in *Drey Bücher der Wundartzney Bertheoneae:* "Herwiderumb auch so merck / daß der Vicus / von Botin / Tannen / Abieten / vnnd Pino etc. an statt der vorbemelten attractivis mag genommen werden" (H C:346a).

e According to *Paragranum:* "**Melissa** ist ein Mutterkraut" (H 2:64).

f Most often mentioned in association with roses, **lilies** are medical and botanical for P., as in *Eilff Tractat:* "dann das Vnkraut vbermchrt / vnd felscht den Weitzen: Vnnd als dann zugleicher weiß wie ein Schüssel voller Rosen vnnd **Gilgen** / dorunter ein Handtvol Nesslen ligen" (H 4:156).

g The word is in brackets probably because Huser had to decipher it from the autograph of P. and had still some doubts about his reading. **Ebenus** is a wood associated with treatment of syphilis. See below H 8:106, cf. *Fragmenta de Morbo Gallico* (H C:632a).

h Mentioned in his syphilis writings, Pomerantzen (orange trees) are an example of P.'s view

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alone and also its place and dwelling, in which it is germinated. First the aforesaid power divides itself into its species, so that there are not two powers within one species, but rather each species has the power of its own kind: one belongs to wood, another to herbs, a third to mushrooms; and each in turn is allotted to a particular species: the one to *cedrus*, the next to *anthos*,[1] a third to *balsamus*, a fourth to *botin*.[2] Among the herbs, the one is for *melissa*, the other for the lily *inter spinas*,[3] and so on for the others. Now to properly understand the seed and its division, it is thus that in the separation of the great *aniadus*,[4] the arboreal nature is conducted to one place, to another that of *botin*, to a third that of [*ebenus*] [ebony], and so on. The same holds for the herbs: the great *aniadus* threw to one land herb, and to the next land clover, to {99} the third lavender, so that each terrain has its own herbs and trees. Hence we should pay attention to how the *aniadus* has fallen upon them.

IV.

And just as the *aniadus* has distributed itself with the trees, so that in one country orange trees grow, in another sloe trees, in one figs, in the other beech trees,

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that regions have their specific fruits and cures. See H 8:369: "Vnd so du sichst zu beiden seitten / vnnd das Landt da die Granaten vnd **Pomerantzen** in wachsen / schaw waß vortheils?"

i About the use of this fruit and its unripe juice, P. knows specifics. See *Die grosse Wundartzney:* "Weiter so nim der vnzeitigen **Schlehensafft** / vnd seud jhn ein biß schier ein dicke Latwerg erscheine" (H C:31a).

j P. associates the fig tree with the one Christ cursed but also relegates it as specific to its own conditions of growth in *Die grosse Wundartznei:* "Sie werden Paulum in Thorentino nicht finden / noch Ciceronem in Tartareto, **Feigen** nicht an Dornen finden / vnd Trauben nit an Schlehenstauden" (H C:147c).

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1 For glosses on *anthos* and the following words consult the General Index ETW, *anthera, botin, melissa,* etc.

2 On *botin* see also below, H 8:102.

3 The phrase *lilium inter spinas*, borrowed from Cant. 2,2, was also used by Hieronymus Bock's *Kreuterbuch* as a synonym for "Speckgilge" or "Specklilie" (honeysuckle). See Grimm, Gilge, 3°.

4 The word *aniadus*, repeatedly found in *De vita longa* without explanation, is glossed both in *De Gradibus* and *In eosdem libros De Gradibus, aliae quaedam breves Observationes*. The first gloss is medical: "and thus the *aniadus* is similar to the nature of balsam, which cures as well as it preserves health" (H 7:57: "*estque tunc Aniadus Balsamo naturae similis, qui ex aequo tam curat, quam conservat*"). The second gloss is much closer to natural philosophy: "*Aniadus* is the efficiency of things" (H 7:388: "*Aniadus est rerum efficacitas*"). One can only conclude that *aniadus* is very similar to *adech*: a formative power driving things to become as they are meant to be, not unlike a genetic code. See below, H 8:112, its role in P.'s philosophy.—In the context of the present chapter of the *Philosophy of the Elements*, it is quite obvious that "the great *aniadus*" is "the power that lets the stalk rise up to be born in accordance with the will of its builder" mentioned above, i.e. this power (*Krafft*) before its subsequent division.

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Buchlen[a] : Ist sein vrsachen / dz Feigen vnd Pomerantzen wollen haben sein sonder Erdreich / dz sich zu seinem Wachsen vergleiche / vnd auch der Himmel darnach. Darumb so nuhn die Erden vngleich ist / vnd der Himmel auch / so mag dise Frucht nit fürkommen / vnd also verdirbt jhr Sahmen / vnd geht nicht auß : Wiewol er do ist vnd ligt / so dorrt jhn doch hin der Himmel / vnd die widerwertig Natur der Erden / die do mannigfaltig ist / durch vrsachen deß Himmels / vnd nit durch jhr eigen Natur. Dann es ist Ein Erden vberal / aber do ist ein verenderung durch den Himmel / der die Gewächs fürdringt oder hindert : Aber hinwider ist nuhn die Natur / dieweil die Sonn die arth der Gilgen verbrennt / vnd ander edlen Kreutter / oder zu wenig hatt : So ist do der Sahmen / den die Natur gibt auff dem Krautt oder Baum / das also auß demselben Materialischen Sahmen die Sonn durch Krafft diser Blumen oder Baums nit mag verbrennen oder vndertrucken / vnd muß den lassen grünen : Allein es sey dann sach / dz die Sonn zu wenig sey / darauff sein Fruchtbarkeit nit kommen mögen. Also wachsen Kreutter vnnd Beum durch Pflantzen / die auß der Erden nicht gehn mögen / vorbemelten Mangels halben.

V.

Aber nuhn mehr ist zu Philosophieren in dem Element der Erden / vnd dz ist also : Das zweyerley Frücht von Element der Erden gehn : Ein / die die Erden selber gibt : Vnd die sie von Sahmen gibt : Das also auß der Erden gehn alle Gewechs durchs Element in zween weg : Von jhn selbst / auß jhren eignen Sahmen / vnd Eins auß dem gegebnen Sahmen.[b] Der eigen Sahmen ist / so ein Erden gibt Krautt / dz ist / ein selbs gewachsen Krautt : Demnach ist / dz man den Sahmen seet / vnd ist ein gegebner Sahm. Darumb hie zweyerley Gab der
100 Kreutter sind. | Korn wechst von keiner Erden nicht / noch der Weitz / er muß geseet werden / auch Gilgen / auch ander dergleichen / vnd Birnen. Nuhn ist hie die grosse Philosophey dises Tractats / von wannen die Samen kommen / die auß der Erden nit wachsen. Dann so kein Korn / kein [Weitz] nicht geseet wirdt / so wechst do keins nicht : Sonst wachsen Graß vnd Hew : Darumb ist Graß vnd Hew der Erden Gewechs / auß jhr selber / vnnd weither kein Oepffel noch Kirschen. Darumb so muß do ein ander Philosophey sein / auß welcher geboren ist worden das Korn / der Obsbaum / vnnd dergleichen. Vnnd ist daß /

a With beech wood P. evinces a practical knowledge in *Von Offnen Schäden, Geschweren, Syronen etc.:* "Oleum de Kost id est, **Büchenöl** / der auß dem **Buchen** Holtz brent" (H C:610a).

b What follows is a reflection on the puzzling circumstance that seeds and their fruit are not entirely explained by Genesis, a reflection that touches on the alien provenance of certain seeds or on their unlike offspring, as in *Von den Blatern* [...] *vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzo-*

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the explanation is that figs and oranges claim their own part of the earth which is assimilated to their growth, and similarly with the heavens. Since neither the earth nor the heavens are uniform, these fruits cannot always issue. Then their seed is ruined and they do not sprout if they lie where the heavens dry them and the nature of the earth is opposed to them. The earth is varied in accordance with the heavens, not with its specific nature. For everywhere there is but one earth, yet it is modified by the heavens when they summon forth or hinder vegetation. And yet nature is such that, even though the sun might burn the lily and other noble herbs, or they might get too little sun, nonetheless the seed that nature yields along with the herb or tree still abides there, and by virtue of the power of the flower or tree, the sun cannot burn or oppress the material seed, but must let it blossom, unless the sun shines upon it too little and its fruitfulness does not ripen. So, it happens that herbs and trees grow from plants that cannot emerge from the earth on account of the aforesaid lack.

V.

But more can be said in philosophizing about the element of the earth, and indeed it goes as follows. Two sorts of fruits sprout forth from the element of the earth. The one kind is yielded by the earth itself. Another it yields by way of the seed. Thus, from the earth all herbs proceed in two ways by virtue of this element. The one kind from itself and its own seeds; the other from the seed given to it. The first kind of seed is when the earth of itself yields herbs of a sort that has grown with it. After that, there is the kind which occurs when one sows herbs. This is a given seed. Hence, there are two gifts of herbs. | Grain doesn't 100
grow of itself from any earth, and wheat must also be sown, lilies as well, and other things of the kind such as pears. The great speculation of this treatise concerns the origin of the seeds that do not sprout of themselves from the earth. For if no grain or [wheat] is sown, none will grow. Grass and hay will grow, so these are a growth of the earth and its own. But this does not include apples or cherries. Therefore, we need another sort of philosophy which explains the birth of grain, apples, and things of the kind. And it is the case that the seeds

sen: "Sehet an den Ersten Protoplastum, vnnd messend neben jhm die seltzamen Creaturen / so jhm nicht gleich sehend / vnd doch von seinem **Samen** hie sind. Dergleichen wie so vil seltzamer Impressiones die Astra geberen / ausserhalb jhrer Natur vnnd Eigenschafft. Dermassen auch / wie so vil mancherley Kräuter auff Erden sind / die in der Ersten Creation eignen Samen nie gehabt haben. Auch vil vnd mancherley Thierer / die sidher vnd weiter eröffnet werden / durch welche auch noch andre Monstra vber des Geschöpffs art zustehnd" (H C:266b).

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das auß dem Paradeiß die Sahmen dieser ding aller geboren seindt / vnnd hersauß geseet / vnnd also gewachsen / daher weither Plantiert vnnd gebawen / vnnd ist jhre Frucht deß Paradyß[a] gleich zuverstehn / wie *Christus* Gott ist / vnnd ist ein tödtlicher Mensch.

VI.

Wie nuhn auß dem Sahmen sein gewechs geht / ist zu wissen / das der Sahm auß der Erden nichts hatt / als allein das Wachsen / vnd die Krafft seiner Form / das andern ist Paradyß / vnnd wirdt im *Paramiro*[b] angezeigt : Was aber von der Erden ist / das Element betreffent / dasselbig ist also / das anfenglich die drey Ersten der Erden sich in den Sahmen vermischen / darinn ist das Holtz vnd das Krautt / also das es zum Ende gang / darzu es gehört / vnd wirdt das / das es vor ist. Dann der Sahme ist das / das auß jhm wirdt / noch nicht eröffnet : Auß dem wirdt am ersten ein Wurtzen / auß dem andern geht der Stamm : Von der Wurtzen vnnd Stammen gehn die Este / auß den dreyen gehn die Bletter / vnd nach der Zeitt die Blüe vnd Frücht. Dieses gewächs formet sich auß dem grossen *Aniado*, vnd ist gleich dem Menschen : Dann es hatt sein Hautt / vnd ist die Rinden / hat sein Haupt vnd Haar / ist die Wurtzen / hatt sein Figur vnnd Zeichen / sein Sinne / hatt sein Empfindtligkeit in seim Stammen / darauß sein Letzung volgt das es stirbt : Sein Laub / Blumen vnnd Frucht sein Zierde / wie im Menschen das Gehör / Gesicht vnnd redende Arth. Sein *Gummi* ist sein *Ster-*
101 *cus*, sein Moder sein Vbergewechs / sein Mistel sein Kranckheit. | Aber alles so da zu Philosophiren ist von seim wachsen / ist nichts als allein die Aniadisch arth / die alle Formen ordnet / vnd bringt in sein Wesen / dazu es verordnet ist. Sein Todt vnd Sterben ist sein Zeit seines Jahrs : Als ein Birnbaum steht x. Jahr oder xx. demnach tödtet jhn die Zeit / so stirbt das Gewechs der Erden / vnd die Zeitt ist sein Todt : sein verzehrung ist dz Element Fewr / das ist / das Fewr

a This association of the fruits of cultivation with Paradise correlates with a general belief that an invisible realm or selective remnant of the eternal world interpenetrates with ours. See *Liber de longa vita, Ein Buch, Teutsch*: "Das kommt aber nit auß gleicher Welt / sondern auß theilung der Regionen: Als **Paradysus** vnd Externus. In dem Einen / dz ist Externo, leben wir der Gnaden / Hoffnung vnd Behelffung / wie wir mögen: Aber Paradysi, dz dann die ander Welt ist / darinn kein sterben ist: Nicht das es sey ein Wunderzeichen / als Miraculum, sondern es ist Naturale, vnd thut dz auß seiner Natur" (H 6:126). The paradox of a world that incorporates eternal and transient realms is defended with reference to Christ as both God and man.

b Just as the seeds of Paradise are found in this world, so are the sublime *arcana* whose exposition is referred by *Archidoxis* to the "Paramiran" writings: "So sollen wir verstehen de quinta Essentia istarum rerum, das es ist mehr dann ein quinta Essentia: Vnnd soll mehr ein Arcanum geheissen werden / vnnd Artis Mysterium, dann ein quinta Essentia. Daruon viel mehr

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of all these things stem from Paradise, sown from thence and hence they grow.[1] From there, they have continued to be planted and cultivated. Their fruit of Paradise should be understood in the same way that Christ is God, and yet also a perishable human being.

VI.

Just as the seed yields the plant, it must be understood that the seed owes nothing to the earth except its growth and the strength of its form. The rest is from Paradise and it will be revealed in the *Paramirum*.[2] However, as to that which pertains to the earth, with respect to the element, it can be stated as follows. In the beginning, the three principles of the earth mix themselves into the seed, into its wooden and herbal parts, so that it attains its proper end and becomes that which it was destined to be.[3] For the seed is that which becomes of it and has not yet opened up. Out of it there first arises a root and from the other part a stem, trunk, or stalk. From the root and stem emerge the branches. From the three, arise the leaves and in time the flowers and fruit. This organism is formed out of the great *aniadum* and is comparable to the human being. It has its skin, which is bark, its head and hair, which are its roots; it has its figure and sign, its senses, and its sensitivity within its stem, from which it follows that, when wounded, it dies. Its leaves, flowers, and fruit are its ornament, as are the senses of hearing, seeing, and the capacity to speak in the human being. Its *gummi* [its sap] is its *stercus*. Its mould its overgrowth, its mistletoe its disease. | But 101
everything that excites our speculation concerning its growth is nothing but the aniadic nature which orders all forms and brings into being that which is ordained for it. Its death and dying are the time of its year. A pear tree might stand for ten years or twenty. Then time kills it. The vegetation of the earth dies. Time is its death. Its consumption is the fiery element which means that the fire removes wood, leaves, and grass. Whatever remains in the field begins

zu schreiben wer / den wir von quinta Essentia beschrieben haben / das wir nicht thuen : Dann darumb / wir melden dasselbig in den Büchern **Paramiris**" (H 6:32; cf. *Quinta Essentia* in note on H 8:151). Frequent but vague references to "paramiran" works—more than three score discrete citings in the THEO database—suggest a signature magnum opus always in process but never clearly demarcated, much less fully realized.

1 This is the well-known Augustinian idea that the seeds of all things were all created by God simultaneously and have thence endlessly multiplied and will do so until the end of the world.

2 This allusion corresponds to nothing specific in the *Opus Paramirum*. See above, note b, and 155, n. 2.

3 Thus the seed *per se* originates from Paradise, and the element of earth provides it with the three principles, enabling it to grow and accomplish what it is meant to.

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nimpt hin das Holtz / das Laub / das Graß : vnnd alles so do auff dem Felde bleibt / anhebt zu faulen vnd [zu vergehen] dz nimpt die Sonne hin vnd der Galaxische Gang / das gleich so wenig auff der Erden bleibt / oder voll wirt / als wer es nie gewachsen / gleich als Holtz im Fewr. Also werden die Gewächs verzehrt / vnnd hingefressen / das nichts vberbleibt / auch nichts die erfüllen : Sondern als der Staub hingenommen : Auch durch grossen Windt / der Mist vnnd anders also hingeht durch das Element / [das nach seim] Jahr kein Steuble entpfunden wirt / oder nichts dz da bleibig sey von jhn.

VII.
De variis Viribus nascentium.

Wie nuhn wachsen auß der Erden die Beum / Kreütter / Frument / vnd ander *Legumina :* soll anfenglich die Krafft dises Elements erkannt werden / also / das etlich Gewechs Nahrung vnd Speiß seind / als die *Legumina*[a] vnd Frücht : Ettlich Tranck / als *Vuae*[b] vnd *Berberis :*[c] Ettlich Reinigung deß Leibs / als *Thurbit*,[d] *Elleborus*,[e] vnd *Coloquintis :* Ettlich sterckung / als *Cinnamomum, Caryophylli* vnd *Macis*[f] : Ettlich haben jhre kräfft in den Wurtzen / als *Pastinaca*[g] vnd *Entiana*[h] : Ettlich in Blettern / als *Bleta*[i] vnd *Caulis*[j] : Ettlich in Blumen / als *Buglossa*[k] : Ettlich in Früchten / als Oepffel vnd Biren : Ettlich in Sahmen / als

a Several *legumina* and herbs, trees, and fruits that follow are mentioned in *Paragranum*. Their preparation and digestion are incorporated into P.'s alchemical medicine in *De Causa et Origine Morborum:* "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" (H 1:148).

b The diversity of fruits including grapes reflects the regional variety of the macrocosm, thus *Fragmenta de Morbo Gallico:* "Als die Regiones metallorum erfrewen sich in den metallen / die Regiones pomorum in jhren öpffeln: **Uvarum** in jhrem wein / der kißwerck in seinen demmen: Also ist das ein Region / ein Region ist ein Glidt" (H C:634c).

c See below (H 8:112): "Im **Berberis** ist die Bitterkeit / darumb das ein gantze Seuri in dem Bery ist."

d Like coloquint, *turbith* is an often-mentioned purgative that is ineffective against syphilis. Thus *Drey Bücher von den Frantzosen:* "Also werden die Frantzosen vor der **Coloquint** sicher bleiben. Es ist also daß **Turbith** den Schleim purgiere aber die Frantzosen nicht" (H C:151a).

e This purgative, commonly used in medicine, is mentioned among other places in the syphilis writings, or e.g. in *Volumen Medicinae Paramirum*: "Also mercken auch wol vnd eben / das **Elleborus** zum vomiren treibt" (H 1:61).

f These three ingredients are not infrequently combined by P., as in *Das Neundte Buch in der Artzney De Contracturis:* "Rec. **Cinamomi, Caryophyllorum, Macis** ana ʒ. Ij" (H 4:109).

g P.'s *Scholia & Obseruationes in Macri Poemata de virtutibus herbarum* enumerates the uses "DE PASTINACA. Nvsquam melior est quam ad comedendum. Radices quae nutrimenta sunt, non

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to rot and [pass away]. The sun and the galactic course remove it, so that so little remains on the earth or becomes mature that it is as if it had never grown at all. Just as wood is consumed by fire, so, too, is the vegetation consumed so nothing remains nor reaches completion. Its dust is swept away by powerful winds. Excrement and waste likewise pass away by virtue of the element [so that after its] year, not a speck can be found, nothing that remains of it.

VII.
De variis Viribus nascentium.
[On the Various Virtues of the Things That Grow.]

Just as the trees, herbs, grain, and further *legumina* grow from the earth, by that we observe the power of this element, how certain kinds of vegetation are food and sustenance as do *legumina* and fruits. There are certain drinks such as *uvae* [grapes] and *berberis;* and purgations of the body such as *thurbit, ellebor*, and *coloquintis;*[1] and fortifiers such as *cinnamomum, caryophylli* [cloves], and *macis*. Some have their power in the roots, such as *pastinaca* [parsnip] and [*g*]*entiana;*[2] some in their leaves, such as *bleta* and *caulis;*[3] some in flowers, such as *buglossa;* some in their fruits, such as apples and pears; some in their

multum habent in se Remedij, vt est etiam pastinaca, etc. ¶ In Asthmate caulis de pastinaca [das] Krautt / non Pasteneyer / distillata & bibita, valet, etc." (H 7:277).

h In *Das Buch von allen offnen schäden so auß der Natur geboren werden*, Entiana [gentiana] is included among the *salia* distinguished by taste: "Mineralia Corrosiva. Etlich süß / dann ist ein Sal: Etlich sawr / dann Acetosa ist ein Sal: Etliche bitter / dann **Entiana** ist ein Sal : Etliche räss / dann Piper ist ein Sal : Etlich scharff / dann Vitriolum ist ein Sal" (H C:384c).

i Along with other criteria for classifying vegetables (raw or for cooking, strength in root or leaves), P. distinguishes between male and female consumption in *Liber de Matrice:* "das wirs besondern / anzusehen / das sie eine artzney mitfüren / welche krafft gescheiden sol werden in der Monarchey: den Frawen jhr **Bletam**, den Mannen die jhre" (H 1:217).

j In *Eilff Tractat* universal virtues are ascribed to it, as the Romans already did: "**Caulis** Romana ist vnter allen Kreüttern das Edleste zu essen: Nuhn aber was ist Caulis Romana in seiner Natur? [...] In der Summ alle Species der Natur sind in jhr / das ist / alle Virtutes sind do in Einem Kraut" (H 4:180).

k The *Scholia & Obseruationes in Macri Poemata de virtutibus herbarum* declare: "DE **BVGLOSSA.** Decocta cum melle, fiat syrupus, so Curirt er die scabiem vnd Seürle per totum corpus sparsum, sal enim corporis mundat" (H 7:276).

1 See ETW, *Helleborus, Colocynth.*

2 See ETW, *Gentiana.*

3 See ETW, *Bleta, Caulis romana.*

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Papauer,[a] *Nux* vnd dergleichen. Wie aber nuhn das alles geschicht vnd wirdt / soll in den weg verstanden werden / daß der *Aniadus terræ* das außtheilt / in den weg. Was führende Kräfft seind / theilt er in drey theil auß / in Sahmen / Wurtzen / in die *Extremitates*. Als in eim Baum allein das Obs ein Frucht ist / da treibts der *Aniadus* hin / vnd sein Frucht geformirt als ein Apffel / Birn / Feygen / etc. Im Kern in gestalt eins Sahmens / den Wein in gestalt eins
102 Trancks / vnd werckt also vor dem Menschen / die erste bereittung / | also daß der Mensch die ander *Silerem montanum*, in *Rhabarbarum*, in *Hermodactylos*.[b] Was süsser arth ist / geht in Zucker / Bockshörnli[c] / Süß holtz / vnd in das Geblüe / darauß dann die Birnen vnnd Feigen jhr Süsse auch nemmen / vnd die Bienen das Honig.[d] Die Bittery in den *Amarissam*[e] : die Hitz in *Piper*, vnd *Grana paradysi*[f] : Die Kelte in *Nenuphar* vnd *Camphoram*.[g] Dann zu gleicher weiß wie im Element Fewr ein jedtlichs ding für sich selbs von andern getheilt ist : dermassen ist auch getheilt die Krafft deß Elements der Erden in seim Gewechs. Wiewol sich offt begibt / das zwo arth etwann in Einem stück seind / oder drey : als in *Cassia*[h] ist Hitze / Süsse / vnd Laxatiuisch arth : In der Coloquint Bittere / Hitz vnd Laxatiuisch arth : In *Mace* der Geschmack / Gütty vnd Stercki : Also von andern vilen auch / zerbricht doch kein stücke das ander nicht. Dermassen ist die Krafft deß Elements der Erden auch zu der Gesundtheit / als

a The same *Scholia & Obseruationes* are well informed about the uses of the poppy: "Opium est succus **papaueris**, so man Papauer in der Milch außtruckt / vnd exicciert secundum Artem" (H 7:274).

b These are among the customary purgatives which, however, have proven powerless against syphilis in *Drey Bücher von den Frantzosen:* "sie purgieren mit **Hermodactylis** / mit Turpith mit Diagridio, mit **Silere Montano**, mit **Reubarbara**, vnd dergleichen: Dieser stuck nimpt keins die Frantzosen hinweg" (H C:175a).

c This passage mixes the classification by the four tastes (see *Volumen Medicinae Paramirum*—H 1:44): "Im leib sindt 4. Gustus: also auch in der Erden: Sewri / **Süsse** / Bitteri / Sältzi" with that of the hot and the cold. The substances through honey are sources of sweetness (see *Scholia & Obseruationes in Macri Poemata*—H 7:250).

d Honey is a prime example of P.'s respect for the multiple virtues in nature: "Die Milch die wirdt zusammen gesetzt auß vilerley Kräuttern / allein aber auß denen / darinnen Milch ist. Also auch mit dem **Honig** / das wird zusammen getragen von vilerley Blumen / doch aber allein auß denen Blumen / darinn **Honig** ist" (H C:142a).

e *Volumen Medicinae Paramirum* cites *Amarissa* in order to detail that the "four complexions" occur in the garden as well as the body, but substitutes tastes and hot and cold for the former: "Also sindt die vier Complexiones im leib wie in eim Garten / in dem da wachst / **Amarissa**, Polypodium, Vitriolum, vnnd Salniter" (H 1:44).

f On **Piper** and **Grana Paradysi**, see below, notes on H 8:111.

g While rejecting Galenic complexions, P. follows a standard classification of plants as hot and cold in nature (cf. H 7:12) and often juxtaposes these two qualities (cf. H C:599a; H 5A: 126, 127,

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seeds, such as *papaver, nux*, and that kind of thing. How all of that happens and comes to be should be understood in the sense that the *aniadus terrae* thus distributes it. The driving powers are distributed among three, that is, among the seeds, roots, and *extremitates*. Thus, in a tree there is only its fruit: the *aniadus* compels it to go forth and the fruit is shaped as an apple, pear, fig, etc. At the core, in the form of its seed; the wine in the form of its drink; and thus the *aniadus* performs the first preparation before the human being | so that the 102
human being can perform the second operation to his profit. Then, what is of a laxative nature goes into another species of vegetation, into *siler montanus, rhabarbar, hermodactylos*.[1] That which is sweet by nature goes into sugar, fenugreek, liquorice, and into the blossoms from which pears and figs also receive their sweetness and bees their honey. That which is bitter goes into *amarissa,*[2] that which is hot into *piper* and *grana paradysi* [cardamom]; that which is cold into *nenuphar* and *camphor*.[3] For in the same way that in the fiery element separated off every entity from all the others, in that same way the power of the element of the earth is distributed in its vegetation. It can happen, however, that quite often two natures are found together in one bit, or indeed three natures. For example, *cassia* contains the hot, the sweet, and laxative natures; coloquint contains the bitter, hot, and laxative. In *macis*, there is the taste, goodness, and strength. The same can be said of many other herbs: none of these bits, however, destroys the power of the others. Such is the power of the

170; H 7:7). Elsewhere, the bitter, the sweet, the sour, and the salty, replace the four complexions and play key herbal-medical roles, as in the *Volumen Medicinae Paramirum:* "Also solt jhr mercken die vier Complexen / wie sie im leib entspringen / die Sewri / Suesse / Bittere vnd Sältzi: der andern wollen wir ein ander Capitel anzeigen. Also mögendt jhr sprechen / wen das Saltz vbertrifft im menschen auß dem Ens Complexionis, das er sey ein Sanguineus : Vbertrifft die Bitteri in jhm / das er sey ein Cholericus : Die Sewri / ein Melancholicus : die Suesse / ein Phlegmaticus. Also sindt die vier Complexiones im leib wie in eim Garten / in dem da wachst / Amarissa, Polypodium, Vitriolum, vnnd Salniter : Also mögen sie im leib alle stehn / aber allein Eine bricht für" (H 1:44–45). Here hot and the cold are added (Hitz in Piper […] Kelte in Nenuphar vnd Camphoram).

h Elsewhere this is cited for its sweet quality, in *Von den ersten dreyen Essentiis*: "Nuhn aber vom Alcali zuwissen vnd Saltz / ist mancherley : Eins ist süß als **Cassia**, vnnd ist das separiert Saltz" (H 3:16).

1 See ETW, *siler montanus, rhabarbar, hermodactylos*.

2 *Amarissa* is *amaryllis*. The Latin adjective *amarus* means "bitter." Although the etymology was Greek with an entirely different meaning, Linnaeus acknowledges that the root was bitter and the name was somehow conflated with the Latin derivation from *amarus* (Linné 1737, 135).

3 See ETW, *nenuphar, camphor*.

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in *Lolio*,[a] als in *Persicis*, als in *Gamandrea*[b] : auch viel Consolidatiuisch arth / als in *Consolida*,[c] als in *Artemisia*[d] Rott : Auch viel im Geschmack / als *Conuallium*,[e] *Narciosca*[f] : viel im Gestanck / als *Ebulus*.[g] Solches alles ist gewachsen auß dem *Aniado*, vnnd getheilt / gesondert zur notturfft deren auff der Erden. Vnd also werden die *Magnalia* erkennt / vnnd Kräfft der Elementen / was sie auß dem grossen *Yliastro* genommen haben. Damit wöllen wir den *Prologum* enden : was weitter noht ist / in seinen Capiteln anzeigen.

TRACTATVS SECVNDVS, De Arboribvs.

I.

De Botin,[h] *Abiete*[i] *& Pino*.[j]

Vom *Botin, Abiete* vnd *Pino* zu Philosophiren / ist ein zweyfacher *Sulphur* do in seim Corpus : Einer der da zu der Coagulation geht / der ander der von dieser
103 gescheiden wirdt / vnnd nicht Coaguliert. Auß dem *Sulphure* | der die Coagulation annimpt / derselbig macht dz Holtz / vnnd steht voller Saltz. Darumb daß es ein *Sulphur* ist / darumb brennt es : vnd so es brennt / so brennt allein der *Sulphur :* vnnd was vbrig bleibt / dasselbig ist ein Saltz / das wirdt in ein Aschen : vnd ist das Saltz / das den *Sulphur* in Beumen Coaguliert zu einem Holtz / darauß wirt ein Glaß / dann das Saltz fleust : dasselbig Glaß ist sein *vltima Materia*, eines jedlichen Saltzs deß Holtzs. Der ander *Sulphur* der die Coagulation nicht

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a Lolium is associated with the weeds which sprout among the good seed. See *De Viribus membrorum:* "es seet sich ein Zizania vnnd **Lolium** darbey" (H 3:11).

b Exemplifying the concept of the signature, the spurious *De Pestilitate* mentions: "Nuhn das Kraut **Gamandrea** hatt an sich die Anatomiam Pestis: Vnd dz beweiset das Runde öpfflein / so daran wechset" (H 3:57).

c **Consolida** or its derivative terms can refer both to a plant and to a medical effect ("Incarniert vnd Consolidiert"—H C:109).

d A feminine planetary association informs us, "Was meinen jhr das Venus sey / als allein **Artemisia**? Was Artemisia / als allein Venus?" (H 2:110), so that "Artemisia curat mulieres inpraegnatas, quae Menstruum habent" (H 7:364).

e P. also cites "Lilium **conuallium**" (see e.g. H 5:71). On this plant, see also above, H 8:98, "Gilgen inter spinas."

f This is an error originating either with Huser or his manuscript source. Read: **Narcissus**.

g These items pertain to a classification of the sweet and foul smelling. See *Von Vrsprung, Herkommen vnd Anfang der Frantzosen Acht Bücher:* "Wie jhr sehend / das die wolschmeckenden ding / Rosen / Gilgen / Feyheln wachsen / auch hingehen / der Asa faetida, **Ebulus**, etc. Künnen vnd müssen die zwey wachsen / also auch im Leib künnen vnd wachsen müssen Gesundtheit vnd Kranckheit zu beyden seiten" (H C:222c).

h *Botin* is frequently associated with the essential *materia medica* of *"terpentin":* See *Vom Terpentin:* "Also hatt er zween Nammen : So er nach der Balsamischen Influentz gesamlet wirdt /

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element of the earth for health, as in *lolio* [ryegrass], in *persicis* [peaches], in *gamandrea* [germander]; there is also much consolidative nature in *consolida* [comfrey], in red *artemisia* [field sagewort]. Moreover, there is much in taste, as in *convallium* [lily of the valley], *narciosca* [narcissus]; much in the stench, as in *ebulus* [dwarf elder]. All of this has grown from the *aniadus*, and been distributed, particularized to benefit the health of those on earth. This is how the *magnalia*[1] are known and the powers of the elements which they have received from the great *Yliastrum*. With this, we would conclude our *prologus*, whatever else is needed will be demonstrated in the appropriate chapters.

TRACTATVS SECVNDVS, De Arboribvs.

I.

De Botin, Abiete & Pino.

[Second treatise. On Trees.]
[I. On *Botin* (Terpentine),[2] Fir, and Pine]

To speculate concerning *botin, abies*, and *pinus*, there is a twofold *sulphur* in its *corpus:* one goes into the coagulation, the other separates off from it and is not coagulated. The *sul-*|*phur* that accepts the coagulation constitutes the 103
wood and is replete with salt. Because it is a *sulphur*, it burns; and in burning, it is only the *sulphur* that combusts. What is left over is the salt. That turns to ashes. It is the salt that coagulates the *sulphur* in the trees, turning them into wood.[3] Out of it [i.e., the ashes] arises a glass, for the salt is fluid. That salt is an *ultima materia* of every salt contained in the wood. The other *sulphur* which

so heißt er Balsam vom Botin : So er aber nicht nach der Influentz gesamlet wird / so heisset er Terpentina, auff Deutsch Lerchenhartz" (H 7:215).

i The resin of these three is a staple of P.'s alchemical medicine. See *Von den Blatern, Lähme, Beulen, Löcheren vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen*: "Darumb nicht allein in Quaico, sonder auch in Abiete Pino, durch die krafft Separationis, ligni Quaici Virtutes gefunden werden. Das ist die Speiß so den Krancken soll administriert werden" (H C:288b).

j P. refers to the transplantation of the pine tree in *Von den Blatern, Lähme, Beulen, Löcheren vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen:* "**Pinus** mit der transplantierung vom samen Juniperi / gibt ein Samen zwischen jhnen beyden" (H C:267c).

1 See ETW, *magnalia, magnalia Dei.*

2 See ETW 332, note *b*. The word is of Arabic origin (*albotin*) and refers to a tree from which a particular terpentine is extracted. See Arveiller 1999, 65–66, referring to Mesue among others.

3 On salt as a principle of coagulation, see also above, H 8:63, and below, H 8:133, 139–140, 144–145, and the references in our note to H 8:261.

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annimpt / auß demselbigen wirdt der Terpentin[a] / *Resina Abietis & Pini*,[b] vnd ligt im Holtz / vnnd dringt von wegen seiner Subtili herauß durch die *poros* deß Holtzs in die Rinden / oder zerschmiltzt / oder resoluirt sich an seiner statt : vnnd so nuhn ein *Emunctorium* wirdt / so geht es am selbigen orth auß : das geschicht durch ein Loch oder Streich. Darinn ist ein vnterscheidt zu wissen / daß der *Botin* subtiler ist am *Sulphur* als *Abies* vnd *Pinus*, vnnd *Pinus* subtiler als *Abies*, vnd habend alle drey Ein Generation / die geht nuhn auß dem *Aniado*, vnnd Compactirt sich zusammen durch den *Mercurium*.

Nuhn aber zu reden von seiner Rinden / Aesten / vnnd dergleichen / ist das / daß die Rinden auch ein Coagulirter *Sulphur* ist wie das Hartz / aber also in die Form durch den *Aniadum* gebracht / dann es ist ein Congelirt hartter *Sulphur*. Vnd zu gleicher weiß wie die endung in keim Corpus ohn ein Härtte ist / also ist auch die endung der Rinden / die allein hartt ist / genommen auß dem härttisten *Sulphure*, der in diesem Gewechs ligt. Sein Aeste nemmen sich auß dem *Aniado*, ders also formirt : die Reiser dergleichen / vnnd was also dorinn ist. Sein Frucht / Zapffen vnd Kegel / werden auch auß dem *Aniado*, Form vnd Gestalt / darumb das er nicht anders geberen mag : vnd ander Beum dergleichen also zuverstohn seindt.

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II.

De Cirbo, Fraxino, & Aharna.[c]

Dieser[d] dreyen Beüm arth / ist ein *Sulphur*, Coagulirt durch das Holtzsaltz / in massen wie die Aschenbeüm / allein daß sie in jhrem *Sulphure* vnd Saltz vil subtiler seind : darumb jhr Saltz edler ist vnd hertter / auß vrsachen / also ist jhr Saltz mehr edler / auff der Himmlischen arth : darumb auß jrer Aschen edler *Alkali* vnd Gläser werden / vnd auß jhrem Wasser ein edle Essentz. Darumb ist auch der *Aniadus* edler in seinen Gewechsen / dann als im groben *Sulphur* wie oben angezeigt ist / darumb ist ein sonder arth vber ander Holtz / als im

a The alchemical medicine of plant substances is preeminent in the many applications of "*terpentin*." See among other instances *Das Erste Buch der grossen Wundartzney:* "So wissen auch / das die Alchimisten dergleichen den Terpentin Distilliert haben / vnnd also die Kreuter in denselbigen gelegt" (H C:26b).

b The organic-inorganic nature of P.'s alchemical medicine is evident in his reference to *resina metallorum* in *Drey andere Chirurgische Bücher, Liber 5 de Apostematibus:* "Darmit aber / das jhr auch de Praeservatiuis Vnderricht haben / das Resina Mineralium, vnnd das Sal, vnnd das dritt / daß die Metalla gewältiget / als die höchsten Mineralia vnder allen Praeseruatiuen zunemmen" (H C:430b). This unity of the organic and the inorganic is based on the presence in either realm of the universal *sulphur;* the resins common to metals and woods differ, however, from region to region (see *Opus Paramirum*—H 1:78, 80).

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does not admit of coagulation turns into the terpentine, *resina abietis & pini* [resin of fir and pine]. It resides in the wood. By virtue of its subtlety, it penetrates out through the *pori* of the wood into the bark. Or it melts, or it is resolved in its place. When an *emunctorium*[1] appears, it exits in the same way, by way of a hole or a cut. In this context, one should observe that the *botin* is subtler in its *sulphur* than *abies* or *pinus*, and *pinus* in turn subtler than *abies*. All three originate in the same generation which proceeds from the *aniadus* and is compacted by virtue of the *mercurius*.

Now as for the bark, branches, and other such parts: the bark is a similar coagulated *sulphur* as the sap; but it has been formed as such by the *aniadus;* for it is a hard, congelated *sulphur*. Just as the termination in any corpus does not lack hardness, so it is with the end of the bark, which is uniquely hard, extracted from the very hardest *sulphur* found within this species of growth. Its branches stem from the *aniadus* which forms them thus; the twigs likewise, and whatever else pertains to them. The fruit and pine cones also stem from the *aniadus* in form and configuration, which is why it can bear nothing else. Other trees are to be understood in the same way. | 104

II.
De Cirbo, Fraxino, & Aharna.[2]
[On Swiss pine,[3] Ash Tree, and Plane Tree]

These three kinds of tree have a single *sulphur*, coagulated by the salt of the wood as is the case with the ash trees. The only difference is that they are much subtler with regard to their *sulphur* and salt. For this reason, their salt is nobler with respect to its celestial nature. For this reason, their ash can become noble *alkali* and glass[4] and its water can become a noble essence. Thus, the *aniadus* is nobler in its vegetation than in the coarse *sulphur*, as has been demonstrated above. For the same reason, there is a special type superior to other kinds of

c The first two are of moderate recurrent interest to P.

d Note by Huser in the margin, called by an asterisk: *Hoc Caput mendosum est*.

1 See ETW, *emunctorium*.

2 Huser inserts in the margin a note warning of faultiness of this section: "Hoc caput mendosum est" ("This chapter is corrupted"). This certainly explains why Huser printed some words in square brackets even in the next chapter without providing any explanation for them (see e.g. on 258, first line).

3 The *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* (4:1250) has "Zirbelbaum: *Pinaster, Pinus sylvestris*, ein wilder Ziernbaum, Cyrbelbaum." Its current names in Switzerland are *pinus cembra*, "Zirbelkiefer" or "Arve" (we thank Urs Leo Gantenbein for the clarification).

4 See ETW, Glass.

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Abiete. Nuhn sein Aeste / also das er dergleichen geformirt ist / durch vnd durch geht sein Baum / in den Stammen / vnd klebt [nit] aussen an / als an andern Beümen : vnd ist die vrsach / das auß dem Kern sein Aest wachsen / darumb jhr Aeste deß Holtzs seind / deß der Sahmen ist : wann die Krafft deß Kerns macht den Sahmen / dieselbig Krafft macht auch die Aeste. Was aber für Aeste seind / die nit auß dem Kern gehn / dieselbigen Aest sind nit demselbigen Holtz gleich der Beumen. Auch dergleichen [die Adern in dem Stammen schnecklicht] haben : vnd ist die vrsachen / das er sonst kein *poros* hatt / als die Strich die er hatt hin vnd her [schnecklicht :] Also in solcher form durch den *Aniadum* gescheiden / gleich dem Schnecken / vnd hat durch die arth der *pori*. Der Ahorn in seim Flader ist also / daß der *Aniadus* Oleisch arten in jhm hatt / dieselbigen fürnimpt jhm in diesem Ahorn / vnd mehr im Flader. Dann deß Baums Flader / oder eins andern Baums Flader / ist nichts als die bildent arth / die der *Aniadus* an jhm hatt. Vnd wiewol es auß der form kompt / eins mehr als das ander / vnd nit gleich in der Form bleiben / wie es der *Aniadus* anhebt : vrsacht jhn durch das wachsen / [so es] von einander treibt / vnd bringt / vnd die form entsetzt / vnd doch die gleichnuß do bleibt. [Daß aber solche Blumenwerck nicht] alle haben / ist das bildtnuß deß [Geists] *Aniadi :* dann alle Form / so auff Erden seind / darinn [steht] vnd herfür geht. Die sonder arth dieser Beum ist auß der arth des *Sulphuris* vnd *Salis* geboren / der da anderst ist denn in andern Beumen : Auch haben sie einen subtilen *Mercurium*, darumb sie in der Compaction
105 anderst stohn | dann ander Beum. Der *Zirbus* hatt ein mürben hartten *Mercurium :* Der *Fraxinus* ein zehen / linden *Mercurium :* Der Aharn ein hartten / vesten *Mercurium :* In dieser dreyen arth werden die Beum gescheiden.

III.
De Cedro, Balsamo & Cupresso.[a]

Ein ander *Sulphur* geht auß dem Element *Terræ*, das ist vnter allen Höltzern das edlest : auß disen werden die *Cedri, Balsami* vnd Cupressen : vnd ist der *Sulphur* der am weissesten ist / vnnd mit dem aller subtilesten Saltz / vnd viel von *Mercurio :* vnd theilt sich anfenglich in die form zweyfach / in ein lange Form / vnd in ein kurtze arth derselbigen dreyen Ersten / vnd nicht *Aniadi*. Herwiderumb so ist auch die Sulphuritet in jhnen zwifach : Im *Balsamo* ist ein

a These three are of moderate recurrent interest to P., in part for their metaphorical connotations: **Cedrus** is a symbol of transient beauty in *Opus Paramirum*—H 1:76, of the power of arrogance in *Außlegung etlicher Figuren auß dem Ersten Theil deß Liechtenbergers* (H 10A:238); **Balsam**, aside from specific designations, is generalized as the curative and protective power granted nature by God in *Die grosse Wundartzney* (H C:2b); or elsewhere in the same work the

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wood, as in the *abies* [fir]. Because its branches are shaped this way, they grow throughout the trunk; they are not as if stuck to its exterior as is the case with other trees. The reason is that its branches grow out of the core, thus the wood of the branches is that of the seed. The power of the core constitutes the seed so that the same power also constitutes the branches. However, the branches that do not sprout from the core are not wood of the same kind as the tree. Likewise [the veins in the trunk are of a snail-like spiral pattern], the reason being that there are no other *pori* than the ones that go this way or that in the snail-like pattern. Thus, it is cut to such a form by the *aniadus*, resembling the snail which it receives through the nature of the *pori*. The plane tree is also like this in its grain: the *aniadus* bears oily qualities in it. These are borne in the plane tree, especially in the grain of its growth rings. The grain of this or any other tree is nothing but the formative nature possessed by the *aniadus*. Even though what it sets in motion might depart from that form, effecting more here, less there, it is the cause of growth in pressing and drawing it out, displacing the form so that it nonetheless has a resemblance. [Yet the fact that not every organism has this fruition] is due to the formation of the [spirit of] the *aniadus:* for every form that arises on earth, [resides] therein and emerges therefrom. The special form of these trees emerges from the nature of the *sulphur* and *sal*, which differs from that in other trees. Moreover, they possess a subtle *mercurius*, for which reason they abide differently in compaction | than other trees. The *zirbus* [Swiss pine] possesses a brittle, hard *mercurius*. The *fraxinus* [ash tree] a tough but soft kind. The plane tree a hard, firm kind. The trees can be divided into these three classes. 105

III.
De Cedro, Balsamo & Cupresso.
[On Cedar, Balsam, and Cypressus Trees]

Another kind of *sulphur* proceeds from the element *terra*. Among all kinds of wood, it is the noblest of all. From it come the *cedrus, balsam*, and *cypressus* trees. Their *sulphur* is the whitest; and it has the subtlest salt as well as a great deal of *mercurius*. At its origin, it is divided into two kinds of forms: the one a long species, the other a short species of the three principles, not of the *aniadus*. Moreover, the sulphurousness in them is twofold. In *balsamus*, it is a white

power that preserves the body from decay in death (H C:81b); or in some works as an alternate designation of Sal of the *tria prima* (H C:147c); in *Opus Paramirum* **Cupressus** represents the vaunted foreign tree that has its Germanic equivalent (H 1:113).

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weisser *Sulphur*, der resoluirt sich gleich dem *Botin* durch hülff [der Influentz.] *In Cedro* vnd *Cupresso* ist er nicht / aber er diluirt sich in die Stämm vnd Aeste / vnd wachst mit sampt dem Holtz : vnd ist der *Sulphur* des Holtzs / vnd der *Sulphur* der resoluirt / Ein ding : darumb sie nicht gescheiden werden / als *in Balsamo*, dazu sie gescheiden werden. Aber im Terpentin seind sie gleich dem Balsam. So der subtil *Sulphur* vom *Cedro* vnd *Cupresso* geschieden wird / ist der recht Balsam gleich dem andern : Auß dem folgt / daß die Spagyrischen den Balsam suchen im Holtz / vnd handlen wöllen. Inen ist auch gleich *Lignum Abietis*, allein in dem vnterscheid / daß ein ander Saltz hatt / vnnd ein andern *Mercurium*, aber denselbigen *Sulphur*. Die [*Myrobalani*][a] dergleichen im *Sulphure*, allein im Saltz vnd *Mercurio* denen allen vngleich. In disen Beumen / *Cedro, Balsamo, Cupresso,* [*Myrobal.*] *Aloes*,[b] ist Ein *Sulphur*, der da auß allen dreyen Ersten deß Elements *Terræ* gezogen ist / von wegen seiner Arth vnd Tugendt : vnd alle Holtz / seind [durchbr.] allein die [Granaten] nit : vnd ist die Krafft *Sulphuris*, der da nicht faulen last / darumb alle jhr Arth vnd Tugend / so sie haben / dem *Sulphuri* zuzumessen sind / der in jhnen ligt : darumb der *Spagyrus* wol findet / der den *Sulphur* auß jnen sucht.

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IIII.
De Ebeno,[c] *Thurbit*[d] *& Iunipero*.[e]

Diese[f] drey Beum sind auch Einer Generation in den dreyen Ersten zu vereinigen / vnd ist ein grober *Sulphur*, grobes *Sal*, aber ein subtiler *Mercurius*, vnnd generirt sich also. In *Ebeno* bleibt die Krafft innen / im *Thurbit* geht sie in die Rinden / im *Iunipero* bleibt sie an beyden / Holtz vnd Rinden. Also theilen sie sich auch in der Proprietet : der *Ebenus* Purgirt vnd Constringirt / der *Thurbit* Purgirt allein / der *Iuniperus* Consolidirt. Auch [Curirt] der *Ebenus* die vbelgäng

a One of a cluster of remedies assessed by P. in *De Vita Longa:* "Caetera Arcana extrinsecus vsurpanda, cuiusmodi sunt, Balsamum, Aloes, **Myrobalanorum** chebulorum, belliricorum, indorum, &c. in Nucha sunt administranda" (H 6:159).

b *Drey Bücher von den Frantzosen* contextualized this among the male medications: "Die viererley Artzney werden getheilt in zween theil / zwo den Frawen / zwo den Mannen. Der Frawen / Melissa, Valeriana. Den Mannen / Lignum **Aloes**, Anthimonium" (H C:186b).

c Though not without its uses, ***Ebenus*** is ridiculed as a putative sacred wood in *Fragmenta de Morbo Gallico* (H C:632a).

d This is effective as a purgative though useless against syphilis: "Es ist also daß **Turbith** den Schleim purgiere aber die Frantzosen nicht" (*Drey Bücher von den Frantzosen*—H C:151a).

e The seeds, berries, or buds are much used by and exemplary for P.: "Darumb die Alchimia von einen jedlichen Artzt soll hoch vnd ehr lich gehalten vnd gelobt werden. Nun seind der Arcanen vil / in Tartaro, in **Junipero**, in Melissa, in Tinctura, in Vitriolo, in Sale, in Alumine, in Luna, in Sole" (*Liber de Caducis, Das ist von dem Hinfallenden Siechtagen*—H 4:362).

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sulphur which is resolved like *botin* [terpentine] with the aid [of the influence]. This is not the case with the *cedrus* and the *cypressus;* but it is diluted in their trunks and branches to grow along with the wood. Thus the *sulphur* of the wood and the *sulphur* which effects resolution are one and the same thing; because of that they are not separated as is *balsamus* into something separate. Yet in turpentine, they are like the balsam. When the subtle *sulphur* is separated from the *cedrus* and *cypressus*, the one true balsam is like the other. From this it follows that the spagyrists[1] seek the balsam in wood in order to work on it.[2] Similar to them is the *lignum abietis* [the wood of the fir tree], with only the difference that it has a different salt and a different *mercurius* but the same *sulphur*. The [*myrobalan*][3] are alike in the *sulphur*, differing only in the salt and *mercurius*. In those trees, in the *cedrus, balsamus, cypressus*, [*myrobalanus*], *aloes*, there is a single *Sulphur*, which is also extracted from all three principles of the element of *terra* on account of its nature and virtue. And all the species of wood are [text interrupted here] except for the [pomegranates]. Moreover, it is the power of the *sulphur* which prevents rot. For this reason, all the qualities and virtues they possess must be attributed to the *sulphur* that lies in them. Hence, the *spagyrus* who seeks it in them will not err in his quest.

IIII. 106
De Ebeno, Thurbit et Junipero[4]
(Of Ebony, Turbith, and Juniper)

These three trees are also to be comprised in the same generation from the three principles, made of a coarse *sulphur*, a coarse *sal*, but a subtle *mercurius*. Their generation is thus. In *ebenum* the power stays within; in *thurbit* it goes into the grain; in *juniperus* it stays both in the wood and in the grain. They are differentiated also in their properties: the *ebenus* purges and constricts; the *thurbit* only purges, the *juniperus* consolidates. Moreover, the *ebenus* cures the

f Note by Huser in the margin, marked by an asterisk: *Huius Capitis pars prior dimidia mendosa est.* As explained above (on 255, n. 2), this certainly applies to the previous section as well.

1 The spagyrists are craftsmen working on the separation of the pure from the impure, rather than chrysopœians who seek to transmute base metals into gold. Clearly the latter endeavor, although not always despised or rejected by Paracelsus, is entirely alien to the context of this chapter. On Paracelsus and transmutation, see Sparling 2018 and Sparling 2020.

2 See Palthen's Latin translation: ***querant et extrahant***, "to seek and extract it."

3 *Myrobalan:* a kind of prune, *prunus cerasifera.*

4 Huser inserts in the margin a note warning of faultiness of this passage: "*Huius Capitis pars prior dimidia mendosa est*" ("Half of the first part of this chapter is corrupted").

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im Leib / der *Thurbit* die Flüssegäng / der *Iuniperus* allein das Blutt. Vnd auff jhr Tugent ist zu mercken / dann auß jhnen wirdt jhr *prima Materia* verstanden / das also :[a] der *Iuniperus* Cons. Phlegm. vnd Co. vnd Purgirt *sanguinem :* der *Ebenus* Purgirt C. vnd Constringirt *Sanguinem* vnd *Phleg*. Der *Thurbit* Purgirt *Phlegma*, vnd Constringirt *S.* vnd *Chol.* Dz / wiewol es *de Natura Rerum* besser angezeigt wirt / so ist es doch darumb hie angezeigt / von deßwegen / das es muß vnterricht werden in *Ebeno :* vnd das in den weg / daß der *Mercurius* an den enden vberwindet / allein der *Sulphur* gibt den *Corpus*, vnd das Saltz die Congelation : Aber der *Mercurius* gibt den gewalt des *Hebeni*, also / das er den *Sulphur* registriret vnd das Saltz / das im *Ebeno* die Mercurialisch arth allein bleibt / vnnd im *Thurbit* treibt er es hinauß in die Rinden / in *lunipero* im Holtz / vnd in allen seinen Früchten : vnd ist dreyfach in seiner Operation / in jeglichem Holtz besonder. Dergleichen haben sie auch mehr arth an jhnen auch / als der *Ebenus* hatt den *Sulphur Cedri* vnnd *Cupressi*, der *Thurbit* den *Sulphur Myrobal.* vnd *Abietis*. Der *Iuniperus* hat die arth *Aniadi* von *Botin*, vnd *Pino* vnd *Zirbo*, von wegen das sein *Sulphur* sich ettwann vergleicht denselbigen : darumb jhr Form / derselbigen Form zustreichen / vnd doch gebrechen / auß vrsach / das nicht gantz derselbigen Materien ist. Also viel Beum einander ettwann gleich sehen / vrsachen / daß der *Sulphur* vnnd dergleichen sich ettwas ein andern nach Naturt / vnd ist ein besondere arth / was dieser arth ist / vnnd kompt auß dem *Sulphure*, der also appropriert ist / vnd auß dem *Aniado*, der also geordnet ist sonderbar in die ryßelt arth.

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V.

De Buxo,[b] *Sauina*[c] *& Tamarindo*.[d] *Item Edera*,[e] *Laurus*,[f] *Oleaster*.[g]

Der *Buxus, Sauina, Tamarindus*, nemmen jhr *Corpus* auß einem gantz wol geleütterten *Sulphure*, vnd vast subtilen Saltz / mit einem zehen *Mercurio :* vnd ist jhr *generatio* also / daß der *Buxus* kein arth an jhm hatt keinerley anders

a Note by Huser in the margin, marked by an asterisk: *Hic locus totus mendosus est.*

b On **Buxus**, see below, *De Meteoris* (H 8:188).

c **Savina** is exemplary for the notion of the signature as an index healing virtue in *Die grosse Wundarznei* (H C:84a).

d **Tamarind** is mentioned in no other work by P.

e Hedera and Hederum are distinguished in *De Vulneribus Praelectiones* ("**Hedera** & Hederum, duo sunt & different. Illud, quod in arborib. nascitur, hoc, quod in terra nascitur, & radices in terra habet"—H C:562b).

f *Annotationes* (*scholia*) *in libros duos Theophrasti de Tartaro* note: "**Laurus** arbor crassissima" (H 5:234).

g The word **Oleaster** occurs in no other work by P., but he names this tree "Baumöl" in many places, mainly in surgical works.

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many stricken passages in the body; the *thurbit* does the same with the passages of fluid; the *juniperus* treats only the blood. Moreover, one must attend to their virtues, for it is from them that their *prima materia* is understood, and to be sure as follows: The *juniperus* [constricts][1] *phlegma* and [constricts] and purges *sanguis*. The *ebenus* purges c.[2] and constricts *sanguis* and *phlegma*. *Thurbit* purges *phlegma* and constricts [*Sanguis*] and [*Cholera:* yellow bile]. This is said, though it is better demonstrated in *De Natura Rerum*,[3] because it must be put forth for the understanding of *ebenus*, and to be sure in the sense that the *mercurius* is overcome at its extremes. Only the *sulphur* yields the *corpus* and salt the congelation.[4] However, it is the *mercurius* that yields the power of the *hebenus* so that it registers the *sulphur* and the salt—which in the *ebenus* is retained only by the mercurial nature—whereas in the *thurbit* the *mercurius* expels the salt into the bark. In *juniperus* it remains in the wood and in all the fruits; and it is threefold in its operation and particular in each kind of wood. By the same token, there are more kinds of them. Thus the *ebenus* has *sulphur cedri* and *cupressi; thurbit* has the *sulphur myrobalani* and *abietis*. The *juniperus* has the nature of the *aniadus* of *botin* and *pinus* and *zirbus*, for which reason its *sulphur* is like theirs. Their form is like theirs, though with failings since the material is not entirely the same. This is why many trees look alike: their *sulphur* and so on has the same character as theirs yet is particular, depending on their *sulphur* as constituted by the *aniadus* that is ordered in its particular ways. | 107

V.

De Buxo, Sauina & Tamarindo. Item Ederam, Laurus, Oleaster.
[On Boxwood, Juniper Tree, and Tamarind. Likewise on Ivy, Laurel, Olive Tree.]

The *buxum, savina*,[5] *tamarindus* derive their *corpus* from a highly purified *sulphur* and very subtle salt, together with a tough *mercurius*. Their generation is such that *buxum* not possesses any quality of any other kind of wood but is

1 Huser inserts in the margin a note warning of faultiness of this passage: "Hic locus totus mendosus est" ("This passage is entirely corrupted"). We suggest in brackets, however, interpretations that seem obvious for the abbreviations in Huser's text.

2 Is this *cholera* (yellow bile), or perhaps *corpus* (the body), although this "c." is neither in capitals, nor in Roman type in Huser?

3 Nothing such seems to be found about *ebenus* in the works of P., including *Von den Natürlichen Dingen* (H 7:109–210) and the disputed *De Natura Rerum*.

4 See below, H 8:416–417.

5 See ETW, *savina*.

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Holtzs / sondern gantz eigens Wesen in seinem Gewechs : auß vrsachen / er hatt sein besondern *Aniadum*, im Laub / da jhm nichts in vergleicht wirdt vnter allen Beumen / als allein der *Laurus :* vnnd hatt aber in dem ein andern *Sulphur* als der *Laurus*, die ist ettwas von Kreüttern / als von *Peruinca*[a] vnd *Edera*, darumb sein *Sulphur* gleich ist dem Peruineischen *Sulphuri*, vnnd Ederischen. *Sauina* hatt auch ein besonder arth vber all ander Beum an jhme / als allein gegem *Iunipero* vergleicht es sich der Form halben : sonst hangt es in der arth deß *Buxi*, vnd ist vber ander Beum besondert / in dem / daß es der Beum Krafft im wachsen nicht hatt / vnd ist auß jhr arth. *Tamarindus* ist auch also gesondert / vnd ist ein arth von *Zirbo* vnd *Botin*, vnd hangt am *Sulphure* von den Weyden : dann der Weyden *Sulphur* vnd der Tamarinden *Sulphur* ist Ein *Sulphur*, allein im Saltz vnd *Mercurio* getheilt / vnnd im *Aniado :* vnd ist vnter den dreyen der gröbist. Auff jhr arth sind viel andere Beum zu vergleichen / die also sonder stehnd : als der *Laurus*, der ist sonderlich allein vber die andern hohen Beum auß / dergleichen der *Oleaster :* vrsachen / daß der *Oleaster* ein *Sulphur* in jhm hatt / der in die Frucht geht / vnnd ist doch deß Sulphurs / deß sein Stamm ist : der *Laurus* auch : vnd werden getheilt in der *Essentia*, als *de Natura Rerum* stehet. Dermassen ist auch von jhnen zuverstehn / daß jhr *Sulphur* in mancherley farben gibt / als im Buchs vast Gelb / vrsach / er ist ein gelber *Sulphur*, vnd die Grüne so in jhm ligt / die kompt in das Blatt / darumb er ein vast grünes Blatt hatt / vnnd ein gelb Holtz : Wann in seinem *Sulphure*, seind allein zwo Farben / Gelb vnnd Grün : In *Savina* auch dermassen / aber nicht so
108 gar wol geferbt : In *Tamarindo* ettwas Weiß : | Also auch in den andern / wie dann die Farben *Sulphuris* sich erzeigen / vnd stohnd / nach der Edly desselben *Aniadi*, wie dann die Farben vnd Wesen von einander getheilt werden.

VI.

De Sandalis, Liquiritia & Tilia : Item de Fago, Quercu, Alno, Populo.[b]

Vrsprung der Sandel / vnnd der andern / ist ein trockner *Sulphur*, mit seinem eigen Saltz / vnd in beyden *Mercurius :* scheidt sich in der Farben / Form / Hertti vnd Wesen / vnd ist doch alles Ein Vrsprung vnd Wesen der drey Ersten. Die Röttin deß Sulphurs scheidet sich in ein sonder Heltz vnd ist Rott Sandel : diese Rötte ist die erst Rötte / vnd ein sondere Rötte : darnach seind mehr Rötte da /

a Of rare occurrence but mentioned to illustrate the equivalence of gemstones and plants in *Zwey Bücher von der Pestilentz:* "Zu gleicher weiß wie Agrimonium, also hie Hyacinthvs (…) wie **Peruinca**, also hie Smaragdvs" (H 3:148).

b Excepting **Quercus, Populus**, and **Liquiritia**, these are of rare or unique occurrence suggesting a focused exposition.

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entirely peculiar in its growth. The cause of this is that it has its own *aniadum* peculiar in its foliage, which cannot be compared to any other tree except the *laurus*. Yet it does not have the same *sulphur* as the *laurus* which has something of herbs such as *peruinca* [periwinkle] and *edera* [ivy]. Hence its *sulphur* is like that of the periwinkle or the ivy. Moreover, *savina* has a special nature surpassing all other trees, comparable only to the *juniperus* in form. Otherwise, it approximates the nature of the *buxum* [boxwood], and is singled out above the other trees insofar as it does not possess their power of growth yet is generally of their kind. *Tamarindus* is special as a species of *zirbus* and *botin*, and depends on the *sulphur* of the willow. For the willow has the same *sulphur* as the tamarind. What is distinct resides in the salt and the *mercurius* as well as in the *aniadus*. Of the three, the *sulphur* is coarsest. Many other trees which are different are similar in this respect: for example, the *laurus* which in itself surpasses the other tall trees, and the *oleaster* [olive tree]. The reason for this is that the *oleaster* has a *sulphur* that passes into its fruits, which is the same kind that constitutes its trunk. The same can be said of the *laurus*. They are divided in the *essentia*, as you may read in *De Natura Rerum*.[1] In the same vein, it must be noted that their *sulphur* lends them diverse colors: in the beach tree quite yellow because it has a yellow *sulphur*, with the green that it possesses passing into the foliage so that there is a deep green with yellow wood. Indeed, in its *sulphur* there are but two colors: yellow and green. The same is true of *savina*, though its colors are not as intense. In the *tamarindus*, there is a bit of the white, | as well as in the others, depending on how the colors of the *sulphur* 108
are arrayed and manifest themselves and in accordance with the nobility of its *aniadus*, as the colors and essences are distinguished.

VI.

De Sandalis, Liquiritia & Tilia[2]*: Item de Fago, Quercu, Alno, Populo*.
[On Sandal Wood Trees, Liquorice, and Linden. Likewise on Beech, Oak, Alder, and Poplar]

The origin of the sandal wood tree and of those others is a dry *sulphur*, with a salt of its own, with *mercurius* in both. It differs in its color, form, hardness, and its qualities; but all of this has one source and being in the three principles. The redness of the sulphur distinguishes itself in a particular kind of wood which is red sandalwood. This is the first kind of redness, a special kind. But there are

1 See above, on 261, n. 3.
2 Linden or lime tree.

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darauß wirdt Presilien / vnd ist der Generation gleich dem Sandel / allein das diser *Sulphur* in einer andern Farben steht. Demnach gibt er ein Gelbe / darauß wirdt ein gelber Sandel / darnach ein Weisse / der gibt ein weissen Sandel / die sondern so vil in Farben die der *Sulphur* hatt / so er trockner arth ist / wie in diser Generation.

Nuh aber seind mehr *Colores* da / als *Liquiritiæ* vnd *Tiliæ*. Die *Liquiritia* ist von dem gelben *Sulphure* genommen / vnnd ist der *Sulphur* der die Sulphurisch Süsse in jhm hat / die vom *Mercurio* darinnen ligt : dann wo der *Mercurius* ist / da ist ein Süsse : also an dem orth ist ein besonder *Mercurius* da im Liquiritien / vnd ist doch im *Sandalo albo*, allein im *Mercurio* getheilt. Die *Tilia* ist auch dermassen des vrsprungs / allein die von der reinigsten *Materia* dieser dreyen Ersten herfür wachst : vnd der *Fagus* auß der Hertti / der *Quercus* auch : aber *Alnus* vnd *Populus* nicht dieselben / sonder auß der Milte. Also seind auch viel ander Beum / derer Nammen wir nicht nennen von dieser arth / [vberschrenckt] vnter einander / die da allein büschecht seind / Streachbeume / in ein Gewechs also gangen.

Sie theilen sich auch in den Farben / das thut der *Aniadus*, vnd die Eigenschafft der drey Ersten / die nit in Einer Farben bleiben / vnnd darumb zwo arth im Holtz seind / deren vnnd andern. Ettlich die da *Gradus* haben / ettlich nicht / als *Abies*, das hatt Adern die man nennet Jahr : Auß dem die Jrrsal
109 volget | / das als offt ein Jahr / als offt ein Ader / das nicht also ist. Dann es ist die vrsach / das so viel Adern im gantzen Hertzen seind / den ersten Tag auch seind / allein das sie mit der zeit eröffnet werden / vnnd nicht nach dem Jahr / sondern nach seinem Wachsen / viel oder wenig.

Viel Beum / als *Tilia, Liquiritia*, haben diese Adern nicht / auß vrsachen / daß Ein Coagulation ist / vnnd Ein Portz : Die aber Adern haben / nemmens auß dem Saltz / gleich dem *Cachimia*, vnd ist die Mineralisch arth deß Elements *Terræ*, die also sich theilt / vnd alle mahl zwischen zween oder Ein Milte gesetzt / vnd die Härtti in die Adern.

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more kinds of red from which brazilwood emerges. In its generation, it is like sandalwood, except that its sulphur abides in another color. Then it yields a yellow which becomes yellow sandalwood; next a white, which becomes a white sandalwood. It is special in having so many colors in its sulphur as it does if it is of a dry kind in this generation.

However, there are even more *colores*, like those of the *liquiritia* [liquorice] and the *tilia* [linden]. The first is drawn from the yellow *sulphur*, the one which bears the sulphurous sweetness from the *mercurius* within it. For wherever there is *mercurius*, there is also a sweetness. Thus, in this instance there is a special *mercurius* in the *liquiritia* which is also in the *sandalum album*, but distinguished only by its *mercurius*. The *tilia* has the same origin, except that it grows out of the very purest of the three principles. Moreover, the *fagus* [beech] stems from the hardness, as does the *quercus* [oak]. But this is not so with the *alnus* and *populus* [alder and poplar], rather they come from something intermediate. Thus, there are many other trees of this kind of which the names will here go unmentioned. They are jumbled together, the ones that are bush—like shrub trees that have grown together.

They are also subdivided by their colors. This is effected by the *aniadus* and the quality of the three principles which do not abide in one single color and hence give rise to two kinds of wood, these and others. Some of them have *gradus*, some do not, as for example *abies* [fir]. It has veins that are referred to as years. From this, there arises the error | that for every year there must be a vein. 109
This is not the case. The presence from the first day of many veins in the entire heart are the cause of this: only with time are they opened, not after one year only, but in accordance with whether it grows much or little.

There are many trees, including *tilia* and *liquiritia* that do not have these veins for the reason that there is a single coagulation and a single apportioning. Those that do have veins, however, take them from the salt, in a way similar to *cachimia;*[1] and this is the mineral nature of the element *terra*, which separates in this manner and always settles between two or one degree of mildness and hardness into the veins.

1 See ETW, *cachimia* (*cachymia*).

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VII.

Persica,[a] *Pyra, Poma : Item de Amygdalis, Nuce, item Castanea : Item Ficu & aliis : Item de Granato, Arantiis, &c. Item Cerasis, Prunis*[b] *& similibus.*

Dergleichen diese Beum vnnd andere / von *Sulphure* das Holtz nemmen / Rinden / vnnd alle Bletter / Blumen vnnd Frücht : Doch alles in der gestalt / das der Sulphur mancherley ist in seinen dreyen Ersten deß Elements *Terræ* mit seinem *Aniado*, darauß mancherley Frücht vnnd Gestalt entspringen. Nuhn aber von den Früchten / Blettern / vnnd Blumen der Beumen zu Philosophieren / ist also / das der *Sulphur* vberal ein vberigen *Liquorem* in jhm hatt zu den Früchten : Als *in Persica*, do ist ein *Liquor* der nicht von *Sulphure* ist allein / sondern mehr von *Mercurio :* Darumb die Pfirschken wässerig seindt / vnnd einer dünnen Substantz. In den *Pyris* auch dermassen / aber nicht so vast Resoluiert / sondern einer mehrern Coagulation : Auch in den Oepffeln dermassen. Darein theilt sich auch die Krafft der drey Ersten / am Ersten in sein Substantz / darnach in sein Hautt. Der Pfirschken ist aussen ein *Vsnea,*[c] dann vrsach / sein *Sulphur* ist der arth *Vsneæ* : Die Birn vnnd Oepffel seindt nicht dieser arth / sondern einer dicken arth deß Sulphurs : Darumb die Schelffen ein andern
110 Geschmack vnd Krafft haben gegen jren Früchten : | als in Pomerantzen vnnd Granaten auch erscheinet / da der *Sulphur* allein in die Rinden geht / mit seiner Substantz vnnd Corporalischen Natur / vnnd beschleußt in jhm sein drey Ersten Resoluiert / vnnd subtiler / das ist / das Saltz vnnd *Mercurium :* Aber in Granaten hatt er vom Sulphur die Rötti behalten / vnnd die durch den Saltzgeist Coaguliert / zu Granatischer Arth / vnnd nach jhm glegt die Ressigkeit der drey Ersten / was sich nicht Coagulieren laßt / sondern allein Conglutiniert / als der Safft darinn sie ligendt. Also wunderbarlich ist der groß *Aniadus* in seiner Spagyrischen Arth vnd Kunst.

Dermassen habendt jhr auch inn Kirschen / also das der Sulphur die Hautt ist / vnnd jnnwendigen die Kirschen / das Fleisch der drey Ersten / vnnd setzt in Mitten seins *Centri*[d] seinen Sahmen. Dann ein jedlicher Sahm ligt mitten im *Centro* seiner Frucht / das ist die Arth *Aniadi :* Also auch inn Pfirschken vnd andern allen.

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a **Persica** (not the same as *persicaria!*) possesses healing properties in *Schedulae aliquot de virtutibus quarundam Herbarum:* "Et quamque lacerationem **Persica** curat" (H 7:422).

b Excepting Persica, this enumeration of fruit or nut trees includes many that are rarely mentioned in Latin by P. Such variety in nature as exemplified by trees, fruits, or diseases is a philosophical problem addressed in various ways by the author, as in *Fragmenta de Morbo Gallico:* "So viel Kranckheiten / so viel Oepfel / so viel **Birn:** Item so viel Miner / so viel Impressiones, so viel Tereniabin etc." (H C:635b). Closest to the present passage is perhaps *Opus Para-*

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VII.

Persica, Pyra, Poma: Item de Amygdalis, Nuce, item Castanea, Arantiis, &c. Item Cerasis, Prunis & similibus.
[Peach, Pear, Apple. Likewise, on Almonds, Nut, likewise on Chestnut, Oranges, etc. Likewise on Cherries, Prunes, and the Like.]

The same can be said of these and other trees which receive from the *sulphur* their wood, their bark and leaves, their flowers and fruits. With them all it is the case that their sulphur is varied in its three principles of the element *terra* with its *aniadus*, from which various fruits and forms spring. Now to speculate about the fruits, leaves, and flowers of the trees, let it be said that in all cases the *sulphur* contains an additional *liquor* for the fruit. This is true in the *persica* [peach]. It has a *liquor* that does not come solely from the *sulphur*, but also from the *mercurius*. For this reason, peaches are watery and thin in substance. In the *pyri* [pears], it is the same sort of thing, but not so thoroughly resolved, more in an increased coagulation. The same in the apples. In these is distributed the force of the three principles, above all in their substance but also in their outer covering. The peaches also have *usneae;*[1] the pear and apple are not of this kind but rather of a thick kind of the sulphur. For this reason, their peels have a different taste and potency than their fruit |, which is also the case with oranges 110
and pomegranates. For the *sulphur* passes only into the rind with its substance and corporeal nature, encompassing in itself its own three principles in resolved form and more subtly, namely, salt and *mercurius*. In the pomegranates, however, it has retained the red of the sulphur coagulated by the salt spirit to their kind and with the uncoagulated, merely conglutinated, sharpness of the three added into the juice. So great is the *aniadus* in its spagyric nature and art.

You have the same thing in cherries: the sulphur is their peel and the cherry is inside: it is the flesh of the three principles at the core of which the seed is located. For every seed lies at the center of its fruit. This is in the nature of the *aniadus*. Hence, it is thus in peaches and all others.

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mirum: "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" (H 1:108).

c Significantly, P. uses *usnea* both in the sense of lichen and of any residue or growth on a surface, including that of the tartarus: "***Vsnea** est tartarus tenuissimus & spongiosus*" (H 5:225). Here, however, he uses the word analogically.

d See above, H 8:58.

1 See above, H 8:86.

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Aber da ist ein vndterscheid / das die Kern mit einer härrtin dadurch vberzogen seindt : In Birn / Oepffeln nicht also / auß vrsach / das etlich Beum den Sahmen mit sampt jhrem Holtz-Sulphur lassen hinfür schiessen / ander thuns aber nicht. Auch mit den Früchten offtmahls also geschiche / als *in Amygdalis, Nucibus, Auellanis, &c*. da wechst die Frucht außm Holtz / jnnwendig ist die Frucht vnnd der Sahmen Ein ding : Das wirckt die Natur / die nicht auff Einon Weg / sondern auff viel Weg [erkannt] will sein. Darumb auch in Kesten ein solch Arth wunderbarlich ist : Aussen der Dorn / darnach die Hülsen / darnach der Sahm vnd Frucht.

In massen auch also dreyfach *in Amygdalis, &c*. vnnd doch gescheiden in viel Form vnnd Gestalt / keine der andern gleich : Vnnd auch ein jedlich Baum vor sich selbs ein andern nicht gleiche Frucht tregt. Solcher Arth seind viel / vnnd werden *de Natura Rerum & de Transmutationibus* weither eröffnet.

111 (*De Aniado in genere, de foliis, floribus, de tempore : de anno Rerum.*)

VIII.
De Mace,[a] *de Cvbebis,*[b] *de Pipere.*[c]

Also hatt auch der *Aniadus* zusammen gelesen den edlen Geschmack vnd Schärpffi der drey Ersten im Element *Terræ*, darauß den Muscat gemacht / Cubeben vnnd Pfeffer / vnd andere *Genera* viel / *Cardamomum*,[d] *Grana Paradysi*,[e] der Nammen nicht noth seind zuerzehlen. Vnd ist jhr *Generatio* also / dz anfenglich der Sahmen / wie der Beumen arth ist / welcher an jhm hatt deß gantzen Baums Krafft / Wesen vnnd Natur / Form vnnd Arth / allein nicht eröffnet. Dieser Sahmen theilt sich am Ersten in zween theil / in das Obertheil / vnnd Vndertheil. Das Vndertheil richt er zu / darauß wird ein Wurtz / das Obertheil schickt er auff die Erden in sein *Yliadum*. Nuhn also [geht] sein wachsen an /

a While P. ascribes no outstanding qualities to mace, it enters into various of his recipes. Their other ingredients reveal how dependent the *materiae medicae* of the age were on exotic ingredients, as in the *Artzneyisches Manuale:* "Recipe Cinamomi, Anisi, Cardamomi, Zingiberis. Cymini, Zedoariae, Masticis, **Macis**, Nucis muscatae, Giriophyllorum, Croci, Cubebarum, ligni aloes, Turbith, c. q. Mirabolanorum omnium" (H CA:50a).—On the status of this work apparently copied, but not authored by P., see the note by Huser in H CA:Q1[v], and the discussion in Paulus 2022, 408–409, item 8.9.

b According to *Bertheonea:* "Darnach ist in der Experientz erfunden / daß **Cubebe** gut zum Haupt" (H C:334c).

c These two are classed together in *Von allen offnen schäden so auß der Natur geboren werden:* "ein gleichförmige Materia ist in den vorbemelten Offnen schäden / auch mit der vnder-

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But there is the difference that their pit is thereby covered with a hard surface. Not so in pears or apples. The reason is that some trees let the seed sprout with their wood sulphur. Others do not. The same is true of their fruits, as in the *amygdalis, nucis, avellanis* [almonds, nuts, hazelnuts], etc. In these, the fruit grows from the wood: within it the fruit and seed are one. This is brought about by nature that must not be [recognized] in one way but in many. Hence, also in chestnuts[1] there is a wondrous nature: on the outside the thorn, then the hull, then the seed and fruit.

Corresponding to this, it is threefold in *amygdalis,* etc., yet distinguished by many forms and shapes, none like any other. Moreover, every tree bears its own kind of fruit unlike any other. The species are many and are further revealed in *De natura rerum & De transmutationibus*.[2]

(*De Aniado in genere,* 111
de foliis, floribus, de tempore : de anno Rerum.)
[On *aniadus* in General, on Leaves,
Flowers, on Time: On the Year of Things][3]

VIII.
De Mace, de Cvbebis, de Pipere.
[On Nutmeg, Cubeb (Tailed Pepper), and Pepper]

So it is that the *aniadus* also collected together the noble taste and acuity of the three principles in the element *terrae*, turning it into nutmeg, cubeb, and pepper, as well as many other *genera—cardamom, grana paradysi*. It isn't necessary to state all their names. Their *generatio* is such that initially there is no opening up of the seed, as is the case with trees where the seed possesses the entire force of the tree and all its essence, nature, form, and kind. This seed initially divides itself in two, the superior part and the inferior part. The lower is disposed to generate a root; the upper is sent out onto the earth into its *yliadum*.[4]

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scheid / wie Iva rubea, **Piper, Zinziber, Cubeben** / etc. die alle haben jhr Vrticische Art ausserthalb jhrer Substantz ligen / vnd inwendig solcher art vnd krafft gantz leer" (H C:398b).

d **Cardamomum** is among the hot herbs in *Astronomia Magna* (H 10:223).

e Mentioned for paralysis is "**Grana Paradisi** zu dem Paralysi" (H C:694).

1 See Grimm, Kästen is Kastanie.

2 Once more, these references do not correspond to anything we can find in P.'s works.

3 This title in parentheses apparently stood as such on P.'s autograph. It obviously pertains to the chapter VIII below.

4 On *yliadus*, see below, H 8:126.

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das die Wurtzen in jhr haltt was jhr ist / vnd wirdt groß / als jhr *Aniadus* jnnhalt : Das Ober Wesen geht auff am ersten in Einer Gestalt / das ist im Stammen / vnd so sie den Stammen setzt / das ist sein Hauß / als dann theilt es sich aber in zween Theil / das ist / in den Theil / der für den Stammen herauß gehört / vnnd ist das Blüe vnnd Frucht vnd Bletter : Als dann am ersten so truckt der Mittel Kern / das die Seel ist / der alle Natur deß Baums befohlen ist / am ersten herfür die Bletter / das ist was in jhr ist das zu den Blettern gehört / dz ist ein Grünen *Sulphur*. Darnach so die Bletter in seiner Arth seind / vnd haben jhr *Materiam* zuvollenden / so folgt die Blüest Krafft hernach / da werden dann Generiert die Blumen / nach dem *Aniado* desselben Baums : Vnnd so das Blüe sein Zeitt empfangen vnnd sein Materia in jhm beschlossen / so druckt sich die Frucht hernach / vnd wachst auff die Blüe / in seiner Gestalt vnnd Form desselben *Aniadi*. Also ist das wachsen der Beumen / vnder welchen der *Macis* auch wachst / welcher do ist der edleste Baum der Blüe vnnd der Frucht / auß einem viel edlen *Sulphure, Mercurio, Sale* geboren / darinn aller Geschmack vnnd
112 Geruch ist. | Also in Cubeben vnd *Pipere*, vnnd allen andern so jhnen gleich seindt in dieser Gestalt. Dann weither zu Philosophieren / von diesen dingen / ist allein die Philosophey do / das zu gleicherweiß wie der *Aniadus* im Holtz sein frewd hatt / eins also / das ander also zu machen : Dergleichen auch in Früchten vnd Blüe er sich also erzeigt / vnnd ein jedlich Krafft sonderlich in sein Frucht macht / nichts vermischts durch einander / sondern fein gescheiden von allem / das sein Arth brechen möge oder mindern. Darumb falsch ist der Spruch / das vier Elementen sollen in Eim sein / das ist / vier Qualiteten oder Complexen. Dann da ist nur allein Ein Complex / Ein Qualitet vnd Ein Arth / die ist groß oder klein / nach dem vnd sein Grad ist : Das ist sein eygne Stärcki / die do nit gebrochen wird durch Kältti oder Wärmi / dann sie stehndt in Eim nicht.

IX.
De Botris,[a] *Ribes, & Berberis*.[b]

Dergleichen[c] ist auch ein Seüri in den dreyen Ersten der Beumen / die sich Resoluiert hatt auß dem *Liquore Mercurij* in den *Corpus Sulphuris*, vnd in dem

a According to *Scholia & Obseruationes in Macri Poemata:* "sed succus **potri** in tympanita valet" (H 7:253).

b Note the associative classification: "Caliditatem tollunt opiata, id est, entschlaffendt / anodina, styptica, vt in rosa, in papauere rubeo, in lolio, in plantagine, acetosa, **Ribes**, id est, Sanct Johanns Treüblin & in **Berberis** Dryspitz Erbselen," *Scholia in librum primum de Gradibus & Compositionibus* (H 7:377). An allusion in *Das Buch von den Tartarischen kranckheiten* places Berberis in a category of harmful substances: "Darumb etwan auch Tartarus cicatrisans gefunden wirt / auch Tartarus acetosus vnd **berbericus**, auch ponticus, auch piperinus. Dann

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So now its growth [begins]: the root contains what it needs; it grows great, in accordance with the content of its *aniadus*. The upper substance rises initially in one form, the stem; and in erecting the stem to be its house, it divides in two parts. One will surpass the stem in the blossom, fruit, and leaves. First there will be pressure in mid kernel. This is the soul in which the entire nature of the tree is marshalled so that initially the leaves sprout forth, or more precisely, what lies within pertaining to the leaves which is green sulphur. After this, it lies in the nature of the leaves that they have their *materia* for completion. The force of blossoming comes next and the flowers are generated in accordance with the *aniadus* of the particular tree. When the time comes for blossoming and the material for it is released, the fruit is pressed out, growing upon the blossom in the shape and form of their particular *aniadus*. This is how trees such as the *macis* grow: in blossom and fruit it is the noblest tree, born from a quite noble *sulphur, mercurius*, and *sal* and containing consummate taste and smell. | And so it is with *cubeb* and *piper* and all others of their kind in this same 112
form. What speculation can say about these things is simply that philosophy serves to confirm that, just as the *aniadus* has its way in the wood to make this thing or that, so, too, with fruits: Nothing gets mixed up. Everything remains distinct from whatever might break or diminish its nature. For this reason, it is an error when they say that the four elements abide in one thing as four qualities or complexions. There is only one complexion, one quality and one nature: it may be great or small in accordance with its degree: that is its peculiar strength, which is not destroyed by cold or heat; for these do not abide in the one.[1]

IX.
De Botris,[2] *Ribes*,[3] *& Berberis*.[4]
[On Artemisia, Red or Black Currant, and Cranberry]

Moreover,[5] there is an acidity in the three principles of the trees which has been resolved from the *liquor mercurii* in the *corpus sulphuris*, and in which

ein jetlicher nach solcher arth sein wesen vnd paroxysmum füret / wie dann in der Natur die proprietates seind / also auch in den kranckheiten" (H 2:313).

c Huser noticed in the margin: *Hoc caput mendosum est.*

1 In this statement the *aniadus* is added to the *tria prima* to overrule the traditional status of natural things as mixtures of the four elements.

2 See OLD, *botrys* = *artemisia*, a species of mugwort or wormwood.

3 Red or black currant.

4 A cranberry or bilberry bush.

5 Huser inserts in the margin a note warning of faultiness of this section: "Hoc caput mendosum est" ("This chapter is corrupted").

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Coaguliert in das Eusser / vnd dornach Conglutinirt / was von dem *Liquore* ist [*ex potentia*] *Salis*. Diese *Liquores* haben jhr Farben von Sulphur / Rott vnnd Gelb vnd Weiß / aber nicht auß derselbigen *Materia Sulphuris*, sondern allein auß der Resoluierenden Arth / die in jhm ist / vnnd die sich nicht laßt Coaguliern. Darumb so ist es nur Conglutiniert / vnd erzeigt sich in Beumen / vnnd etliche in Farben / andere in Blettern : Sie haben auch jhre Geblüe besonder / nämlich im *Botris*, in derselben Blüe ist der beste Geschmackt : Im *Berberis* ist die Bitterkeit / darumb das ein gantze Seuri in dem Bery ist : Im *Ribes* ist da kein Geschmackt im Blüe / Bletter / vnnd allein die Süssi im Bery. In diesen ist der *Liquor Mercurij*, darumb sie den Harn wenden vnd truncken machen / auß Krafft *Mercurij Narcotici Anodini :* Dann alle Anodisch Arth ist im *Berberis*, vnnd all [Vo :] Arth *in Botris*, vnnd alle Narcotisch Arth *in Ribes :* Darumb so wachsen die *Botri* am meristen / dann der *Mercurius* treibt sie : Vnnd die *Berberis* wachsen weniger / dann vrsach / die Seuri wehret dem Wachsen : Vnnd
113 *Ribes* hatt die Süssi | *Mercurij*, welche sein wachsen in jr tregt. Die Anodisch arth ist *in Botris* in der gestalt deß Weins / vnd gibt ein schlechts Holtz / vnnd sein Seure in sein Sprößlin. Die *Acetositas* ist welcher Wesen wiederwertig seindt. Die *Ribes* haben auch dauon / vnnd seind süeß / darumb sie vergleicht werden den *Berberis* der Farb nach / vnnd dem Wein nach / sondern Berly : aber das es ein anders ist / tragen sie das *Vsnean*, das als viel ist als ein selbs Gewechs / gleich der *Materia* von Pferschken. Diese Geschlecht seindt mancherley : Dann vrsachen / der *Aniadi* seindt vielerley / der Acetositet seindt vielerley / der [Mittlern] seindt vielerley / die alle von *Aniado* in jhren besondern Gang gezogen seindt / vnnd als darein geführt vnnd *in Berberis*, vnd [gilt] darmm / dann vrsachen / der *Aniadus* vnderscheidt die Farben deren / Coaguliert / nach arth der Beumen. Wiewol sie nicht gleich wachsen denselbigen / sondern mehr Pflantzens / vnd dergleichen sorg dörffen : Ist die vrsachen / das sie auff jhrer Erden nicht seindt / sondern auff frembder Erden / darumb so müssen sie wol geleuttert werden / das sie bleiben. Wa sie aber in jhrem orth seindt / da wachsen sie von jhnen selber / als *de Natura Rerum* vnd *Transmutationibus* weither erzehlt wirdt.

Finis Tractatus Secundi Philosophiæ Libri de Elemento Terræ.

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there has been coagulated into the external part and subsequently conglutinated something of the *liquor* [*ex potentia*] *Salis* [by the power of salt]. These *liquores* receive their colors from sulphur: red, yellow, and white, yet not from the same *materia sulphuris*, but rather solely from the resolving nature that lies within it and resists coagulation. Hence, it is merely conglutinated, manifesting itself in trees: in some cases in their colors, in others in their leaves. Moreover, they receive particular blossoms. In *botris*, the best taste lies in that very blossom. In the *berberis*, there is the bitterness, for which reason the entire sourness lies in the berry. In the *ribes*, however, the full taste resides in the blossom and leaves, with only the sweetness in the berry. In the latter, resides *liquor mercurii*. This is why they affect the urine and cause intoxication by the power of *mercurii narcotici anodini*. For the entire anodic nature is in the *berberis*, and all [Vo:][1] character *in botri* most of all; and the entire narcotic character *in ribes*. For the reason, the growth is strongest for the *botri;* for *mercurius* envigorates them. The *berberis* grow more weakly; for their sourness impedes growth. Moreover, *ribes* possesses the sweetness | of *mercurius*, which bears its growth within it. 113
The anodic nature is *in botris* in the form of the wine, yielding a poor quality of wood, and imparting its sourness into the sprouts. The *acetositas* [acidity] lies *in berberis* and makes itself felt there; the reason for this is that the *aniadus* distinguishes the colors of the entities that are opposed. The *ribes* partake of this too. They are sweet, for which reason they can be compared to the *berberes* in terms of color and in terms of wine, especially of the berries. But that they are of a different nature is indicated by their carrying the *usnea*, which is a plant of its own, resembling the *materia* of peaches.[2] Their kinds are diverse, because their *aniadi* are of so many kinds. Their acetosity is diverse. The [average ones] are of many kinds, all of which have been drawn by the *aniadus* into their particular course of growth, to be shaped and coagulated within it in accordance with the nature of the trees. But they do not grow like the trees, but rather they require more planting and cultivation. Because they are not growing in their own but in a foreign soil, they have to be cleansed in order to abide. If they resided where they belong, they would grow on their own, as will be explained in *De natura rerum* and [*De*] *transmutationibus*.[3]

Finis Tractatus Secundi Philosophiae, Libri de Elemento Terrae.
[End of the Second Tract of the Philosophy from the Book on the Element of Earth]

1 We suspect that Huser merely reproduced a notation without understanding it: hence the square brackets in his text.

2 See above, H 8:109.

3 See above, H 8:110.

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TRACTATVS TERTIVS. DE CIBARIIS.

I.
De Frvmentis.[a]

Dermassen wie dann auß dem Element *Terræ* gehndt die Beum in das Holtz : Also ist nuhn auch ein Sulphur in diesem Element / der sich Separiert von jhm / vnnd wirdt zu einer Speiß / als die *Legumina*[b] seindt vnd *Frumenta :* Vnnd ist ein Dürrer *Sulphur* vnnd ein Feuchter bey einander / zweyerley drey Ersten / in der Arth vnd im Wesen : Ein die do zu brauchen ist / die ander nicht. Als der Habern ist ein *Sulphur*, der nicht zu essen ist : Aber dz Korn / sein Sahmen / der
114 ist zu gebrauchen. Darumb folgt do anfenglich herauß / das | am ersten diese Frumenten / so sie wachsen / am aller ersten das wachst / das da nicht nießlich ist / darnach wechst das / das da nießlich ist / vnnd das in dem Weg. Am Ersten wechst die Form / vnnd Componiert sich / vnnd schißt sich auff : Als dann so die geordnet ist vnnd in die wachsende Form gebracht / darauff wachst dann das Nießlich / also : So der vnnießlich Sulphur sein Werck verbracht hatt / darnach kommt auff jhn der nießlich. Also scheidts der *Aniadus* von einander : Dann wo das nicht were / so wüchse das Nießlich / vnnd das Vnnießlich vnder einander in Einer Form / vnnd Wesen. Aber der *Aniadus* treibt anfenglich auß die Vnnießliche *Sulphura*, demnach so der nauß ist / so wachst hernach die Niessende : Das Vnniessende Formiert sich in einen Halm / als *in Frumentis :* in ein Rohr / als *in Samara :* in ein Beumly / als *in Paganico :* In ein Stammen / als inn Erbsen. Solches ist alles ein Gelber vnnd Weisser *Sulphur*, der da der Arth ist solcher Form / auß dem *Aniado* gezogen vnnd genommen.

Das Niessendt aber / so nuhn das Vnniessendt geformiert ist / herfür wechst / vnnd hatt zwey Niessendts in jhm : Das Menschlich vnnd Viehischs : Das ist / das Meel vnnd die Kleyen. Das Meel ist ein *Sulphur*, der da gleich ist Menschlicher Natur / vnnd darauff verordnet : Die Kleyen ist etwas Menschlichs / vnnd doch nicht sein Speiß. Darumb die Sew / von deßwegen das sie dem Menschen am gleichsten seindt / dieselbigen essen / vnnd jhn am bequemisten seindt. Nuhn aber zu wissen von wannen da kommen die Niessende Arth / also das

a Most of the herbs and the trees that follow are mentioned in P.'s *Paragranum* and glossed and cross-referenced in ETW.

b P.'s discussion of what can be eaten and digested, or instead only excreted or retained as pathological *tartarus*, date from the Basel lectures and include at least two major treatises of the 1530s, the first of which constructs this categorization: "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

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TRACTATVS TERTIVS. DE CIBARIIS.

I.
De Frvmentis.

[Third Tract. On Food.
1. On Cereals.]

Insofar as the trees sprout from the element *terra* to become wood, there is a sulphur in that same element that separates itself from the wood and turns into a food consisting of the *legumina* and *frumenta*. A thin sulphur and a moist one coincide: two variants of the three principles, and indeed in the following nature and substance: the one is useful and the other is not. Oats for example have a sulphur which is inedible. Yet the grain which is their seed is edible. From this it follows first of all that | such grains, when they grow, initially grow 114
in those parts that cannot be consumed and only after that in the parts that can be. This happens as follows. First the form grows and composes itself and shoots upward. As soon as it has achieved its order and arrived in the shape of its growth, the part which is useful develops as well. It does so as follows. As soon as the inedible sulphur has performed its operation, the edible part arrives. The *aniadus* performs its separation. If this did not happen, the edible and inedible would grow together mixed in a single form and essence. However, before that can happen, the *aniadus* drives out inedible sulphur, and after it is gone, the edible grows. The inedible shapes itself into a stalk, as happens *in frumentis*, into a reed, as happens *in samara*,[1] or into a little tree, as *in paganico*;[2] or in a stem, as in peas. All of this is a yellow or white sulphur which is of the nature of such a form, extracted and drawn from the *aniadus*. When the inedible part has been formed, the edible part then emerges and bears two edible components within it: that which is edible for humans and that which is edible for animals: the grain for flour and the chaff. The flour grain is a *sulphur* assimilated to the human nature and ordained for it. The chaff is something of human use, but not intended for nourishment. This is why swine eat it: they are closest to the human beings; and it is most appropriate for them. But let

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 vnd begriffen" (*Opus Paramirum, de Causa et Origine Morborum*—H 1:148).

1 See OLD *samara, samera*, elmseed.

2 Possibly heather (in German: "Heidekraut"). The word *paganus* translates in German as "Heide."

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der Sulphur soll Esslich sein vnnd werden / der do allein ein grober Sulphur ist : Vnnd ist das also / das im Ersten *Yliastro* die vier Element also verordnet seind / dz eim jedlichen sein *Aniadus* geben / diese Arth vnnd Wesen zu vollenden. Also hie auch der Sulphur in viel Wesen verkehrt wirdt / vnnd ist doch sein letste *Materia* nichts / als allein *Sulphur* vnd ein Saltz vnd ein *Mercurius :* Darumb wir die Erste *Materiam* auß der letsten nemmen vnnd finden mögen.

Wiewol anfenglich der *Sulphur* ein *Sulphur* ist / vnnd das Saltz ein Saltz / vnnd der *Mercurius* ein *Mercurius :* So ist doch das auch darbey / das am letsten jhr *Materia* dasselbig wieder | werden / vnnd kommen wieder in jhr Erst 115
Materiam. Darumb das / so do zwischen ist / das ist / zwischen der Ersten vnd Letsten *Materia,* im Gewalt deß *Aniadi* steht : Aber das Erste vnnd das Letste steht in Krafft der dreyen Ersten / das ist in seiner Natur.

II.

Wie nuhn also verstanden wirdt / daß das Mittel zwischen der *Materia* inn Gewalt deß *Aniadi* staht / vnnd die *Materia* an jhr selbst laufft hinwieder in sein Erst *Materiam :* Darinn ist zu mercken / das im Ersten *Yliastro* ein Theilung der Wesen geschehen ist inn die vier Element / inn dasselbig laufft es nimmermehr / vnnd das also.

In das Element *Aëris* ist gelauffen die Lüfftisch Arth / vnd geht wieder darein : In das Element *Ignis* das Firmament / vnnd geht aber wieder dorein : In das Element *Terræ* die Frücht / vnnd geht wieder dorein : In das Element *Aquae* die Miner / vnnd gohndt wieder dorein. Also geht ein jedliches wieder in sein Erstes. Aber die vier gehndt nicht wieder in das / wie sie außgangen seindt : Dann es wer wieder allen Verstandt / das die Natur nicht leyden mag / in dem Weg. Sollts wieder gohn inn sein Erste Monarchey / so wer ein Zerbrechlichs da / oder Zukünfftigs / das nicht sein mag. Das Ander ist / auß Nichts ist solches geworden : Sollt es dann in sein *Materiam* gehn / so were es nit Nichts / sondern Etwas. Darumb ist das der Philosophey Beschluß / das da bleiben wirdt die Dochter der Elementen ohn Ende in Ewigkeit. Das Concordiert sich dahin / das wir nicht allein von diesen Elementen / sondern auch von den andern wissen sollen : Dann das Mittel zwischen den zweyen Materien inn seiner Form vnnd Wesen auß Willen vnnd Gewalt deß *Aniadi* geht / welcher Gewalt also fürsehen ist worden / das es das dorauß wirdt / durch den Leib / der es gebraucht : Dann erfolget sich der Gewalt der Menschen / das die Element nach jhm gericht vnnd gezogen seindt / vnnd nicht er nach den Elementen : Sondern er ist versehen vnnd vorgangen.

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us now consider whence the edible nature: the sulphur which is coarse should become edible. It happens like this. In the primal *Yliastrum*, the four elements are ordered in such a way that an *aniadus* is given to each for the purpose of fulfilling its nature and substance. So, too, the sulphur gets transformed into many essences. Yet its ultimate *materia* is nothing but a Sulphur, a salt, and a *mercurius*. For this reason, we can draw and confirm the first *materia* based on the last. Though initially the *sulphur* is merely *sulphur*, the salt salt, and *mercurius mercurius*, yet there is also the fact that at the end their *materia* becomes itself again | and turns again into their prime *materia*. Hence, what is between 115
the first and the last *materia* is submitted to the power of the *aniadus*. Yet the first and the last matter, by nature, are in the power of the three principles.

II.

It is to be understood that the intermediate stages of the *materia* lie in the power of the *aniadus;* and that the *materia* as such reverts to its first *materia*. In this respect, it must be noted that in the prime *yliaster* a separation of essences takes place into the four elements; but into that there is no return, and to be sure for this reason.

Within the element *aër* there has come the aerial nature, and it returns unto its source. Within the element *ignis* has come the firmament and it returns to it. Within the element *terra* go the fruits and they return to the same. Within the element *aqua* proceed the minerals and they also return to the same. Thus, does each thing return to its primal source. Yet the four elements do not return to that which they proceeded out. It would defy all understanding, and nature could not suffer it to happen in such a way. If it[1] were indeed to return that way into its primal monarchy, it would be a destructible thing or something which can be perfected. This cannot be the case. Moreover, out of nothing has it come into being. If it were to return to its [first] matter, it would not be nothing, but rather something. Hence, philosophy concludes that there must remain the daughter of the elements in all eternity. It follows that we must know not only of our elements, but of those other ones. For the intermediate state between the two materials proceeds in its form and essence from the will and power of the *aniadus*, a power which has foreseen what comes of it in the body it makes use of. For the power of the human being is so that the elements conform and are shaped in accordance with him, not in accordance with the elements. Rather, he is ordained and given precedence. | 116

1 The *yliaster*.

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116 Dorauß volgt / das auß diesem Element vnnd andern / wachsen die Speiß der Menschen / nicht allein Weitzens / sondern Korn vnd Dinckel / etc. vnnd das alles in viel weg / nach arth der Länder / vnd vereinigen sich mit den Menschen / auß vrsachen / das er auß der *Materia* kommt vnd ist / darauß die andern wachsenden kommen. Also seindt da die Vereinigung gantz / das ist / das gleich seines gleichen führt / vnnd nehret : Das ist / der Mensch ist ein Erden / vnnd darumb so muß er die Erden essen : Auß dem volgendt die vier Welt / da ein jedlichß das jenig jsset / auß dem es kommt : Die Nymphen das Wasser / die *Gnomi* dz Fewr / die Ch. den Lufft. Vnd wo der Mensch nicht wer auß der Erden / so möcht er die Speiß nicht niessen / dann sie wer jhm wiederwertig. Aber so sie kommen auß Einem Vrsprung / Sahmen vnnd Boden / so füegen sich zusammen die zwey / so zusammen gehörendt / das mag der Mensch nicht scheiden. Dann er muß deß leben / von dem er kommen ist / vnd das essen / das da wachst auß dem / auß dem er gewachsen ist / vnd trincken auß dem / von dem er gangen ist. Darumb durch den grossen *Yliaster* ist die Arth der Elementen getheilt / also / das sie führen vnnd trenckendt / vnnd vier Element haben in einem jedlichen Element.

III.
De Pisis,[a] *Avena*[b] *& Faba.*[c]

Die Nutrimentische Arth im *Sulphure* ist zweyerley / Ein mehr Edel / Eine die weniger Edel ist. Die mehr Edel / als Weytzen vnnd seins gleichen / ist der Edele Sulphur : Der ander ist der weniger Sulphur / darumb eins mehr in seiner Arth ist / dann das ander. Auß dem volgt / das der Mensch ohn das mehr Edel nicht sein mag / sondern täglich haben muß / auß vrsachen : Zu gleicherweiß wie der Fisch in dz Wasser gesetzt ist / vnnd das als sein Speiß zu haben / vnd ohn

a On the tartaric harm of the ***pisum***, pea (Erbsen), P. generalizes in *Opus Paramirum, de Causa et Origine Morborum:* "Nun fürohin ist am ersten zuwissen / in was wege wirs einnemen in den Leguminibus, als Gersten / **Erbsen** / etc. dieselbigen all haben in jhnen Tartarum" (H 1:147).

b Oat (***avena***) porridge is a crude but problematic treatment to P. in *Drey Bücher an die Landtschafft Kärnten: Defensiones vnd Verantwortung vber etliche Vnglimpffungen seiner Mißgönner:* "Der falsch [Arzt] handelt also : Fahet gemächlich vnnd langsam an zu artzneyen / vertreibt viel zeit in Syrupis, in Laxatiuis, mit Purgatzen vnd **Haber**müßlein / mit Gersten / mit Kürbsen / mit Citrulis, mit Julep / vnd andern solchen geschmeiß / langsam / mit der zeit / vnd offt darzwischen Cristirt weiß selbst nit wamit er vmbgeht : Vnd schleicht also mit der zeit / vnd mit seinen senfften worten hindurch / biß er auff den Termin kommet / dann legt er den eigen abzug der kunst zu" (H 2:162).

c Cineres, flores, or farina **fabarum** are a commonly cited ingredient, as in *Von Vrsprung, Herkommen vnd Anfang der Frantzosen Acht Bücher:* "locus Croci mit sampt der Substantz hindan

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From this, it follows that human nourishment sprouts and grows from this element and from the others, not only wheat but grain and spelt, etc., all in its own multifarious manner in accordance with the soils. They merge themselves with the human being for the reason that he too is of that same *materia* from which they grow and emerge. Hence, the merger is complete. Like conducts and nourishes like.[1] The human being is earth and must eat of the earth. From this it follows that there are four worlds, whereby each is nourished by its own kind from which it emerges: the nymphs by water; the gnomes by fire,[2] the *ch*.[3] by air. If the human being were not of the earth, he could not consume its nourishment. It would be inimical to his nature. But since they stem from the same source, seed, and soil, the two fit together and belong that way, and cannot be separated by human agency. The human being must live from that whence he proceeds. There, and through the great *yliaster*, the nature of the elements is subdivided in such a way that the four elements rule[4] and refresh; and each element possesses the four in itself.

III.
De Pisis, Avena & Faba.
[On Peas, Oat, and Bean]

The nutrimental nature in the *sulphur* is of two kinds, one more and one less noble. The more noble, wheat and the like, is constituted by the noble sulphur. The other by the less noble. It follows that the human being cannot exist without the nobler kind but must have it daily, and for this reason. Just as the fish is placed in water, without which it gains no nourishment, so is the

genommen werde / vnd durch die gummierten Cataplasmata verhautet on eil / vnd nachfolgends durch aquam Florum **Fabarum** vnd Locustarum, Sigilli Salomonis, etc. erhertet: Ausserthalb der ordnung wirdt in Morphea vnd Albaris kein Medicin operieren" (H C:244a).

1 P. is stating a key premise of his speculation: like nourishes like; like cures like; like knows like. This seemingly empirical premise leads him to postulate the counterintuitive "worlds" which animate each of the elements. Order in the visible world requires an invisible plurality of worlds and requires that each element contains all the others.

2 This link between gnomes and the element of fire only appears in this treatise. See Kahn 2021, 237.

3 Neither Huser nor Sudhoff offers any aid in deciphering the meaning of this abbreviation. The word *chaostrum* comes to mind hypothetically, although its only occurrence (H C:426c) is in an entirely different context. This unresolved abbreviation combined with the surprising affiliation of the gnomes to fire lead us to believe that P. did not yet have a firm grasp of his elemental beings, contrary to what we can see in *De Meteoris*.

4 Palthen translated "führen" as if it were a misreading for "nähren" ("nourish").

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die kein Speiß essen mag / vnnd auch ohn Wasser nichts jsset : Also ist auch der Mensch / der billicher in der Erden sein sollt / wie ein Fisch im Wasser gesetzt / das er an statt der Erden das Brott täglich haben muß / vnd ohn Brott
117 kein Dewung machen / | sondern es laufft mit / mit der andern Speiß / gleich wie dem Fisch Wasser mit sampt seim Koder. Aber ein weniger edels ist auch do / das wol gerahten mag werden / als *Pisa, Auena* vnd *Faba*, welche da kommen auß einem dürren *Sulphure*, gescheiden von dem linden *Sulphure*, darauß der *Aniadus* dise Frucht geordnet hatt : vnd vereinigt sich auch mit dem Leib / dann sie kommen von der Erden. Auß disen Leguminen seind zuverstahn / das zweyerley Gewechs auß der Erden gehnd : Ein Gewechs ist / das ohn Mittel durch den Menschen zu Fleisch wirdt : Ein ander Gewechs / das allein durch ein Mittel zu Fleisch wirt im Menschen. Das soll also verstanden werden / das zwen *Aniadi* seind / der Ein der Erden / zu procreiren / der ander in den Empfindtlichen / zu præpariren. Darumb der *Aniadus terræ* der procreirt auff zwen *Aniados*, der Empfindtlich auff den *Aniadum* der Menschen / vnd nimpt ein *Sulphur* dazu / vnd ein *Sal*, vnd ein *Mercurium*, der ohn alle Mittel dem *Aniado hominis* vnterworffen ist / vnd geht in das Fleisch : darnach procreirt er die Speiß dem Viech / das ist vnter dem *Aniado* deß Viechs / also daß derselbig *Aniadus* auß dem das Fleisch macht : als dann volgt / daß derselbig *Aniadus* dem *Aniado hominis* vnderworffen ist. Darinn ist zu wissen / das alle Gewechs zu Fleisch werden / vnd alles das / so die Erden procreirt / in Fleisch endet : Aber ettlichs in zwey Fleisch / das ist / in das Vihe / von selbigen im Menschen : ettlichs in das Vihe / vnd nicht dem Menschen : auß vrsachen / daß das Vihe auß dem Gifft der Erden gewachsen ist / darumb es fur sich selbst / nit der Speiß halben / dem Menschen nit tüglich ist. Es sind auch etlich Gewechs / die ohn Mittel dem Menschen vnnd dem Vihe dienen / als die *Legumina* all / vnnd *Frumenta*. Dann jhr *Sulphur* ist mit dem Saltz vnnd *Mercurio* dermassen præparirt / daß also dienent allen Essenden Thieren / die jhrem *Aniado* vnderworffen. Die Erbissen seind von viel *Sulphure* vnd wenig *Sale* vnd *Mercurio*. Der Habern vil Saltz / weniger *Mercurij* vnnd viel *Sulphur*. Die Bonen auß allen dreyen gleich gesetzt / vnd dz grobest vnter den drey Ersten. Dergleichen auch von jren Farben zumercken ist.[a] Dann auß der arth deß *Sulphuris* kommen mancherley Farben in der Speiß : diese Farben alle werden jhn gegeben in der Generation / vnd sind nit Fix. Als in den rotten Ruben / dz ist ein rot-
118 ter soluirter *Sulphur* | von der Speiß : In den gelben ein gelber *Sulphur :* In den grünen ein grüner *Sulphur :* dann diese Farben alle kommen allein auß dem

a In the margin Huser added a headline: "On the various aforementioned colors" (*De variis coloribus prædictorum*).

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human being properly placed in earth like the fish in water, so that in the earth he must have his bread daily, and without it could digest nothing |. It circulates 117
with the other foods, as the fish in water with its bait. Yet there is also something less noble, as in *pisa, avena*, and *faba*. These stem from a leaner *sulphur* from which the *aniadus* has issued the fruit; and it merges with the body, for they too come from the earth. These legumes allow us to see that two sorts of plants emerge from the earth. One can immediately become incorporated in the human being; the other only indirectly. This implies that there are two *aniadi:* the one is there to procreate in the earth; the other to perform the work of preparation in the human being. Hence, *aniadus terrae* can be said to procreate into two *aniadi:* the animate one acts upon the *aniadus* in the human being. It takes a specific *sulphur*, salt, and *mercurius* which are immediately subjected to the *aniadus hominis*, and enters into the meat. After this, it procreates the nourishment of animals so that it makes of it flesh. It happens that all plants turn into meat; and everything that the earth procreates ends as flesh. But in some cases, the flesh is in two modes, first into the animal, then into human flesh; some only into the animal, but not into the human. This happens when the animal emerges from the poison of the earth. For this reason, it is only good for itself, not as nourishment useful to the human being. But there are also plants that serve the human being and the animal immediately. These are the *legumina* and the *frumenta*. Their *sulphur* is susceptible to the salt and *mercurius* in a way that serves all animals which eat and are subjected to their *aniadus*. Peas consist of much *sulphur* and little *sal* and *mercurius*. Oats much salt, less *mercurius*, and much *sulphur*. Beans are composed of all three in equal measure and of the coarsest of the three principles. Moreover, we can say this about their colors. From the nature of the *sulphur*, there result the colors of nourishment. They receive all such colors in their generation, but they are not fixed. Thus, in the red carrots abides a red, dissolved *sulphur* | from the nourish- 118
ment. In the yellow, there is a yellow *sulphur*. In the green ones, a green *sulphur*. All these colors stem from nothing else but *sulphur*. Even though in itself it has

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Sulphur. Wiewol er an jhm selber solche farben nicht hatt : so ist sie doch in jhm / auß vrsachen seines eignen Saltzs vnd *Mercurij* / die solcher farben voll seind / vnnd jhn mutiren.

IIII.

De Caulibus,[a] *Pastinacis & Papaueribus : Item de Cæpis, Alliis*[b] *: Item de Rapis, Raphanis : Item de Lentibus & Porro*.

Die *Caules* kommen auch auß den essenden *Sulphure, Sale* vnd *Mercurio, Pastinaca* vnd *Papauer*, vnd alle die jhrs gleichen sind : vnnd seind im *Aniado* getheilt worden / also das ettlich essendt krafft im Krautt ist / ettlich in Wurtzen / ettlich in Sahmen. Die Kreütter so Speiß seind / *Bleta* vnd *Caulis* vnd andere / dieselbigen haben von dem *Aniado* an jhm deß Krautts / vnd von dem *Aniado* der Speiß : darumb der *Caulis* in die form deß Krautts geht / vnnd ist ein resoluirter *Sulphur* mit vil Saltz vnd wenig *Mercurio*. Dermassen in *Pastinaca* der *Aniadus* der Wurtzen dieselbig Krafft der Speiß in der Wurtzen behalt. Also in *Papauere* vnnd in Linsen hinauff in Sahmen zeucht / dergleichen in *Milio* auch. In diesen ist ein getheilts also / daß viel Kreütter zu essen seind / als *Lactuca*,[c] *Caules* vnd *Portulaca* vnd ander viel Geschlecht : dz kompt auß vrsachen / das die Kreütter von wegen jhrer Complexion besondert seind / nach arth der Menschen. Darumb im Element *Terræ* die 4. Complexion seind / auch in andern Elementen / vnd ist die *prouidentia Aniadi* da zu erkennen / also dz Kalt in *Lactuca* vnd *Portulaca* sey / das Warm in *Caule* vnd *Bleta, &c*. Auß der vrsachen seind die *genera* gescheiden / sonst von wegen der Speiß nicht. Dann so *Lactuca* vnd *Caulis* Ein Krautt wer / so wer es deß Einen : aber von wegen das mehr Nutz darauß wird in zweyerley gestalt / zwo gestalt drauß geworden sind. Also auch

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a The *tartarus* treatise *De Causa et Origine Morborum* generalizes: "Dann die **caules**, radices, frumenta, werden bey den leguminibus verstanden vnd begriffen. Darumb ein Artzt in der diaet solcher 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 gestzt werden / als durch bereitung. Dann vermeiden / abstinentz / nimpts nit / so ist auch kein separatio da / als allein im Menschen" (H 1:148). However, *Eilff Tractat* specifies: "**Caulis** Romana ist vnter allen Kreüttern das Edleste zu essen" because "Es ist ein zusammen gesetzt ding von allen Speciebus der Mineralium, der Früchten / der Tereniabin, vnd der Graden" (H 4:180). **Pastinaca** and **papavera** are often cited for their medical uses by P.

b According to *Scholia & Obseruationes in Macri Poemata*, "In **Cepis** vna solummodo est virtus. Acuitas salis est in **cepis**, geht ohn feel nit auß / si crudum edatur" (H 7:275). Likewise: "In peste sumptum **allium** contusum, vnnd präglet in oleo Lini, vnd stercus porcinum darunder / vnd vbergelegt / wehret / das pestis nicht zum Hertzenschlag. […] Hydropici si vinum, in quo positum fuerit **allium**, bibant, paroxysmum non habent" (H 7:245–246).

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no such color, it has them within itself from its own salt and *mercurius:* they are full of such colors and transmute it.

IV.
De Caulibus, Pastinacis & Papaveribus: Item de Caepis, Aliis, Raphanis: Item de Lentibus & Porro.
[On Cabbage, Parsnips, and Poppies. Likewise on Onions, Garlic, Black Radish. Likewise on Lentils and Leek.]

The *caules* [cabbage] come from the edible *sulphur, sal*, and *mercurius;* so do *pastinaca*, and *papaver* [parsnip and poppy], and everything of their kind. Moreover, they have been disposed by the *aniadus* so that some nutrient power is in leafy vegetables, some in roots, some in seeds. The leafy vegetables that serve as food, *bleta* [chard], *caulis*, and others of their kind, receive from the *aniadus* itself what pertains to the leafy vegetable and from the same the nutrient. Hence, the *caulis* sprouts into the form of the leafy vegetable. Moreover, it is a resolved *sulphur* with much salt and little *mercurius*. By the same token, in *pastinaca* the *aniadus* of the root retains the same nutrient power in the root. So, too, in *papaver* and in lentils it drawn up into the seed, as also in *milium* [millet].[1] In all these species, there is a distribution of a kind that makes it possible to eat many vegetables including *lactuca* [lettuce], *caulis*, and *portulaca* [purslane] and many other species. This results from the particularization of the vegetables with regard to their complexion, as are human beings too. For this reason, the four complexions are in the element of *terra*, as well as in the other elements. The *providentia* of the *aniadus* is evident: in *latuca* and *portulaca* there is cold, in *caulis*[2] and *bleta* there is warm, etc. For these reasons, the *genera* are separated, but not on account of their nutrients. For if *latuca* and *caulis* were simply one vegetable like any other, it would be no different; but more use comes of their being in two distinct forms, so two have emerged. The

c Speculations about these plants of the element earth evolve in the light of microcosm and macrocosm in *Opus Paramirum:* "Also hatt auch an jhm selbst die Terra [...] auch ein besondere Generation der Kranckheiten / die auß jhr gehnd: zugleicher weiß wie die kalten kreutter auff Erden wachsen : Solatrum, Rosa, **Lactuca**, **Portulaca**, 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" (H 1:131).

1 See ETW, *milium solis*.

2 See ETW, *latuca, portulaca, caulis, bleta*.

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in den Wurtzen : In *Pastinaca* ist die führende krafft / in *Rapis* auch : aber auß solcher vrsachen gescheiden. Vnd also auch die Zwibbel vnd der Knoblauch
119 vnd der Lauch hindan genommen | / damit jhr Krafft nit in vermischung stünd der andern Wesen : vnnd in dieser Separation ist mehr zu betrachten / daß die Natur will von wegen deß Lusts den Zwibeln / Knoblauch / vnd auch den Rettich besonder haben / darumb daß sie nit zu kochen sind wie Rüben. Dann die Sulphurisch arth ist etwann zu kochen / etwann nicht. Darumb hie dieses ein vrsach ist / daß die Natur will / das ein jedtlich ding nach seiner arth vnnd zugehörend gekocht soll werden. Darumb der Knoblauch roh bleiben will / vnd von Zwiffeln gescheiden. Dann der Zwiffel will gekocht sein / vnnd sie beyde vom Rettich / der ein sondere Præparation hatt / vnd alle von *Rapis* vnd *Pastinaca*, die sonder wollen gekocht sein. Also hatt die Natur zusammen gesetzt das jenige / das sein besonder Köcht hatt / vnd das jenig das sein besonder *gustum* hatt / auff das / daß die *Magnalia naturæ*[a] vilfaltig erscheinen / vnd nicht einfach. Solche *genera* seind viel / welche doch alle nit anderst jhren vrsprung nemmen / dann wie von allen in diesem Tractat vnnd Libel angezeigt wird / darinn sie alle sollen verstanden werden.

V.
De Zizania,[b] *id est, de Lolio, Papauere, &c.*

Von dem *Zizania* zumercken / als *Lolium, Flores frunenti, Papauer rubeum*, vnd dergleichen alles / so vnter den Frumenten wachst / nemmen jren vrsprung also. So der Sahm der Frumenten oder ettlicher *Leguminum* geseet wird / ist zu mercken / daß die Tinctur deß Elements *Terræ*, auch der andern Elementen vilfach staht / also daß sie in der Erden den Sahmen verwandelt / vnd macht darauß *Zizaniam*. Dann *Lolium, Papauer rubeum*, vnnd dergleichen / seind allein von Weitzen geboren / durch verenderung des Sahmens / auß krafft der Elementischen Tincturen : vnnd hatt jhren vrsprung nemlich am meristen in zweyen Elementen / im Fewr vnd in der Erden. Dann darauß folgt / das viel

a Note that P. elsewhere draws this important distinction: "Wer ist der sie erkennet? Das sind **Magnalia**, die der Natur verborgen seind : **Magnalia** Dei, vnd nit **Magnalia naturae** Luminis" (*De Modo Pharmacandi*—H 5A:194).

b **Zizania** and other weeds or wild plants reflect a general principle of origins reflected in Mt 13: "Vnnd nimbt sich auß dem vrsprung / das nichts reins bleibt / es seet sich ein **Zizania** vnnd Lolium darbey. Dann also ist die Gallen vnd jhres gleichen das ander glid das Lolium der Natur / das sich eingeseet hatt neben das gute : Nicht von noturfft wegen / sondern von zerbrechung wegen" (*De Viribus membrorum*—H 3:11). Moreover, the stars likewise have their weeds of impurity which are moralized as magic adultery and sodomy in a spurious treatise:

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same holds true for the root vegetables: in *pastinaca* [parsnip] there is found the dominant power, and in *rapae* [turnips] as well. But there are reasons why they are separate. Finally, the same can be said of onions, garlic, and last of all leek, | so their powers should not be mixed with those of other entities. About 119
their separation, more is to be said. Regarding the appetites, nature wants to keep onions, garlic, and radishes separate: they should not be cooked, unlike the turnips or beets. For in some cases, the sulphurous nature should be cooked, in other cases not. The reason for this is that nature intends for every entity to be processed in accordance with its own species and affinity. Hence, garlic should remain raw, unlike the onions. Onions should be cooked. They and garlic are both distinct from the large radish which requires a particular preparation; and they are in turn distinct from the *rapae* [turnips] and *pastinaca* [parsnip] which need to be cooked in their own appropriate way. Thus, did nature group those things together which should be cooked in a particular way, which has its particular *gustum*, in order that the *magnalia naturae* should be manifest in many ways, not one. There are many such *genera* which nevertheless do not arise in any other way than has been shown in this treatise and little book, in accordance with which all the others should be understood.

V.
De zizania, id est, de lolio, papavere, etc.
[On Ryegrass, That Is, Darnel, Poppy, etc.]

Regarding *zizania*, such as *lolium*,[1] *flores frumenti* [flowering of wheat], *papaver rubeum* [red poppy], and everything of that sort that grows among the wheat or grain, they originate as follows: Whenever the seed of the grain or of various *legumina* [vegetables] is sown, it is noticeable that the tincture of the element of *terra* and of the other elements are often arrayed in such a way that they transform the seed in the earth and turn it into *zizania*. For the *lolium, papaver rubeum*, and other species of their kind are born solely of wheat by the transformation of the seed through the power of the elemental tinctures. This originates preeminently in two elements: fire and earth. From this it follows

"Vnnd ist zu mercken / das die Sternen auch **Zizanias** vnter jhnen haben: Dann sie Sodomieren vnnd Adulterieren eben also / wie andere Creaturen / den Magis genugsam bekannt" (*De Pestilitate*—H 3:61; see Kahn 2016: 103–106).

1 See OLD: weed grass that grows among grain. Note the relevance of this and *zizania* to the parable of the good wheat and weeds in Mt. 13. What follows has a bearing on P.'s understanding of the sources of evil in creation.

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Aecker sind / da solche *Zizania* viel wachsend / das ist die arth des Ackers / das er solche Tinctur vil in jhm hatt. Auch dergleichen ettlich stett sind / was darein geseet wirdt / das transmutirt der Himmel / vnd macht *Zizaniam* drauß. Auff das zuwissen ist / das kein Weitz noch Frucht geseet mag werden ohn *Zizania* / deren geschlecht viel seind. | Dann so ein Ackermann seet / vnd zehlete sein Sahmen / so findet er so viel Weitzen hinwider / aber mit dem Ratten / Lolch / *Pap*. vnd dergleichen / vnd nit an den Früchten / die er geseet hat. Auch werden die *Zizania* sähmlich / das ist / sie geben Sahmen / vnd lassen sich seen / als ob sie auß dem ersten *Iliastro* kommen / das nit ist : dann sie seind nie im *Iliastro* bedacht worden. Aber durch die Tinctur der Element nemmen sie jhr Geburt in gleicher weiß / wie die Würm auß den *Stercoribus :* also kommen auß dem Weitzen vnd Korn solche *Flores* vnd Gewechs auch. Vnd was von jhnen plantirt wirdt / das wird schöner vnd hüpscher / aber es verleürt sein erste arth nit. Darumb welcher seet Korn oder Weitzen / der seet jhm auch alle *genera* der *Zizania*, auß der arth die angezeigt ist.

Sich begibt auch viel / das auß ettlichen Frumenten vnd *Leguminibus* Neßlen[a] wachsen / ettwas gleich in der arth der andern : aber abgesöndert. Es wachst auch vilerley Graß darauß / vnd viel newes Gewechs. Dann die Tincturen seind ettwann verendert vnd mancherley. Diser *Zizania* wachst auch nit allein in disen *Frumentis* vnd *Leguminibus*, sonder auch in *Caulibus*, also das viel böser Tinctur einlauffen / vnnd corrumpieren die recht arth desselben Sahmens. Dise Mißgewächs kommen all auß den rechten hauptstücken / die da gepflantzt werden in die Aecker vnd Gärten / vnd nach arth desselben Landts vnd Himmels / verendert in seiner Tinctur / das also vilerley *genera* der Zizanien seind / vnaußsprechlich viel / vnnd sind nit zu wenden / noch auß zureutten auff weitter nit widerwachsen. Dann der Sahm / der in die Erden fellt / ist vnterworffen der Tinctur der Erden / vnd deß Himmels / die in allen Landen ligt.

Finis Tract. tertij Philosophiæ Theophrasti, de Elemento Terræ.

a Despite P.'s trust in transformation and counterintuitive value, nettles retain their role as a bad seed sown among the good (cf. Mt 13), as in his explanation of deafness in *Eilff Tractat:* "Nvhn aber die vrsach der Taubsucht zuerzelen / so wissen / das die Vernunfft rein vnd lautter soll sein / gleich als reiner Weitz auff einem Acker / der kein Rathen oder Vnkraut in jhm hatt. Dieweil aber der Rathen in den Weitzen geseet wirdt / also wachsen auch Vnkreutter in die Vernunfft : Vnd so die Vernunfft in jhrem Sententzgeben sitzt / so vbermehret das Vnkraut / Wicken vnd Rathen / die Vernunfft : Jetzt ist die Taubsucht do / dann das Vnkraut vbermehrt / vnd felscht den Weitzen : Vnnd als dann zugleicher weiß wie ein Schüssel voller

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that there are many fields in which much *zizania* grows, resulting from the nature of the field which bears such a tincture within itself. Moreover, there are localities where whatever is sown is transmuted by the heavens, making it into *zizania*. From this we can see that no wheat or fruit can be sown without *zizania*, which occurs in many varieties. | Hence, if a sower were to count his seed, 120
he would confirm the same amount of wheat, but interspersed with weeds, grass, *papaver*, and what have you, not with the fruits that were sown. Moreover, the *zizania* is seed-bearing, that is, it yields seeds which can be sown, just as if they came from the first *iliaster*, which is not, however, the case. For they were not foreseen in the *iliaster*. Rather, they emerge through the tincture of the elements in the same way that worms emerge from the *stercus* [dung]. In the same way, flowers and plants arise from wheat and grain. Moreover, when they are in turn planted, what results is prettier and more beautiful, but it does not shed its primal nature. Thus, when you sow grain or wheat, you also sow all *genera* of *zizania*, in the manner that has been demonstrated.

It also frequently happens that from certain grains and *legumina* nettles grow, in the way that those others do; but this is a distinct case. A great deal of grass grows from it, and much new vegetation. For the tinctures are modified and manifold. This *zizania* grows not only in *frumenta* and *legumina*, but also in *caules*, so that many evil tinctures come into it to corrupt the true nature of the seed. These perversions all arise from the true main ingredients which are planted in fields and gardens, and which are changed in their tincture in accordance with the nature of the soil and the heavens, so that there are many different kinds of *zizania*, innumerably many; they cannot be prevented or rooted out to prevent their growing back. For the seed that descends into the earth is subject to the tincture of the earth and the heavens found in all countries.

Finis Tract. Tertij Philosophiae Theophrasti, de Elemento Terrae.

[End of the third tract of Theophrastus's philosophy of the element of earth]

Rosen vnnd Gilgen / dorunter ein Handtvol **Nesslen** ligen / nicht angerürt werden mit blossen Henden / von wegen der inligenden Nesseln : Also wissen auch / das / wie dieß Nesslen in den Rosen stechen / also stechen die Vnkreutter die Vernunfft / vnd entsetzt sie jhrer arth. Dann so Nesseln wachsen vnder den Rosen / dz ist / Wildtnuß in die Vernunfft / so brenndt sie vnd wüttet / wirdt gleich den Dörnern / dorinn Rosen wachsen / die niemandts in die Hend nemmen darff" (H 4:156).

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121 *TRACTATVS QVARTVS, De Simplicibvs.*

I.

(*De Croco, Hermodactylo & Carthamo, Item de duplici capite Monachi,*[a] *de Flammula,*[b] *& de Trollogia.*[c])

Im Element *Terræ* stehnd die Farben besonder / vnd der *Gustus* besonder / auch der *Odor* / auch der

Deficiunt pleraque huius capitis.

Aniadus das meint / ist *de Natura Rerum* beschrieben : von denselben Farben vnnd Formen wirt hie nichts begriffen : dann es[d] ist vber die Generation der Natur. Was aber gespieglet[e] Farben / die auß der Natur kommen / die kommen auß Krafft deß Saltzs.

a No further occurrence of "double monk's head" is found in Paracelsus. See vis-à-vis.

b We can only speculate about the commonality of the entitled flowers or roots. It seems likely that their thematic common denominator may lie in the heat of *Crocus* (*Martis*), the cleansing root of *Hermodactyl*, the warming *Cardamum*, and the hot *Flammula*, their presumed warmth all contravening the humoral-elemental precept that from the cold earth cold things should grow, as explained in *Die grosse Wundartzney:* "Dann das ist ein grosser Irrsal das man spricht / die kranckheit ist aus der Melancoley / vnd probierts durch das / das die kranckheit vnnd Melancoley Ein Natur haben / vnd Ein Complexion : So doch dasselbig / daß aus dem Element wechßt / des Elements natur nit hat. Als aus der Erden wechts **Flammula**, das sind je zwo widerwertige Natur" (H C:70a). See also *Archidoxis*, H 6:76.

c This flower though not often cited, figures in the correspondence of metals and vegetation in *Von der Bergsucht:* "Also ist der Mensch auch versorget mit den Metallen: Doch mit der vnderscheid / dieser Metall ist der Viola, der ist der **Trollenblum** / der ist der Kirschen / der der Biren / der deß Korns / der der Trauben / das ist / nach der zeit im selbigen jahr / welche Monat vnder einander noch viel tausent jahr werhafft seindt" (H 5:55).

d The word "es" has been mistakenly printed twice in Huser.

e In the margin Huser noted this variant reading: "gesprencklet."

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TRACTATVS QVARTVS,
De Simplicibus
I.
(*De Croco, Hermodactylo & Carthamo, Item*
De duplici capite Monachi, de Flammula, & Trollogia.)

[*Fourth Tract. On* Simplicia.]
I.
[On Saffron, Iris, Safflower, likewise on Common Marigold,[1] Clematis, and Globeflower]

In the element of *terra* abide the colors in particular, the *gustus* [taste] in particular, as well as the *odor* [smell], the

Deficiunt pleraque huius capitis.
[Many things are missing in this chapter.]

Aniadus, which means [...] is described in *De Natura Rerum*. About those colors and forms, nothing will be said here, for it transcends the generation of nature. As regards the reflected[2] colors stemming from nature, they stem from the power of salt.[3]

1 "Double monk's head" is not a usual term. "Monk's head" might be *Aconitum* (*Monkshood*)—although *caput monachi* is referred to as "Marigold" in Paavilainen 2009.

2 Huser adds an alternate reading in the margin, which seems actually more fitting: "gesprencklet" ("strewn").

3 See above, 212–213, note a.

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II.
De Gustu Herbarum.

Dergleichen ist auch der *Gustus* außgetheilt in 4. theil / das ist / in Räß / Bitter / Süß / Sawr.[a] Als in *Zinzibere* ist die Rässe / im *Rheubarbaro* die Bittere[b] / im *Polypodio*[c] die Süsse / in *Acetosa*[d] die Sewry.

Nuhn aber ist zu wissen da / das dieselbigen jhr *gradus* haben / eins höher am Grad als dz ander. Als Pfeffer ist am höchsten / demnach *Cardamomum*, darnach Paradyß korner / darnach Ingwer[e] / darnach Galgan / vnd Zimmet vnd ander : vnd ist auß der vrsachen / das da ein jegliche Rässy in jhr hatt ein besonder Hitz / die bey der andern nichts soll / vnd ein besonder Wesen ist. Vnd mit der Sewre ist es auch also : *Cen* ist am sewristen / darnach *Sinapis*, darnach *Allium* vnnd *Cæpæ*, darnach *Acetosa* vnd ander mehr. Vnd als offt ein Sewri in disen stücken / als offt ein besonder Arth vnd Tugendt. Auch mit der Süssi also / dann im *Polypodio* ist eine / in Graphoy[f] die ander / in Steckrüblein die ander / also für vnd für in andern mehr. Dergleichen mit der Bittere / ist eine
122 im *Rhabarbaro*, ein groß in *Gentiana*, | ein grosse in *Amarissa*, die mehrist in *Coloquintide*. Diese vier *Gustus* sind viel hunderterley in den Kreütern / die alle auß den 3. Ersten kommen / in denn so viel Wesen steckend : gleich als in einem Silber / darauß der Goldtschmid hunderterley vnnd mehr arth drauß macht / vnd ist doch alls auß Eim ding. Dise 4. arth / nemlich dz Räß / nimpt sich auß dem Saltz / vnd vberwindt den *Corpus* deß Gewechs : als do im Saltz *Zinziberis* ist die [Rässe][g] zusuchen / vnd nit im *Sulphure* oder im *Merc.* Dergleichen

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a P. generalizes the tastes of Hippocratic tradition to the earth itself, while reserving their privileged site for the human body: "Im leib sindt 4. **Gustus**: also auch in der Erden: Sewri / Süsse / Bitteri / Sältzi. Auß den 4. setzen wir euch hie ein außlegung / vnd die also. Die 4. **Gustus** sindt volkommen in eim jedlichen Subiect : Aber in keim Subiect sindt sie zuergründen / dan allein im menschen" (*Volumen Medicinae Paramirum*—H 1:44).

b These tastes have recurrent pivotal associations: "Nuhn aber vom Alcali zuwissen vnd Saltz / ist mancherley: Eins ist **süß** als Cassia, vnnd ist das separiert Saltz / das in den mineralibus Antimonium heist : Eines ist **sawr** / als Sal Gemmae : Eins **räß** / vnnd ist im **Zinzibere** : Eins **bitter** / vnd ist im **Rhabarbaro** vnd Coloquinthide, etc." (*Von den ersten dreyen Essentiis*—H 3:16).

c *Das Buch von allen offnen schäden:* "Was auß dem Süssen ist / vergleichet sich der Liquiricia vnd **Polypodio**" (H C:385c).

d *Acetosa*, sorrel, is typically integrated into P.'s correspondences of macrocosm and microcosm: "Dann do ist kein ander vrsach der Materien / dann das die **Acetosa** der Winter sind / vnd seine Genera die Species der Wintersternen / vnnd die Salia der Summer / vnnd sein Genera die Summerstern" (*Eilff Tractat*—H 4:185).

e Perhaps derived from this excerpt is this remark from a spurious work: "Also auch der Pfeffer / **Ingwer** / etc. die seindt nuhn bekannt / das sie eine angeborne Hitze an sich vnd in sich haben" (*De Pestilitate*—H 3:41). See also *Von Öffnung der Haut*: "Etliche Ardentia, vergleichen sich den Pfeffer / **Ingber** / vnd Paradyß körnlin saltz […]" (H C:406c).

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II.
De Gustu Herbarum.
[On the Taste of Herbs]

By the same token, *gustus* is no less divided into four parts: pungent, bitter, sweet, and sour. In *zinziberi* [ginger] there is the pungent. In rhubarb, the bitter. In *polypodion*, the sweet. In *acetosa* [sorrel], the sour.

It must also be noted that these have their *gradus*, the one higher than the other. Thus, pepper is the highest. Next comes *cardamomum*, and after that grain of paradise,[1] next ginger, then galangal and cinnamon and other such things. The reason is that each pungency possesses its own particular heat, which should not be present in the others, being an essence of its own. The same holds true of the sour. The sourest thing is *cen*,[2] after that *sinapis* [mustard], then *allium* [garlic] and *caepae* [onions], and finally *acetosa* [sorrel] and other such things. For every sour quality in these things there is a special character and virtue. So it is, too, with sweetness: in *polypodium*[3] there is one, in *griffonia* another, and in the turnip,[4] and so on in other things of this kind. So, too, with the bitter: there is one in rhubarb, another in *gentiana*, |; a great 122
one is in *amarissa*,[5] the more in *coloquintis* [gourd plant]. These four *gustus* [tastes] occur in hundreds of variants in herbs, all proceeding from the three prime things in which just as many essences are latent. Similarly, many things are latent in a silver from which the goldsmith fashions countless hundreds of things, though all are but a single thing. The fourth nature, the pungent, stems from the salt and overpowers the *corpus* of the plant. Thus, in the salt of the *zinziber* [ginger] the [pungency] is to be sought, not in *sulphur* or *mercurius*. The

f "**Graffey** ist ein Wurtzel in Helvetiis," says a gloss to "Graffoniae" in the *Praelectiones Chirurgicae de Vulneribus* (H C:469a). See also the other set of notes on the same Basel lecture: "Graphonia id est **graphoij** & est radix efficacissima" (*De Vulneribus Praelectiones*, H C:563a). And according to *Von den Blatern, Lähme, Beulen, Löcheren vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen*: "**Graphoij** gibt in der transplantierung Reuponticam / vnd behalt auch jhren Samen" (H C:267c).

g This word was put in square brackets by Huser as a conjecture—a very likely one.

1 See Grimm, "paradies 4: paradieskörner, *plur*. cardamomum [...] eine grosze art von cardamomen, so aus Guinea geholet wird und scharf ist wie pfeffer, *eng*. grain of paradise."

2 *Cen* is not found in Grimm, but the proximity to *sinapis*, mustard seed, suggests *Senf*, mustard.

3 See ETW, *polypodium*.

4 Grimm cites this passage but offers no particular explanation of its meaning. See Wahrig, Steckrübe = Kohlrübe = turnip.

5 See above, 251, n. 2.

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in Pipere, Calamo, Zimmet[a] / vnd allen die da räß sein / denselbigen soll das Saltz bedacht werden / vnd die andern zwey nit / dann also ist dz *Herbarium* in seiner Eigenschafft. Was nun aber Süß ist / dz ist von *Mercurio* hie / vnd soll allein der *Merc.* gescheiden werden vnd außgezogen : dann er gibt die Süsse dem *Sulphuri* vnd dem Saltz / vnd vberwindt sie. Was Bitter ist / dz kompt auß dem Saltz vnd *Mercurio* in dem / so der *Mercurius* sein Süsse verlassen hatt / vnd das Saltz sein Rässe / als dann auß dem vbrigen wirt ein *Coniunctio*, vnd die ist bitter / darumb gibt sie den *Mercurium*, vnd gibt dz Saltz. Das Sawr ist / dz ist ein *Liquor* von allen dreyen / der kein *Essentiam* in jhm hatt / vnd verrochen ist in seinen 3. Ersten / gleich einem Essig / dem der *spiritus Vini* entgangen ist. Dann also stahnd die 4. in den 3. Ersten / Süß vnd Bitter / Räß vnd Sawr / je zwey bey einander : so dz Ein hinkompt / so bleibt dz ander da : also ist Eines abscheiden deß andern geburt / als dann *de Natura Rerum*, vnd in seinen Capitel mehr erklärt wird,

Deest Caput Tertium integrum, & principium Quarti.

[...] das die 7. Planeten[b] 7. Schäden auff dem Element *Terræ* geben / darinn sind 7. Kreütter / die es wenden. Dabey ist auch zu verstahn / dz die 7. Planeten mögen 7. Schäden auch wenden auff Erden / so wir sie brauchen mochten : als die Sonn die mag *Melancholiam* Purgiren / *Mercurius* die *Choleram, Saturnus* die *Febres, &c.* Darumb herwiderumb zu mercken ist / das ein jeglicher Stern auff Erden sein Krautt hat / zu vollbringen die Arth seins Sterns / auch zu wenden sein Schaden. Solche arth ist in dem *Iliastro* getheilt / vnd jeglichs Elements Boßheit wirt mit dem andern gestillt / vnd hangen nit an einander / seind auch nicht von einander geboren. Dergleichen seind auch 12. Stern vnd 12. Kreutter :
123 hernach ander Kreutter / vnd andere | Stern. Auß diser Kunst wird der Artzt geboren / der je ein rechter sein will. Dann die *Hypericon*[c] ist die Sonn / vnd die recht Jrrdische Sonn : *Persic.*[d] der *Mercurius*, vnd der Jrrdisch *Mercurius*. Was sollen wir sie aber nennen / dieweil vns die nit darumb lieben / die auß jhr Kunst saugen / auch die so vns nit verstahn / darumb vns verachten ? Betracht

a Huser offered the alternate reading "Zedoor" in the margin.

b The coherence of different realms centered on the seven planets is a traditional notion embraced by P.: "Solchs reden wir auff dz Firmament: vnd also mercken vns / dz im leib ligendt 7. Glider: dieselbigen 7. glider / nemen kein narung / sondern sie stehndt in jhnen selbst / wie die Siben **Planeten** / die sich selbst erneeren / vnd keiner vom andern isset noch trinckt / noch von andern Gestirn: vnd des nemmen ein solchen grundt" (*Volumen Medicinae Paramirum*—H 1:38).

c *Von Apostemen, Geschweren, Offnen Schäden* notes: "Nimb succi **Hypericonis**, Persicariae [...] *pro matrice*" (H C:455c).

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same can be said of *piper* [pepper], *calamus* [reed], cinnamon, and all other things that are pungent: in all, the salt must be taken into account, not the other two [principles]. For this is how the *herbarium* is in its properties. But whatever is sweet is from *mercurius*. Nothing but the latter is to be separated and extracted; for *mercurius* lends its sweet quality to the *sulphur* and salt, overpowering them. Whatever is bitter issues from the salt and the *mercurius* wherever the *mercurius* has divested itself of the sweet and the salt of its pungency; so that what is left gives rise to a *conjunctio* which is bitter. Hence *mercurius* and salt are given off. What is sour is a *liquor* from all three, bearing no *essentia* within it, having dissipated in its three principles, as in vinegar from which the *spiritus vini* has departed. For it is clear that the four abide in the primal three: the sweet and the bitter, the pungent and the sour, each paired with another. When the one occurs, the other is there too. Hence, the departure of the one is the birth of the other, as is demonstrated in *De Natura Rerum*, in the chapters of which more is explained about this,

Deest Caput Tertium integrum, & principium Quarti.
[Chapter three is entirely missing, as well as the beginning of the fourth.]

[…] that the seven planets impose seven injuries on the element of *terra;* in the same there are seven herbs that correct them. Moreover, it must be noted that the seven planets themselves may correct the seven injuries on earth if we know how to employ them. Thus, the sun can expurge *melancholia* [black bile], *Mercurius cholera* [yellow bile], *Saturnus* the *febres* [fevers], etc. In the same regard, it is to be noted that every star possesses its corresponding herb on the earth, capable of having the same natural effect in order to correct injuries. Such a nature is distributed in the *Iliaster* so that the malice of every element can be assuaged with another, without their being co-dependent or emerging with one another. By the same token, there are the twelve stars and twelve herbs, as well as other herbs and other | stars. The physician who would be a 123
proper one is born of this art. For *hypericon* [St. John's wort] is the sun, the true earthly sun. *Persic*[*aria*] [knotweed] is Mercury, the true earthly Mercury. But what should we call those false physicians who reject us and only feed at the breast of their art? Those who do not understand us and for that reason disdain

d *Persicaria*, knotweed, is of use in treating wounds: "Es sind auch andere Reinigung / die Wunden heylen / mit seltzamer Natur: Als **Persicaria**, da dasselb genommen wird / vnd durch ein frisch Wasser gezogen / vnnd die Wunden damit gebunden / heylet alle Fleischwunden durch Krafft deß Saltz / so in der Persicaria natürlich ist" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:28a).

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aber ein jedlicher / der ein *Philosophus* sein will / dise Concordantz wol. Dann darauß fleüst der *Physicus* vnd *Chirurgus*, vnnd ein jeglicher *Naturalis*, der da will den Leib verstahn in seinen nöhten.[a] Dann die Stern lehrnen die Kranckheit erkennen / die Kreutter lehrnen sie heylen : das seind zwen weg / da auff eim jeglichen der Artzt sein Auge soll gestellt haben : vnd so er die Stern kennt / demnach Speculier *principium Morborum :* vnd so er die Kreutter erkennt / darnach considerir / wz er brauchen will. Aber vergessen der obern Influentz vnnd nicht wissen die vnter Operation / ist mehr als blind gehandlet. Solches zeigen wir euch an / damit die Kreutter in jhrer Generation mehr vnd besser mögen verstanden werden. Aber *de Natura Rerum* wirt dz vbrig gantz erzehlt werden.

TRACTATVS QVINTVS

1. De Fungis.[b]

Der Ursprung der Schwamm ist allein Ein ding / das ist / das ein Wurtzen ist ohn Krautt vnd Sahmen / in den weg zu verstahn. Es solt ein Krautt sein / der Kreuttische *Aniadus* ist aber in jhm nit : darumb so gibts kein rechte Wurtzen / kein rechten Stamm / keins Krautts nit. Vnd ist ein Mißgewechs der Natur / das da wachst von *Sulphure* der da kein *spiritus* mehr in jhm hatt / vnd von *Sale* vnd *Mercurio* dergleichen : vnd ist ein resoluirt ding der 3. dingen / dz da Conglutinirt wirdt / vnd nit recht Coagulirt vnd Præparirt / allein ein Conglutinirter *Sulphur :* darumb wenig vnd gar kein krafft in jhnen ist : sie machen auch wenig Fleisch / wann sie haben der rechten gantzen Erdischen krafft nit / darumb sie zu keinerley sachen gantz seind. Vnd wachsen in Wälden an den Schatten / auß vrsachen / daß sie der Sonnen zu schwach sind / dann sie mögen von der Sonnen nit fürkommen / sie verzehrt jhr Conglutination / dann sie ist

Desiderantur cætera huius Tractatus.

a See the similar argumentation in P.'s *Paragranum* (ETW 107 ff.).

b One should bear in mind that fungus is botanical here and elsewhere pathological, as in *Die grosse Wundartzney:* "das geyl fleisch in den Waned gewachsen ist / vnd herauß gewachsen wie ein **Schwamm** in seinem Baum" (H C:8b; cf. above 8:98).

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us? Let everyone who would be a *philosophus* closely study this concordance. For from it issues the *physicus* and *chirurgus*, as well as every *naturalis* who would understand the body and its sufferings. For the stars teach us to understand the diseases.[1] The herbs teach us how to heal them. Those are two paths upon which the physician should gaze steadily; and if the physician knows the stars, let him speculate concerning the *principium morborum* [the principle of the diseases]; and if he knows the herbs, let him consider which of them he would use. Yet it is worse than blindness to forget about the superior influence and not know the inferior operations. We warn you against this so the herbs might be understood more and better in their generation. However *De Natura Rerum* will divulge the rest.[2]

TRACTATVS QVINTUS.
[Fifth Treatise]

I. *De Fungis.*
[1. On Mushrooms]

The source of fungi lies in one thing only: there is a root without vegetation or seeds, which must be understood in two ways. It should be an herb, yet the herbal *aniadus* does not reside in it. For this reason, it does not yield a proper root, a proper stalk, or a proper foliage. It is a malformation of nature which grows from a *sulphur* that no longer contains a spirit, and from the same sort of *sal* and *mercurius*. It is a resolved product of the three things, which is then conglutinated, but not properly coagulated and processed; hence, merely a conglutinated *sulphur*. For this reason, it bears little or no power within it. Nor do they yield much flesh, since they lack the entire earthly power and are not anything entirely whole. In forests, they grow in the shadows, being too weak to bear the sun. They do not occur in the presence of the sun which consumes their coagulation; for it is [...]

Desiderantur caetera a huius Tractatus.
[The rest of this tract is missing.]

1 Here P. engages in a polemic on medical education characteristic for the years immediately following his failed academic tenure in Basel.

2 It is tempting to see in these words an allusion to *Von den natürlichen Dingen*, where the doctrine of signatures first appears. See Leprêtre 2021, 349–354. It is, however, mere speculation on our part.

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124 *PHILOSOPHIÆ THEOPHRASTI H. H. H. LIBER*
QVARTVS : De Elemento Aquae, vnà cum Fructibus suis.

TRACTATVS PRIMVS : De Forma Elementi Aquae.

I.

Anfenglich vom Element Wasser zu wissen ist / wie es in seim Vrsprung / vnnd in was Cataracten getheilt wirdt / vnd was seine Frücht sind / vnnd das Element an jhm selbs / vnnd das also. Das Element Wasser ist ein Sahm auß dem *Yle*,[a] der da von jhm gibt die Stämm / vnd Frücht daran / oder darinn : dz ist / das Wasser / vnd darinn sein Frucht / das ist / Stein vnd Metallen / mit souil geschlechten / als viel jhr dann seind. Aber vom Sahmen deß Elements Wasser zu Philosophiern / ist also / das *in Fabrica*[b] ligt diser Sahm / gleich als der Sahm in der Erden : vnd auß der *Fabrica* geht der Stamm / vnd seine Aest / vnd sein Frucht / also. Da wechst auß diesem Sahmen ein Stamm / geht durch das Erdtrich herauß an Tag / vnnd ligt vnd ist im Erdtrich. Dann zu gleicher weiß / wie das Element *Terræ* sein Frucht im Corpus *Chaos* halt : Also dermassen ist die Erd das *Corpus*, das da auffenthalt / die Gewechs / Beum / vnd Frücht deß Baums [deß] Element Wasser. Dann do ist kein Element / es muß haben ein *Corpus*, darinn es getragen wird. Der *Chaos* tregt die *Impressiones*,[c] dz Element Fewr tregt dem Erdtrich sein Frücht / das Erdtrich dem Wasser / das Wasser dem Lufft / also / das jedes Elements Frücht in dem andern Element getra-

a This term is the common root of several neologisms of P.: *ylech / ilech*; *yleidus / yleiadus / ileiadus*; *yliaster / iliaster*. It is rarely used under the form (*h*)*yle* that directly refers to the Greek etymon *hylè*, however, except in a German fragment of *De vita longa* related to antimony (H 6:209), in an excerpt of *Von der Bergsucht* on the element of water (H 5:47), and in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (here and H 8:128, 129, 144).

b The *fabrica* assumes the ceaselessly toiling Fabricator: "Dann es ist ein **Fabricator** in den Elementen / den wir nit sehen / derselbige feyret nit" (*Opus Paramirum*—H 1:132).

c ***Impressiones*** pertains to a long and widely credited notion that like the harsh impacts of sun and precipitation, the stars emit equally forceful invisible vectors of impact that infect wounds, cause pestilence, and interact with vicious cupidity to inflict venereal disease (H C:176c): "Es ist auch deß Himmels Lauff mannigfaltig / vnd seine Operation starck / tringet hefftig wider vns durch jhre **Impression**. Dann ist dem Himmel müglich / das er die Pestilentz imprimiert / so ist auch solcher Vnfall wol müglich / die Wunden Vnfall wol müglich / die Wunden zuvergifften / vnd das gar in vielerley weg" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:5a–b).

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PHILOSOPHIAE THEOPHRASTI H. H. H.
LIBER QVARTVS:
De Elemento Aquae, unà cum Fructibus suis.

TRACTATVS PRIMVS:
De Forma Elementi Aquae.

[Book four of the Philosophy of Theophrast von Hohenheim:
On the Element of Water together with its Fruits.

First tract: On the form of the element of water]

I.

What must first of all be known concerning the element of water are its origin; in which cataracts it is distributed; what its fruits are; and what this element is in and of itself. All this is as follows. The element of water is a seed from the *yle*[1] which from it yields the stems, and the fruits from or in it, that is, the water, and in it its fruit, namely stones and metals of as many kinds as there can be.[2] However, in our speculation concerning the seed of the element of water, let it be understood that the seed lies *in fabrica* [in the workshop], just as any seed lies in the earth. From the *fabrica* rise the stem, its branches, and fruit.[3] From the seed grows the stem that pushes up through the earth into the light of day, while yet lying and abiding in the earth. For just as the element of *terra* contains its fruit in the corpus of the *chaos*,[4] so is the earth the *corpus* that sustains all the vegetation, trees, and the fruits [of the] element of water. For there exists no element without a *corpus* to carry it. The *chaos* bears the *impressiones;* the element of fire carries for the earth its fruits and the earth in turn for the water; and the water for the air, so that the fruits of each element are carried in the

1 *Hylè* is, in Greek, the prime matter. Here it obviously refers to the *yliaster*. See vis-à-vis.

2 The idea that metals originate in water can be found in Aristotle (*Metaphysics*: v, 4, 1015a7–10; see also above, Introduction, 30 and note 65). See Halleux 1974, 105; and with more details, Sparling 2018, 268–269.

3 This statement is yet one more testament to the overarching arboreal language of P.—The *fabrica*, or workshop, is not the *yliaster*, for the elements are merely separated, or extracted, from the *yliaster*, as explained in book one: only then they become actual elements. Therefore the *fabrica* is nothing else than the element of water in the making.

4 That is, in the air.

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gen werden.[a] Wie nuhn also auß dem Sahmen deß Elements herauß geht sein Baum / ist der / das auß jhm geht ein fliessender Bach / durch die gantz Erden
125 außgetheilt : | Vnd ist alles allein Ein Baum / Ein Vrsprung / Ein Wurtzen / Eim Stammen. Vnnd alle die Bäch / so do seindt in der gantzen Globul / seind Est dieses Stammens von diesem Baum : Vnnd alle Feüchte der gantzen Globul ist das Abrissach / das da fallet von den Esten dieses Baums / vnd durchgeht alle *Poros*[b] der Globul durch sein Abdistillieren : das nicht anders ist / dann gleich als die Rißlach von den Dannen / die herab fallen auff die Erden : Also fallen die Reisser von dem Wasser in die Höli der Erden.

Also in dermassen / wie angezeigt ist / nimbt sich der Vrsprung deß Elements *Aquae :* Dorumb alles das Wasser / vnd sein Früchт allein vom Element kommen / aber sie seindt das Element nicht. Das Element ist nie ersehen worden / vnnd ist *Elementum Aquae*.[c] Dann do geht nichts anders herauß dann Wasser : Vnd heißt *Aquae Elementum*, von wegen deß Wassers / vnnd seiner Frucht / vnnd nicht von wegen der Complexion vnd Qualitet / wie von andern Elementen zuverstehn ist.

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a Parallel statements are found elsewhere as well: "Also geht auch vom Wasser sein Gewechs / Metallen / Salia, Gemmae, Lapides, Talck / Marcasiten / Sulphura, &c. alles von der Mutter deß Elements / in ein ander Mutter / das ist / in die Erden / vnd do vollendets sein Operation : vnd hatt aber sein Wurtzen im Wasser / wie Beum vnd Kreutter jhr Wurtzen in der Erden / vnnd aber auff der Erden do werden sie perfect / vnnd gehnd in sein vltimam Materiam, das dann alles im Lufft beschicht : Also beschichts in der Erden / was vom Wasser wechst" (*De Mineralibus*, H 8:339). See likewise the *Bertheonea*: "Dz **Elementum aquae** hette sein Corpus im Wasser / vnd produciert seine Mineralia von jm hinauß in ein ander Element / dz ist / in terram. Dergleichen Elementum Terrae produciert sein Mineralia auch in ander Element / das ist / Elementum aëris. Also produciert Elementum corporale sein Mineralia auch in das ander Element" (H C:359c). The same text is published as *Das Buch von allen offnen schäden* (H C:382a).

b Tellingly, the term is both meteorological and physiological, as in *Von Oeffnung der Hautt vnnd Jhrer Natürlichen verletzung:* "Ein theil laufft in die **Poros** herauß / das ist gleich so viel / als wen der Himmel regnet / so Geust er sein Regen durch sein **Poros** herauß" (H C:405a). What follows is a reference to distillation and to the properties of trees.

c See the same idea systematized below in *De Meteoris* (H 8:188).

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next element.[1] Just as its tree sprouts from the seed of the element [of water], what goes out of it is a flowing stream distributed throughout the entire earth; | 125
and yet it is all but a single tree, a single origin, one root, from only one stem. All brooks upon the entire globe are branches from the stem of that same tree. Moreover, all the moisture of the entire globe are offshoots that fall from the branches of this tree and pervade all the *pori* of the globe by their distillation. They are nothing but splintering[2] of the fir trees that fall onto the earth. So, too, do the twigs of water fall into the hollows of the earth.

In the way demonstrated, arises the origin of the element *aqua*. For that reason, all water and its fruits have no other origin but the element; and yet they are not the same as the element. The element in itself cannot be seen.[3] It is *elementum aquae*. Nothing issues from it but water. It is called *elementum aquae* on account of the water and its fruit, not on account of any complexion or quality, as one must understand of the other elements as well.

1 This enumeration is not consistent, although P.'s explanation is clear enough, and is confirmed by several parallels in his other works: see vis-à-vis.

2 Unusually, Grimm does not list "Rißlach" but defines "Lache" either as a pool, indentation, or marking cut into a fir tree. Palthen's Latin translation has: "*fragmina de abietibus*", which we transpose in English.

3 The assertion that the element has never been seen assumes either that the true element is concealed within its chemical fecundity—a variant of that can be found in the fifth book of *Von den natürlichen Wassern*, below, H 8:415—, or, as in *De Meteoris*, that there is an invisible part which is the true element (H 8:187–188). This idea is the standard differentiation between *elementum*, the "true" element, and *elementatum*, the element as our senses perceive it: a theory originally found in the twelfth century in works of William of Conches. See Caiazzo 2011. As this distinction spread in medieval philosophy, it found its way into the alchemical pseudo-Lullian *Testamentum*, a work that P. knew well (Newman-Principe 2005, 78–79; Daniel 2008–2009; Kahn 2018, 185). See Pereira-Spaggiari 1999, 12–16: God created first the quintessence, which included the entirety of nature (*in qua tota natura comprehenditur*). He divided it into three parts. From its purest part he created the angels. From the second, less pure part, he created the heavens, the planets and stars. From the third part he created the sublunary world in this way: he divided this third part into five parts, the purest of which was the quintessence of the elements; the other four, less and less pure, were fire, air, water and earth. These four elements, also named "primordial elements," remained pure until the Fall. Then they were submitted to generation and corruption. Thus, "the earth that we walk is not the true element, but is rather elementated from the true fifth element. […] The pristine earth, the true element, that shall not be burnt by fire on the dreadful day, abides at the centre of the earth, and so it is of the other elements" (*Intellige adhuc quod ista terra, quam nos calcamus, non est verum elementum, immo est elementata ex vero quinto elemento*. […] *Sed in centro terre est terra virgo et verum elementum, quod ignis comburere non potest in die pavenda, et sic de aliis elementis*).

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II.

Nuhn aber von seinem Lauff vnd Gang / deßgleichen von seinen Stätten vnd Orthern zu wissen ist / also / das der Baum für sich selbs einen Außgang / vnd ein Endt hatt / entspringt vnnd stirbt / wirdt vnd zergeht : Also das ein jedlich herfliessends Wasser New ist / vnnd nicht Alt / vnnd vormahls nie ersehen / vnd beschicht in den Weg. Wie im Mittel der Globul das Element Wasser ligt / so gehend herauß auff alle *Planities*[a] zu rings weiß vmb die Est / von der Wurtzen dem Tag zu. Vnnd werden also viel Est von dieser Wurtzen erwachsen : Der Ast *Rhenus*, der Ast *Danubius*, der Ast *Nilus, &c*. Vnd andere kleine Est / die alle Est seind von der Wurtzen / die auß dem Sahmen wächst / darinn das Element Wasser außgeht : Vnd seindt alle Stammen von Eim Baum / vnd wechst von der Wurtzen herauß / der *Triual* Lingen nach / in dem Circkel deß eussern Firmaments der zwey Elementen / Fewr / vnd Lufft : Das also durch die *Triual* Lingen der Baum getheilt wird durch die gantz Globul auß / an den Tag. Also wechst
126 der Stamm vnd seine Est vom *Centro* der Globul also lang / biß | er kommt zu den eussern zweyen Elementen / do ist der *Terminus* seiner Lingy auß : Dann weither in sein *Corpus* nicht / auch sein *Yliadum* nicht. Dann wo das *Yliadum* an dem orth nicht gesetzt würd / so sprüng ein jedlicher Baum dem Himmel zu / weiter ob der Erden / dann er in der Erden geht. Als dann auch von Früchten deß Elements *Terræ* ist / welche nicht weiter wachsen / dann allein so weit jhr *Yliadum* geht / dz ist / der vnder *Chaos*[b] der Erden / der nit weiter auff der Erden ligt / dann als hoch die Gewechs seindt. Darumb seindt der *Chaos* zwey : Das ob diesem ligt / ist der *Chaos*, darinn *Ignis* endthalten wirdt : Vnd so *Yliadum* nicht wer / so würd das Element *Terræ* sein Frücht in den Mittel Himmel geben : Also auch dz Element *Aquae*. Wie nun also der Lauff ist / vnd der Gang / der Stamm deß Baums / vnnd geht in sein *Yliadum* auff die Ebene der Erden / do erwindt sejn Höhi / vnd ist sein End. Aber von dem zu reden / wo es hin kommt am letsten / so es *in Yliado* ligt : Ist die Philosophey also / dz alle Est beschliessen jhr *Yliadum* im Meer / do kommens alle zusammen. Dann wie es Ein Wurtz ist / also kommt es in Ein Spitz vnd Dolden / der ist das Meer. Das

a Cosmography and pathology share the same technical concepts: "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 do ist die Anatomia der Erden vnd des Wassers / das ist der vntern globul vnd Sphaer **planities**" (*De Causa et Origine Morborum*—H 1:186).

b This cosmological term of high frequency in P. also has a physiological-pathological counterpart: "Also sollen wir wissen von den innwendigen Offnen schäden / daß sie von dem **Chaos** deß inwendigen Leibs entspringen / vnd geboren werden / auß der Zerstörung desselbigen Luffts" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:99b).

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II.

But as for the course and progression of this element, its sites and situations, it should be understood that this is comparable to the tree which has its particular issuance and termination, its beginning and end. It sprouts and dies, grows and passes away: hence every water flowing forth is new, not old, and has never been encountered before. This is as follows: as the element of water is located in the middle of the globe, the waters flow out onto all the *planities* [plains] in a circular manner around the branches, from the root toward daylight. Thus many branches grow from these roots. There is the *Rhenus* branch, the *Danubius* branch, the *Nilus* branch, etc. There are other smaller branches as well, which are all ramifications of the same root, which grows from the seed from which the element of water proceeds. They are all the stems of a single tree, growing out of the same root, following the *trival*[1] line in the circumference of the outer firmament of the two elements fire and air. The tree is distributed, thus, by the *trival* line throughout the entire globe toward day. Hence, the stem with its branches grows from the center of the globe until | it reaches the 126
outer two elements, which is the *terminus* of its line. For it extends no further in its *corpus*, nor does its *yliadum*. For if the *yliadum* were not posited in its proper place, every tree would leap toward the heavens,[2] going farther above the earth than it goes into it. Moreover, it is the same with the fruits of the element *terra:* they grow no further than their *yliadum* extends, which is to say, the lower *chaos* of the earth which does not extend any further on earth than their growth. Thus, there are two sorts of *chaos*. The one above the latter contains the *ignis* [the element of fire]; and if not for the *yliadum*, the element *terra* would dispatch its fruits into the intermediate heavens, as would the element *aqua*. The course or trajectory or trunk of the tree being as it is, with its *yliadum* extending onto the plane of the earth, it attains its proper height and there is an end to it. But to come back to what this amounts to in the *yliadum:* speculation has it that all branches attain their *yliadum* in the sea where all converge. For just as there is one root, it all attains one crest and crown which is the sea. The

1 The neologism "*trival* line" already used before (see above, H 8:63 and the note) here designates a physical border: "the circumference of the outer firmament of the two elements fire and air," as stated here. Notice that the context in which this term first occurs militates against translating "lingen" as wood.

2 In changing from *Yliaster* to *yliadum*, P. signals an assumption that to be created or transformed is to be translated to a location. For fire, water, air, and earth occupied their own. Thus *yliadum* can be defined as the predestined state of perfection of any created thing, much as the Aristotelian entelechy. Or, as William R. Newman puts it, "it is also the maturation point of a given elemental 'fruit'" (Newman 1994, 107).

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Meer für sich selbst ist kein Stamm / noch Baum / allein der Dolden der Stammen / vnd wachst nicht auß der Wurtzen für sich selbs / sondern was es nimbt durch die Est. Das es aber versaltzen ist / vrsacht die statt / also / das die Saltzwasser auch darein lauffen / als *de Salibus* hernach folgt. Vnnd sein Auffstand / vnnd Abgang nimbt sich auß dem / das alle Früchta mit der Nacht schwelgen vnnd hingehndt / vnnd mit dem Tag wieder auffsteigen der Höhi zu / das ist *Clisso*. Also ist *Clissus*b gleich dermassen im Wasser / wie in andern Früchten / auff vnd absteigen / hingehn / vnnd wieder auffgehen.

III.

Wie nuhn also dasselbig zu wissen ist / so soll sein Todt auch verstanden werden / das ist / sein *Consumptio*, dann nichts ist ohn Consumption. Dieselbig soll in diesen weg verstanden werden / das ein jedlich ding / wann es kommt in sein *Yliadum*, so ist es der Putrefaction vnd erworffen / vnnd faulet : Vnd ein jedliche Feule ist ein verzehrung vnd ein verschwindung deß dings / inn dem es ist /
127 also / das es | gleich verzehrt wirdt / als wer nichts do gewesen. Das ist mit der Natur gehandlet : Dann wie es die Natur Produciert / also nimmt sie die wider hinweg : Vnd wie sie auß Nichts geht / also in das Nichts wiederumb kommt. Darinn ein solchs zuverstehn ist / daß das Element Wasser auch dergleichen ist der Corruption vnderworffen / also : So es kommt in Doldenc / das ist / in das Meer / da faulet es / vnnd verzehrt sich inn jhm selbs / ohn all ander Zuhülff : Sondern auß seiner eignen Arth vnd Natur faulet es / vnd verzehrt sich. Wie das Fewr sich selbs gar hinnimbt vnd außleschet : Also das Wasser auch dermassen sich selbs hinnimbt vnnd verzehrt. In diesem weg ist der Baum deß Elements *Aquae* vnd seine Est außgetheilt. Was aber in jhm ligt / vnd ist / von den Früchten / hernach folgt / auch jhr aller Natur / deß Gewechs / seiner Geberung : Vnd ist sein Arth / das es seiner Frücht in jhm tregt etlich / etlich außwirfft / etlich gar hinwirfft. Dergleichen auch / wie vielerley Weg / Flüß / vnd Gäng / Arth / vnd Wesen auß jhm entspringen / von solchen besonderlich zu wissen ist. Domit aber dieselbigen alle / was auß dem Element *Aquae* entspringt / in seinem Todt verstanden werden : Ist zu wissen / das die Est / aber nicht die Frücht in Dolden kommen. Darumb sonderlich vom Todt der Früchten zu wis-

a Huser offered the alternate reading "Feucht" in the margin.

b The term is unique to this use. From this only occurrence it made its way into Toxites's *Onomastica II* (1574), defined as "a hidden power going and coming back, as the power of the root first goes into the stem, then to the root" ("Vis occulta hinc inde vagans rediensque, ut virtus radicis primum in caulem deinde in radicem"). Toxites had already published this whole fourth book in 1570 (see above p. 14), hence his knowledge of this passage.

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sea is in and of itself not a trunk or tree but rather the crown of the trunk; in itself it does not grow from the root, for what it takes is from the branches. Its saline nature comes from the location: the salt waters also flow into it, as will be explained below in the section *de salibus*.[1] Its rising and falling result from the state of things according to which all fruits expand and fall away at night and by day rise again toward the height, which amounts to *clissus*.[2] *Clissus* is the same in water as in the other fruits: there is a rising and falling, a departure and return.

III.

This being the case, its mortality should be understood as *consumptio*. For nothing exists without consumption. The latter should be understood as follows: whenever each and every entity attains its *yliadum*, it is subject to putrefaction and decays. Every such decay is a consumption and disappearance of the entity as it exists, so that it is | consumed as if it had never existed. This is how it is 127
with nature: as nature produces the entity, nature also decimates it in turn. As it emerges from nothing, it returns thence. From this it should be deduced that the element of water is no less subject to corruption: entering into the crest, in other words, the sea, it there decays and is consumed of itself without external agency. Of its own nature it decays and consumes itself. Just as fire puts itself out and extinguishes itself, so does water. This is how the tree of the element of water is distributed with its branches. What lies within it with respect to its fruits will be treated subsequently, along with the complete growth and generation of the same. It pertains to its nature that it bears some of its fruits within itself while emitting others. By the same token, more will be said about its manifold paths, rivers, courses, and entities arising from it in detail. But to conclude as to everything arising from the element *aqua* and its termination: only the branches, not the fruits, attain the crest. Hence, we know this regarding the termination of the fruits in this respect: they all abide until the time of the

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His definition made its way through several other lexicographic works of Paracelsians up to Du Cange's *Glossarium* and even Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* (1728), s.v. "clyssus."

c The botanical analogy which is cosmological here elsewhere serves to describe the pathology of a wounded root which withers the stem, branches, and leaves: "eim Baum / der wundt bey der Wurtzlen gehawen wirdt / seine Est verleurt : Also dergleichen wie die Anatomey der Est / des **Dolden** / der Bletter / etc. nit ligt am selben ort / sonder ligt an den Wurtzlen" (*Von Vrsprung, Herkommen vnd Anfang der Frantzosen Acht Bücher*—H C:226a).

1 This reference alludes to the second tract: "On the various kinds of salt" (H 8:129), and more specifically to its chap. five: "On the salt waters" (H 8:133).

2 See vis-à-vis.

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sen / in der Gestalt / das sie all bleiben biß in das *Drachum*, in derselben Stund werden sie verzehrt / wie vom *Dracho*[a] am letsten verstanden wird / vnd angezeigt.

IIII.

Anfenglich weither zu gehn zu dem Vrsprung der Fruchten / ist also zu wissen / das alle Frücht deß Elements *Aquae* die seindt : *Salia*,[b] *Mineralia*,[c] *Gemmæ*,[d] vnd *Lapides*.[e] Darumb vier Geschlecht seindt der Gewächs auß dem Sahmen *Elementi Aquae*, das ist also. Das Süß Wasser ist der Stamm / darnach ist sein Arth der Frücht viererley in der Mutter : Ein Mutter ist der *Salium*, Eine der *Mineralium*, Eine der Gemmen / Eine der *Lapidum :* Vnnd ein jedlichs demnach in viel weg getheilt seines Wesens. Als *de Salib*. sind drey Frücht / *Sal, Vitriol*,[f] *Alumen*[g] : vnd jedlichs hatt vnder jhm viel *Genera*, als *Salis* sind viel /
128 *Vitrioli* viel / *Alumina* viel. | Also auch *de Mineralibus :* Etlich seindt *Metalla*, etlich *Marcasitæ*,[h] etlich *Cachimia*, vnd jedlichs in sonderheit mehr *Genera*. Als der Metallen seind Sieben / der Marcasiten sindt Neun / der Cachimien Zwölff. Vnd wiederumb der Metallen jedlichs für sich selbs seindt mancherley : Als das Goldt / Fix vnd Vnfix / das Silber Fix / vnd Vnfix / als *Venus* ist Kupffer / vnnd Zincken[i] : vnd also von andern / wie in seinen Capiteln verzeichnet wirdt. Der Marcasiten vnd Cachimien dergleichen vielerley in jhnen selbst. Nuhn aber weither zü wissen von jhrem Vrsprung vnd Gang / Herbst vnd dergleichen / Ernd vnd Schnitt / ist das zu wissen / das alle die Frücht / so auß

a Draco is a celestial constellation but also an earthly combustible material, evidently a self-igniting peat coal: "**Draco** ist ein Kohl / die von jhr selber verbrennt / als man findt an den ässen bey den Blaßbelgen / vnnd die in Ertzgruben also seindt : Dieselbigen Kohlen haben rotte Streimlein / das nennt man sanguinem Draconis" (*Libri Paragraphorum*—H 3:360). The physician must also know "den Caudam **Draconis** im Menschen" (*Das Buch Paragranum*—H 2:46).

b *Salia* obey the rule of like governing like: "Dann ein Exempel von der Operation merckend also: Ob nicht die **Salia** des offenen Physici corporis gleiche wirckung beweisen / wie die Salia in Microcosmo, so sie in der Operation der Offnen Schäden arbeiten / darumb wirdt gleiche wirckung in Ein Wesen geurthedt die vnsichtbare wirckende ding durch die sichtbaren" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:83c).

c The same relation holds for **mineralia** (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:136b).

d The parallelism of realms leads P. to assert an alchemy of nature and an alchemy of art, the former inherent, the latter learned: "das ist augenscheinlich der Philosophy bekant / das nach Ordnung der Alchimistischen Bereitung / alle Metallen / **Mineralia**, **Gemmae**, Herbae, Arbores, etc. procreiret werden / vnd fabricieret" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:141a–b).

e The microcosm-macrocosm parallel imposes itself here: "auß dem Element Aquae die Gemmae procreiert werden / das ist ein Glid seins Elements / die Metallen / vnnd ist ein ander glid / die Mineren / Vnd ist ein ander glid / die **Lapides** / auch ein anders / etc. Wie nun diesel-

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Dracho.[1] In that time, they will be consumed, as we will see in the discussion of the *Dracho* in the end.

IV.

Now to proceed on to the matter of the origin of the fruits, all the following are among those of the element *aqua: salia, mineralia, gemmae*, and *lapides* [stones]. Thus, there are four species growing from the seed of the aqueous element, and to be sure in the following way: The sweet water is the stem. Accordingly, there are four kinds that result from the mother: one mother is for the *salia*, one for the *mineralia*, one for the gems, and one for the *lapides*. Moreover, each is then subdivided in many ways in its being. Thus, of the *salia* there are three fruits: *sal, vitriol, alumen*. Each of these is in turn divided into many *genera:* many of *sal*, many of *vitriol*, many of the *alumina*. | Likewise with 128
the *mineralia:* some are *metalla*, some *marcasitae*, some *cachymia*, and each of these is subdivided into further *genera*. Thus, the metals are sevenfold; the marcasites ninefold, the cachymia twelve. Furthermore, each of the metals comes in many forms. Thus, gold can be fixed or unfixed, silver fixed or unfixed. As for *venus*, there is copper and zinc; and so on with regard to the others that will be discussed in their place. Likewise, the marcasites and cachymia include many kinds. As for their origin and progression, the autumn and so forth, harvest and reaping, it should be borne in mind that all the fruits of the element of water are

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bigen glider in jhren Regionibus von den andern scheiden / also auch im Menschen. Darumb sihe / die gantze Welt ist ein Corpus seins Elements" (*Von den Blatern* [...] *vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen*—H C:262a–b).

f The use of vitriol, favored by P. for syphilis, creates a basis for understanding the course of the disease and its cure: "in kein andern weg der Proceß dieser Tinctur zuverstehen ist / als werend die Frantzosen das resolviert **Vitriol** / der Sal Armoniacus, vnnd dergleichen / die transmutieren von einem corpus in ein anders. [...] Die Chirurgialischen Kranckheiten seind das Corpus das transmutiert wirdt in die Frantzosen / zu gleicher weiß wie das Eisen das corpus ist / das in Kupffer verkehrt wirdt : Vnd wie das Eisen der Eigenschafft ist / sich vom Vitriol zu regieren lassen / also seind auch die Chirurgialischen Kranckheiten solcher Eigenschafft" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:135a).

g The same equation holds: "Also wirdt auß dem Sal Gemmae der **Alumen** scissum, welcher Entali genent wirdt / so er gestorben ist" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:86c).

h The relations of substances to parts of the body are intricate: "Merck die geschlecht deß Fleischs nach den Metallen / nach den **Kakimien** / nach den **Marcasiten** / vnd Vitriolaten / daß ein jetlichs jme selbs sein eigne statt verletzt" (*Von Apostemen, Geschweren, Offnen Schäden vnd anderen Gewächsen am Leib*—H C:433a). On Marcasite, see below, H 8:136.

i See below, note on **Zinck**, H 8:142.

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1 See vis-à-vis.

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dem Element Wasser gehendt / getheilt werden in seine Est vnd Beum. Als das Saltz hatt seinen sondern Außgang mit sampt in den Süssen Wassern / biß zu End seines *Yliadi :* Also auch die andern. Aber nun von der Theilung zu wissen / vnd von der Scheidung jhr allen / ist das / das solche Frücht alle in Einer Wurtzen seindt / darauß wechst ein jedliche Arth auff sein sonderlich Wesen. Also von einem Sahmen wechst ein Baum / das Holtz sonder / die Rinden sonder / die Frücht sonder / Bletter sonder / vnnd ist alles Ein Baum. Also do auch / do wachsen auß Einer Wurtzen viel hunderterley Frücht / ein jedliche Frucht geht in sein *Yliadum*, vnd *Triual* Lingen / wie es dann der *Fabricator* geordnet hatt. Vnd so also die Außtheilung auß dem *Yle* geht in sein Stammen / vnd gebiert sich zu einer Frucht seiner Arth : Als dann werden mancherley erfunden / so auß dem Element *Aquae* kommen : In einem Stammen Saltz / im andern Mineral / im dritten ein anders. Darumb also gleich in dermassen / wie auff Erden ein jedlicher Sahmen sein Frucht gibt : Also ist do der Sahm *Aquae* ein Sahm viel hunderterley dingen / so auß jhm wachsen. Vnd so sie kommen in jhren *Yliadum*, vnd als dann der Zeit *Autumni* erwarten : So werden darauß die Ern vnnd der Herbst eins jedlichen Asts Frucht / wz dann in jhm ist. Solcher Herbst vnd Geberung / Wachsen / vnd Herkommen / werden von jedlichem sonderlich hernach folgen.

Finis Tractatus Primi.

129 (*Schedula.*)[a]

Tractatus 11. De Salibus.

Im *Ares*[b] ist aller *Gustus, Sapor*, vnnd *Olfactus*, die werden durch den *Archeum Elementorum* geschieden / ein jedlichs in sein Wesen vnnd sondere Arth. Dieses

a This is a sheet (*schedula*) that Huser found among P.'s papers and included here where it obviously was meant to belong initially. See vis-à-vis.

b See above, H 8:66.

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subdivided into branches and trees. Thus, salt has its own particular issuance along with the sweet water until the end of its *yliadum*. The others likewise. Yet with respect to their divisions, it should be borne in mind that all these fruits nonetheless abide in a single root from which each and every one develops its peculiar essence. So, too, from one seed there grows a tree, the wood in its way, the bark in its way, the fruits in theirs, and the leaves in theirs. Yet all of them are but one tree. Here, too, hundreds of fruits sprout from a single tree, and each fruit then proceeds into its *yliadum* and *trival* line, as ordained by the *Fabricator*. Thus, does the subdivision proceed from the *yle*[1] into the stem, giving birth to itself as a fruit of its own kind. Hence, various entities are found that derive from the element of water. In one stem, there is salt; in another mineral; in a third something else. So it is on earth that each seed yields its fruit. Thus, the seed of *aqua* is a seed which bears many hundreds of entities sprouting from it. When they attain their *yliadum*, what awaits them is their *autumnus*. What results then is the grain and harvest of the fruit of each branch, of that which it bears within itself. What follows hereafter is the harvest and generation, the growth and origin of each thing in particular.

Finis Tractatus Primi.
[End of the first tract.]

(*Schedula*)[2] 129
Tractatus II. De Salibus.
[(Leaf.)
Second tract. On salts]

In *Ares* lie all *gustus, sapor*, and *olfactus* [all taste, savour, and olfaction]. They are separated by the *archeus elementorum* [the *archeus* of the elements],[3] each

1 See above, H 8:124.

2 These lines sound like a sort of draft of the beginning of the preface below (on 309), but they happen to help understand it, which is certainly the reason why Huser decided to include them here.

3 A gloss to the second version of *De Gradibus* clearly explains what *Archeus* is (H 7:357): "The *Archeus* is the force that produces the things out of the *Iliastes* [i.e. the prime matter]; it is the producer and composer of all things" ("*Archeus vis est producens res ex Iliaste, vt Archeus sit dispensator & compositor omnium rerum.*"). In the next gloss (already quoted above: see H 8:66) the *Archeus* is differentiated from *Ares*: the latter places every single thing into its specific being, its proper species, which is a more specialized job than that of the *Archeus*.

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Scheiden durch *Archeum Elementorum*[a] geschicht in dem *Yle :* Auß der Scherpffi werden die *Salia*,[b] auß den Metallen die Mineral / auß dem Gluten die *Sulphura*, auß den Gemmen die Gestein / etc.

TRACTATVS SECVNDVS. DE GENERIBVS Salium.[c]

CAPVT PRIMVM. Vorred.

Nuhn aber von der *Materia* zu reden in diesem Sahmen *Ares*, auß dem dann wachst die Frucht deß Wassers / *Salia, Mineralia, Gemmæ*, vnd *Gluten*[d] : Ist zu wissen / dz Süsse vnnd Seuri bey einander stehet in Einer Substantz / dergleichen Rässi vnd Schärpffi / auch der *Gluten*, vnnd *materia Metallorum*, vnnd *Gemmarum*, vnnd andern dergleichen : Als in einem jedlichen ding / auß dem dann wachst das ander / dermassen verborgen in jhm hatt.[e] Aber der *Archeus*, der dann der Elementen Scheider ist / aller der dingen / so in jhnen seindt / derselbig scheidet ein jedlich ding von einander vnnd an sein orth / so viel vnnd in jhm ist. Gleich als einer / der zusammen schütt zehenerley Farben / in Ein Mixtur vermischet / wiewol es als dann nur Ein Farben ist / so ist es doch von zehen gesetzt / die allein dem *Archeo* möglich seindt zu scheiden / jedlichs in

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a P.'s notion of the *Archeus* exemplifies the role of technique and industry in knowledge, nature, and medicine: "auß was Grundt die Erkandtnuß der Kranckheit entspringe. Auff solches zu mercken / daß derselbig **Archeus** im Menschen alle die Vulcanischen Künst vollbringt / ordnet / schickt vnd fügt alle ding in krafft der gebnen Künsten von Gott" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:88c); therefore: "Sich soll niemandt hierinn verwundern / daß ich in den Microcosmum ein Schmeltzhütten setze / darzu ein Schmeltzer darinn / der **Archeus** heisset" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:89b).—The model of the *Archeus* of the microcosm is of course that which lies and acts within the elements: "Nimb dir für das Exempel vom Schnee […]. Am ersten ist kein Form da / kein substantz / kein corpus / kein Farben / kein Complex. Nuhn wirckt aber das Firmament in dem / das des Schnees samen ist / das es gehet inn ein Form / in ein corpus, inn ein Complexion / zu gleicherweiß als der Pinus auß der Erden […]. In solcher gestalt soll auch die Artzney gezogen werden / auff daß sie nicht bleibe in seim gefundnen Wesen. Dann alle ding sind dahin beschaffen / das sie haben jhren eignen **Archeum**, durch den sie bracht werden auff das höchst : Vnd nichts anderst soll gedacht werden / dann das die Artzney dermassen soll erhebt sein / vnd das sie hab jhren eignen **Archeum** wie die Elementa. Vnd als wenig die Elementa still mögen stehn / vnd nicht procreiren das jhenig / des Samens sie haben : Also wenig auch mag still stehn die **Archeische** krafft der Menschen" (*Von Vrsprung, Herkommen vnd Anfang der Frantzosen Acht Bücher*—H C:216a).

b Plural *salia* should not be confused with the singular *sal* of the *tria prima*, though at times it seems as if the former were varieties of the latter: "das Corpus aber ist nicht als der Sulphur,

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to its own essence and kind. This separation by the *archeus elementorum* occurs in the *hyle*. From the sharpness there result the *salia*, from the metals minerals, from the gluten the *sulphura*, from the gems the stones, etc.

TRACTATVS SECVNDVS.
DE GENERIBVS
Salium.
[Second Tract. On the Kinds of Salts]

CAPVT PRIMVM.
Preface.

Let us now address the *materia* in this seed of *Ares* out of which grow the fruits of the water: *salia, mineralia, gemmae*, and *gluten*.[1] It must be noted that the sweet and the sour abide together in a single substance. So do the pungent and the acrid. Likewise, the *gluten* and the *materia metallorum* and of the *gemmae*, as well as others besides. So it is that out of each entity another emerges that had been concealed in it. But the *archeus*, which is the separator of elements and of all things within them, separates every entity from every other and assigns it to its place to the degree that these have been borne within. It is as if someone had mixed together ten different hues into a single mixture so that there resulted but one single color, however encompassing ten which

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oder Sal, die vielerley Corpora haben / darumb sie vielerley **Salia** vnd Sulphura geben" (*Opus Paramirum*—H 1:79; cf. below, note on H 8:132).

c A treatise with this title is referred to in the *Archidoxis*, book seven (H 6:72), although it is nowhere to be found. Perhaps the reference was to the present chapter, which was later integrated into the *Philosophy of the Elements*. See Kahn 2024, 51 n. 31.

d Gluten, aqueous, also pertains to the complex of *tartarus* diseases: "**Gluten** per se est humor naturalis, & in eo est sal, das machts so zäch / & quanto zäher / je mehr hat es de sale. Oportet habeamus mineralem illam resinam, sicut arbores cum sua resina nascuntur, ita in homine cuique sua resina est, hoc est, **gluten** illud" (*De Morbis ex Tartaro oriundis*—H 3:243).

e P. tends to posit many or all qualities in each thing in accordance with the principle of *omnes in omnibus:* "ita natura disposita est, quod **minerae omnes in** corpore contineantur, & bonum & malum simul commixta sunt, & similiter est **in omnibus** herbis" (*De Morbis ex Tartaro oriundis Libri duo*—H 3:295).

1 For the definition of *gluten* by P., see below, H 8:154. *Gluten* (glue) is presented in the Latin translation of Aristotle's *Meteorologica* (IV, 8) made by Henry Aristippus in the twelfth century, as a viscous substance that cannot be coagulated, due to water being part of its composition (see Aristotle *Met. IV* 2010, 28: "*Incoagulabilia namque sunt quecumque aqua participant, suntque pluris aeris, uelut oleum et ydrargiros, et si quid uiscosum, quemadmodum gluten*").

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sein Wesen. Also nimbt der *Archeus* im Sahmen deß Elements *Aquae* ein jedlichs herauß / vnnd ordnets in sein *Nedeon*,[a] auff den *Yliadum* der Erden. Was Saltzarth ist / scheidet er von den andern Wesen allen / was Süß Wasser ist / dergleichen : Was Saurist / oder was den andern nicht gleich ist / oder Eins ist /
130 scheidet er von einander / als zweyerley Saltz / zweyerley | Wasser / zweyerley Metallen / Eines Nammens / vnd dergleichen. So er sie nuhn also geschieden hatt / vnnd *in Nedeon* gericht / als dann volgt hernach desselben *Nedeon* wirckung / in den *Yliadum*, mit sampt seiner Zeittigung / darinn es geordnet ist. Wie aber jhe eins vom andern / vnnd jedlichs besonder / sein Wesen hatt / vnd Gang / volgt hernach.

CAP. II.
Von Süssen Wassern.

Anfenglich nimbt der *Archeus* den Stammen / vnd theilt den auß durch die Globul auff sein *Yliadum*. Nun ist aber im Wasser / wiewol es der Stamm ist / kein wirckung nit zu der Frucht / allein das Hauß vnd die statt / darinn der Frücht Wirckung geschehen : Vnnd Wasser bleibt ein Wasser in all weg ohnvermischt / vnd ist nichts / allein auß dem *Ares* die Wässerische Arth / in der kein Krafft nicht ist / sondern ein *Phlegma*, die do geschieden ist von allen *Spiritibus* vnd Wesen / ohn Süssi / Schärpffi / Bitteri / vnd Rässi / darinn weither gar kein Krafft gesucht soll werden : Sondern gleich herauß genommen auß dem *Ares*, als ein Wasser / das von der Sonnen auffgehaben wird von seiner Substantz / also lähr vnnd öd ist es. Vnnd ist die erst Scheidung im *Ares* durch den *Archeum* in den *Yliadum*, durch sein *Nedeon :* Vnd ist die Erst Scheidung / Gewechs vnd Wirckung auß dem Element *Aquae*, vnd behalten den Nammen seines Elements / als sey es dasselbig. So es nuhn also zu Wasser ist gescheiden / darinn weither kein Wirckung ist : So wachst es als ein Baum von seinem Sahmen / der höhi zu / auff den *Yliadum*, auß der Krafft der Nedeonischen Arth. So es also nuhn den *Yliadum* begreifft / so ist es der gantz volkommen Baum / mit sampt seinen Esten / vnd wachst in sein Dolden / dz ist / in dz Meer / in welchem es die Consumirung nimbt / vnnd verschwindet auß Krafft derselben Putrefaction / also / dz der Dolden nicht grösser wird / sondern verzehrt sein vbrige Schweri vnd Viele.

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a This word appears only here. According to a revised edition of Castelli's *Lexicon medicum*, which quotes this occurrence, "What ***nedeon*** means in Paracelsus, neither Dorn, nor any of P.'s other followers has explained. It seems, however, to designate some specific, essential property or virtue of every natural thing" (Castelli 1682).

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only the *archeus* can separate, assigning each to its essence. So does the *archeus* extract from the elemental seed of *aqua* each entity, consigning it to its *nedeon* onto the *yliadum* of the earth. Whatever has the nature of salt or whatever is sweet water is separated off from all the other essences, and so on. Whatever is sour or unlike the others or singular is separated one from the other, as two kinds of salt, two kinds of | water, two kinds of metals bearing only one name, 130
and so on. And when the *archeus* has separated them and ordered them into *nedeon*, the action of the latter takes place upon the *yliadum*, together with its ordained actualization. The way each is particular and differs from the other in essence and development can be accounted for as follows.

CAP. II.
Concerning Sweet Waters.

Initially, the *archeus* takes the stem and distributes it throughout the globe onto its *yliadum*. Now, however, though the water is the stem, there is no actualization of its fruit in the water. What has come into being is but the abode and site wherein the actualization of the fruit is to take place. Moreover, the water retains its entirely unadulterated nature and is nothing else. From nothing but *Ares* emerges its aqueous nature, lacking powers, remaining nothing more than a sort of *phlegma* separated off from all the *spiritus* and essences without sweetness, acidity, bitterness, or pungency. In it no further powers should be sought. Rather, these are immediately extracted from *Ares:* a water elevated in substance by the sun, but void and empty. This is the first separation in the *Ares* by the *archeus* into the *yliadum* by way of its *nedeon*. It is the first separation, increase, and reaction proceeding from the element *aqua* which retains the name of the element, remaining seemingly the same. Thus, it has been separated into a calm, inert water. Hence, it grows like a tree from a seed toward its ordained height toward the *yliadum* from the power of the nedonic nature. As soon as it encompasses the *yliadum*, the "tree" is whole in all of its "branches," growing toward its "crest," that is, toward the sea, wherein it will be consumed, disappearing by force of its putrefaction, so that the "crown" will not grow greater, consuming instead its remaining weight and multiplicity.

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CAP. III.
Von Sauren Wassern.

Darnach volget die ander leichtist Scheidung hernach / vnd ist das Sawr Was-
131 ser / vnnd Scharpff Wasser / vnd Saltz | Wasser / also. Am ersten wirdt gescheiden im *Archeo* deß Elements das sawr / leicht Wasser / darinn kein Coagulation ist / vnnd kein Substantz der Härrti oder dergleichen. Dasselbig ist etlichs theils ein Wasser / in dem das der Arth *Aquae* ist / vnnd leer / ohn Krafft in jhm / vnnd die ander leichtist Scheidung nach dem Wasser / vnnd geht im *Nedeon* allein für sich selber hinauß *in Yliadum :* Sich begebe dann / das ein Cataract der Süssen Wasser darein fiel / vnnd mit Einem her auß giengen / zeigt an sein Schwechi in der Seuri. Diese Seuri ist die *Phlegma* vom Vitriol. Also nach den Süssen Wassern gehnt die *Salia* hernach : Vnnd anfenglich vor dem vnnd die *Salia* vom *Archeo* angriffen werden / muß am Ersten die *Phlegma* hinweg / das ist / dasselbig Sawr Wasser. Vnnd sein ist vielerley / auß vrsachen / das im *Archeo* deß Elements an etlichen orthen mehr Aluminosische Seuri ein gemischt wird / an etlichen mehr Vitriolisch / an etlichen mehr Salisch / vnnd dergleichen / nach dem vnnd in eim jedlichen ist. Vnnd ist also auch nur ein lähr Wasser / vnnd ein *Phlegma*, geschieden von der Salischen *Materia*, mit welcher die Salischen Gewechs nicht wachsen möcht. Vnnd geht an sondern orthen herauß / nicht an den Enden / da das hinkommt / von dem es geschieden ist : Auß vrsachen / das die rechten *Salia* gleich vbersich gehnd in *Triual*. Das Wasser aber fält von seim *Triual* neben auß / auß vrsachen seiner Leichte vnnd Subtili / so in jhm ist. Darauß endtspringen die kaltten Bäder / vnnd viel seltzammer Brunnen / mit seltzammer Arth. Etliche / die do nicht kochen lassen das Fleisch / Erbsen / vnnd dergleichen : Nimbt die vrsach im Alumen / der so Roh / so er in ein Wasser gelegt wirdt / mit sambt dem Vitriol / nichts läßt auff sein statt sieden / den Zucker auch nicht zergehn läßt : Etlich Wasser das Saltz nicht Soluieren / etlich beissen / etlich reinigen die *Vlcera*, etlich heylen / etlich dörren *Pruritum, Scabiem*, vnnd dergleichen. Diese Krafft alle kommt von *Salibus*,[a] *Aluminibus*, vnnd *Vitriolis*, in welchen die Krafft selber ligt / mit vollkomner Arth / welcher Arth die Wasser also etwas nachschlahendt.

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a *Salia* exercise a curative power in the correspondence of inner and outer, microcosm and macrocosm, and occult virtue with special application to "offene Schäden" such as ulcerations, as in *Die grosse Wundartzney:* "Dann also sollend wir verstehen / daß ein jetliche Figur die eusserlich ist / etwas inwendig seines gleichen Figurieret. Als die Wirckung der eusserlichen **Salia** Praefigurieren die Wirckung der inwendigen / vnd daß die Figur des Eusseren Saltz Praefigurierer ein Geist des inwendigen Saltzs" (H C:83c; see above, note on H 8:129).

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CAP. III.
Concerning Sour Waters.

After this, there follows another, mildest separation, that of the sour, the acidic, and the saline | water. This happens as follows. The first thing to happen is the 131
separation in the elemental *archeus* of the sour, mild water, in which there is no coagulation, no hard substance or the like. It is in large part a water bearing the aqueous nature, vacuous, without any power within it; it is the second mildest separation after that of the water, and this proceeds in the *nedeon* by itself out into the *yliadum*, unless it happens that a cataract of sweet water should enter into it, issuing together as one, thereby indicating its weakness in the sour aspect. This sourness would be *phlegma* of vitriol. After the sweet waters there follow the *salia*. At the outset, even before the *salia* have been seized up by the *archeus*, the *phlegma* must be driven off, which is that same sour water. It takes many forms for this reason: in the elemental *archeus*, in certain places there is more aluminous sourness mixed in, in others more vitriolic, in others still more saline, and so on, in accordance with the contents of each. Moreover, we are speaking only of an empty water and of a *phlegma* separated from the saline *materia*, with which the saline growths could not thrive. In some locations, it departs somewhere else than where it arrived and from which it was separated. This happens because the true *salia* rise up into the *trival*, while the water sinks from the same, departing laterally on account of the lightness and subtlelty within it. From this, there result the cold baths, as well as numerous strange springs with their odd character. There are some in which meat, peas, and other such things cannot be boiled. This is caused by the alumen deposited in a crude form in the water along with vitriol. It does not enable anything to be boiled in that location, nor does it allow sugar to dissolve. Some waters will not resolve salt. Some are acerbic. Some purify *ulcera*. Some cure them. Some dry out *pruritus, scabies*, and other such things. All such powers derive from the *salia, alumina*, and *vitriola*, which contain the actual power in its full nature of which the waters partake somewhat.

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132 *CAP. IIII.*
Von Warmen Bädern.

Also von den Warmen Bäderen zu wissen ist / dz sie in dermassen entspringen / wie die Vrsprüng der Sauren Wasser : Allein in dem geschieden / dz da mitlaufft der *Liquor*, der sich scheidet vom Gluten / also. So der *Archeus* angreifft den *Gluten* zu scheiden / vnd nimbt jhm sein *Phlegma* anfenglich / vnd reiniget jhn / also / das der *Gluten* allein in seiner Operation stehet / vnd Form / wie von *Salibus*. Auff das folgt hernach / so dieser *Liquor* in den *Yliadum* geht / vnd berührt dz gemein Wasser der Seuri : So ist die Vermischung ein Wirckung in jhr selbs zu dem sieden / also : Der *Liquor* vom *Glutine* ist Kleblich[a] / vnd vast vom *Pice* deß Elements genaturt / welcher *Liquor* vnd solch Wasser / nicht mögen in einander stehn ohn zerbrechung jhr beyder Natur / in welcher die Arth ist / das diese Mixtur sieden muß / als ein Wasser vnd ein Kalch : Vnd starck / als ein *Sulphur* vnd *Magnes :* Noch stercker / als ein Aquafort / vnd *Tartarum*, vnd ander viel mehr. Wo solch *Spiritus* zusammen kommen / die machen ein sieden / vnd einen Dunst / nach dem vnd jhr viel seind / vnd sieden also biß in den *Yliadum*, dann es ist Ein Hafen vom *Centro*, biß *in Yliadum*. Darumb sich viel begibt / dz viel Bäder *in Yliado* erst Warm werden / auß vrsach der vermischung der zweyen Cataracten. Vnd viel Bäder seindt / solte vnder jhnen zwey Klaffter oder drey gegraben werden / sie würden zerbrochen : Das ist / das vnder diesem Graben die Cataracten von einander fielend / oder gefunden würden / dz da zusammen lauffen zwey Kaltte Wasser / die in jhrer vermischung erst warm würden. Also haben die Alten Paganen solcher Bäder viel gefunden / die also durch sie verschlossen seindt worden / domit der Gang vom Gluten / vnd vom Sauren Wasser nit von einander fielen. Solcher mancherley Cataracten sind viel / die zu Warmen Bädern zu machen werend / im *Yliado*, durch solche vermischung / deren *Apulia* viel hatt / die da natürlich seind : Aber künstlich / in dem / daß künstlich zusammen gebracht seind. Jhr werden viel / als auch die Apulischen Bäder seindt / *in Yliado* gemacht durch jhr verschliessen / welche sonst am Lufft verschwinden / vnd jhr Wirckung nicht habendt.

133 *CAP. V.*
Von Saltzwassern.

Wie nun also die Schiedung vom *Archeo* auß dem *Ares* gehendt / vnd nichts do bleibt / dann der recht grund der Saltzischen : So nimbt der *Archeus* für

a Huser offered in the margin the alternate reading "Kalchig" ("of the nature of lime"), but "kleblich" makes much more sense.

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CAP. IV. 132
Concerning Warm Baths.

What should be noted concerning warm baths is that they emerge like the sources of sour water. The only difference is that they encompass the *liquor* that separates itself off from gluten. This happens as follows. First the *archeus* begins to separate the gluten, extracting its *phlegma* and purifying it, so that the gluten acts by itself and in its own form, separate from the *salia*. It happens then that the *liquor* enters into the *yliadum*, touching the common sour water. This mixture in itself acts to produce boiling: the *liquor* of the *gluten* is sticky, having the nature of the *pix* [pitch] of this element. This *liquor* and water cannot merge without destroying the nature of each so that the mixture is made to boil, as does water containing lime. It is potent as a *sulphur* and *magnes:* even stronger than *aqua fortis*[1] or *tartarus*, and other things besides. Wherever such spirits coincide, they produce a seething and vapor, depending on how much they contain. They boil into the *yliadum*. For this is a vessel of the *centrum* all the way into the *yliadum*. Hence, it often results that many springs in the *yliadum* only become warm as a result of the mixture of two cataracts. Moreover, there are many springs which, if they extend down for two or three fathoms, would self-destruct. This means that beneath such a vault the cataracts fall asunder. Or one might discover that two cold springs were merging there, whereby only through their mixture would they become warm. Ancient pagans discovered many springs of this kind. They shut them off so that the flow of the gluten and the sour waters did not fall asunder. There are many cataracts of this sort which could be transformed into warm springs in the *yliadum* by means of admixture. There are many such springs in *Apulia*, where they occur naturally. But they are artificial when made to converge by contrivance. There are indeed many Apulian springs wrought in the *yliadum* by damming. These springs would otherwise evaporate in the atmosphere without actualizing their potential.

CAP. V. 133
Concerning Saltwater.

Once the separation by the *archeus* out of *Ares* has occurred, nothing remains the same except the true ground of the salinous. Next the *archeus* intends

1 *Aqua fortis* is nitric acid.

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sich zu scheiden die *Salia*, vnnd besondert am ersten das Saltz vom Vitriol vnd Alumen / demnach den Vitriol vom Alumen / am letsten den *Alumen*. So er nuhn also angreifft das Saltz / vnd scheidets hindan / so ist es ein dürre arth vnd gewechs / vnnd wachst am ersten sein Vieli täglichs wachsens in *Annum Trapheonem*[a] : dasselbig wachsen geht in der Lingen *Triual* in den *Yliadum*. Als dann so es auffdringt den *Yliadum*, so wachst darauß ein Ertz / vnd wirt härtt / also. Es ist ein dürre Substantz / vnd die Feüchte der Globul feuchtet es an / das es also feucht in den *Yliadum* kompt : vnnd so es im *Yliado* ligt / so sitzt sein feuchte wider vndersich / vnd distillirt sich von jhm / vnd also härttet sich das Saltz da / vnd was es mit jhm / weil es feucht gewesen ist / begriffen hatt. Darumb vil Saltzarth voller Erden / vnd von viel Farben gefunden werden / die do kommen auß dem Element *Terræ* in solcher vermischung. Ettlichs Saltz kompt lautter vnnd klar herauß ohn uermischung : Dasselbig Saltz ist dürr herauß kommen / vnd nit feucht : vnd so bald es den *Yliadum* begreifft / so Coaguliert es sich zu Steinen / vnnd ist ein Stein / auß arth deß Saltzs. Dann ein jeglichs Saltz ist der arth der Coagulation / wie dz Wasser der Resolution. Darumb also werden die zwo Natur von einander geschieden / die da Resoluiert / vnd die do Coaguliert. Ettlichs Saltzgewechs kompt in das süß Wasser / vnd resoluirt sich / vnnd geht mit demselben an tag / als ein Brunn : dieselben Wasser vermischend sich im vrsprung zusammen / dieweil das Saltz nicht gar in sein perfection kommen ist seines gewechs : Vnd was für ander Wasser / nemlich das süß Wasser / in der Kelte hinzu laufft / mag nit darinn gemischt werden : dann dz gantz Saltz in seinem Lauff leidt kein ander Wasser bey jhm nit / sonder laufft vnderschiedlich von dem andern in den *Yliadum*. Solche gewechs schneiden sich ettwann ab / ettwann nit : Vnd ist die vrsach / das sich offtmals begibt /
134 das allein ein Schüb ist / oder ein Außwurff vom rechten Gang : Etwann | also verschiessen neben der *Triual* Lingen in die *Yliadum*. Wo also von dem rechten vrsprung die gewechs gehend der rechten Substantzen / do ist kein langwirigs bleibens.

a Though *Trapheonem* is nearly unsolvable (see vis-à-vis, however), P. extends the notion of annual completion in *De Vita Longa* "ad **annum Aniadin**" (H 6:193), and in *Alia Explicatio Primi Aphorismi Hippocratis* to the evidently recurrent, cyclical "**Annus Platonis**" (H 5A:43). The present work makes clear that a year is not an abstract unit of time but a transferrable measure of the life of the world and its sub-spheres: "vnd haben nur Ein Jahr in seiner fixitet / dasselbig weret vom Ersten Yliastro biß in extremum Yliastrum, in welchem ein newe Welt wirt : vnd ist Ein Jahr / vnd **Annus Solis**. Also alle Stern dise Fixitet haben / vnd ist **Annus Ignis**, vel **Annus Stellatus**, vnd hat die Zeit der Welt inn / biß auff jhr Tochter" (H 8:71).

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to separate the *salia*. First of all, it parts the salt from the vitriol and *alumen* [alum],[1] then the vitriol from the *alumen*, and finally the *alumen* itself. Seizing upon the salt and separating it off, it initially is of a thin constitution and a thin growth. It first of all develops its multiplicity in daily growth to the *annum Trapheonem*.[2] This development proceeds in the *trival* line into the *yliadum*. When it puts pressure on the *yliadum*, this gives rise to an ore that hardens. It is a dry substance. The moisture of the globe moistens it, so that it comes to the *yliadum* in this condition. When it resides there, its moisture precipitates and is distilled off, so that the salt is hardened together with whatever accompanied it when it was liquified. For this reason, there are many kinds of salt saturated with earth, of many colors stemming from the terrestrial element in that admixture. Many salts result pure and clear without admixture. Such salt issues in a dry condition, not a moist one. As soon as it attains the *yliadum*, it coagulates to stones, and we have a stone in the mode of salt. For every salt has the condition of its coagulation, as the water of its resolution. Hence, these two natures are separated one from the other. The one is resolved, the other coagulated. Some of the emergent salt enters the sweet water, becomes resolved, and rises to the surface with it in the form of a spring. Those waters mix together in the source, because the salt resists coming to the complete state of development. The other kinds of waters, such as the sweet water in frigidity, does not get mixed in. For all the salt in the course of its development suffers no other kind of water, but runs separately by itself into the *yliadum*. Sometimes developments of this sort get cut short, sometimes not. The reason is that there is often just a spurt of it or a discharge from the proper channel, so that | they 134
pour alongside the *trival* line into the *yliadum*. Wherever there is a departure from the proper origin, the development of the true substance does not abide for long.

1 *Alumen* is aluminium sulfide (see ETW 121), while vitriol is copper sulfide—at least the vitriol P. deals with. See below the beginning of ch. VI (H 8:134).

2 See vis-à-vis. It is tempting to connect the adjective *Trapheonem* to an equally odd term found in *De Gradibus*: *Taphneus* (H 7:50 and 345), which is glossed in this way in the second redaction of the work: "*Taphneus* is a species of earth yielding things the nature of which does not change by reverberation or calcination" (*Thessalus secundus*, H 7:345: "Taphneus species terrae est, ex quae illa producuntur, quae non mutant suam naturam reuerberando, calcinando"). According to that definition, the salt growing to the *annum Trapheonem* would grow until even the action of fire does not change its nature any longer.

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CAP. VI.
Vom Vitriol vnd Alumen.[a]

Der vrsprung vom Vitriol vnnd Alaun ist dermassen. Zu gleicher weiß / wie das Saltz in seinem Wesen allein herauß gezogen wirdt : Also werden auch do gesondert der Vitriol / vnd der Alaun. Dann in denen dreyen stehnd alle Saltze / vnd müssen vnter denen dreyen das Ein sein.

Wie nun also die zwey geschieden werden / vnd auffgetriben in die höhe zu dem *Yliado*, wie das Saltz : Als dann erzeigt es sich wie ein Miner / in massen deß Saltzs / das also auß der Erden oder Steinen / oder dergleichen solches gefunden wirt : Darumb von jhr arth allein dz verstanden wirt. Aber von der Form / so am tag erscheint im Saltz / vnd im Alaun / vnd Vitriol / nimpt sich also / dz alle Frücht des Elements Wasser *Mineralia* sind / vnd der arth der Metallen : Vnd vnter allen diesen / so auß den *Salibus* entspringen / ist keins nit / das mehr der Mineralischen krafft an jhm hab / als der Vitriol : Vnd das auß vrsachen / dieweil die *Salia, Mineralia* sind / vnd alle *Mineralia* in einer *Massa* ligendt / vnd *Ares*. So ist der Vitriol der letst in der scheidung der Mineralischen : Vnd gleich auff jhn geht die Generation der Metallen an / vnd *Venus* ist die Erst / darumb der Vitriol anhangt der Venerischen arth : Vnd ist ein theil ein Saltz / vnd ein theil ein Mineral / dann er nimpt mit jhm ein theil Venus : darumb in einem jeglichen Vitriol Kupffer ist. Vnd von wegen deß anhangs der Metallen / nemlich der Venus / ist der Vitriol ein Saltz mit Venerischer arth. Dergleichen das Kupffer mit sampt dem Vitriol auch vermischt / vnnd nit ohn Vitriol / sondern dermassen / als sein Generation anzeigt / ein gantzer Vitriol. Darumb dieweil der Vitriol der Venus dermassen verwandt ist / vnd ist doch ein Saltz / so wirt er ein Miner / vnd nimbt sein *Corpus* auß dem *Liquore* der Metallen / darumb er kyssig vnd glantzig erscheint / in seltzamer Form vnd gestalt / als von Marcasiten verstanden wirdt. Der Alaun aber hängt nichts in
135 den Metallen an / sondern ist frey ein Saltz / das allein in der Sewri | steht / vnd nimpt sein *Corpus* nach der vermischung der Erden : Aber der Vitriol nicht / sonder allein von der vermischung der Metallischen Corporen : darumb er als ein Marcasit erscheinet / vnd als ein Cachimien / welche die Ersten gewächs sind in der Geberung der Metallen. Wie das Wasser von *Salibus*, also hengt do der Vitriol am Kupffer / vnd dz Kupffer am Vitriol / vnd sein *Medium* ist die *Phlegma*, die das zusammen vnirt vnd einiget / darumb es dem *medio* gleich sicht vnd ist / vnd nimpt das *Corpus* von jhm.

a These are associated and essential in countless works, e.g. *Von der Bergsucht:* "Dann vrsachen / der Saltzgeschlecht sind dreyerley / vnder denen alle species begriffen vnd benennt werden :

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CAP. VI.
Concerning Vitriol and Alumen.

The origin of vitriol and alumen is as follows. Just as the salt is extracted in its essence unmixted, vitriol is separated likewise, as is alumen. For all salts are found in these three and the three must be taken as one.

So when the two have been separated and forced upward toward the *yliadum* like the salt, a mineral in the species of salt appears, that can also be found out of the earth or stones, or what have you. This is to be understood only with respect to their nature. But as for the form that becomes manifest in the salt, alumen, and vitriol, it should be known that all fruits of the element of water are *mineralia* and have the nature of the metals. Of all those that result from the *salia*, there is none that has more of the mineral power than vitriol. There is a reason for this. Though the *salia* are *mineralia* and all of the latter reside in one *massa* and *Ares*, vitriol comes last in the separation of the minerals. After it begins the generation of the metals and *Venus* comes first, so that vitriol has something of the venereal nature. It is partly a salt and partly a mineral, for it lays claim to an aspect of Venus, so that in every vitriol there is copper. Moreover, on account of the proximity of the metals, that is, of Venus, vitriol is a salt with a venereal nature. Hence, copper is mixed into vitriol and does not lack it; rather, its very generation is the sign of perfect vitriol. Since vitriol is so akin to Venus, and is nonetheless a salt, it becomes a *mineral* and receives its *corpus* from the *liquor* of the metals. This is why it is so grainy and shiny, with its peculiar form and its shape of a kind we expect of marcasites. Alumen, however, is not akin to the metals, but a free salt, abiding only in the sour quality | 135
and receiving its *corpus* in accordance with the admixture of the earth. This is not the case with vitriol, which receives its *corpus* only with the mixture of the metallic *corpora*. Therefore, it has the appearance of a marcasite or a calamine, these being among the first outgrowths in the generation of the metals. Just as water is akin to the *salia*, vitriol is akin to copper, and vice versa. Its *medium* is the *phlegma* which holds it together and unites it. For this reason, it resembles the *medium*, and has its character and receives its *corpus* from the same.

Nemlich / Saltz / **Vitriol vnd Alaun**" (H 5:38). Alchemically processed, they are among his most common *materiae medicae*.

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CAP. VII.
Vom Kupfferwasser.

Dergleichen auch Kupfferwasser herfür kommen / die do gantz nichts anders sind / dann ein resoluirter Vitriol / der do nit mag Coaguliert werden : auß vrsachen / das er zu viel im Saltz steht / vnd in der Feuchti. Nimbt sein krafft von den dreyen Ersten der Salischen / vnnd hatt die subtilisten Geist in jhm der Kupfferischen Tinctur / allein daß er das *Corpus* nit hatt / wie der Vitriol / oder wie dz Kupffer / vnd ist doch desselben Tinctur in jhm / allein aber ohn ein Corpus / darumb es ein lautter Wasser ist. Vnd dz Eisen / so darein gelegt wirdt / tingirt es zu Kupffer : Auß vrsachen / daß dz Eisen dz *Corpus* auß dem Kupfferischen *Mercurio* hatt / aber die rötte nit / so in den Metallischen dreyen Ersten ist : Dann dz Saltz ferbt dz Eisen.[a] Auff das folget / daß dz Kupfferwasser / dieweil es auß der Rotti der Metallischen dreyen Ersten kompt / denselben Corpus tingiert / wz deß *Mercurij* ist : darumb Eisen zu Kupffer wirt dorinn / dann es ist Küpfferig in seiner farben / durch den Saltzgeist.

CAP. VIII.
Von Steinwassern.

Dermassen auch vil Wasser sind / die da Stein machen auß Holtz / oder auß Letten[b] / das kompt auß Krafft deß Saltzs / wann dasselbig resoluirt wirt / vnd mag ohn ein Substantz nit wider zu der Coagulation gehn / vnd manglet also seins Corpus / vnd ist doch dz Wasser auß den dreyen Ersten / darauß Stein wachsen vnd werden / allein das es den *Corpus* nit hatt.

136 Auß dem folgt / das diese Wasser / wo sie einen Letten begreiffen / durchgehnd / vnd Coagulirn sich im selbigen / vnd wirdt ein Stein darauß : Vnd nemlich / was Wetzstein sind / dergleichen auch ettlich Höltzer / so hinein gelegt werden / diß Wasser durchgehet / vnd seine *poros* anfüllt / vnd Coaguliert sich darinn / das also das Holtz für ein Stein ersehen wirdt. So ist es nuhn ein Coaguliert Saltz auß den drey Ersten der Steinischen Materia / also durch dz Holtz zu der Coagulation gebracht. Solcher Stein sind vil auß dem Letten / als Schifferstein / vnd dergleichen / auch ein jeglichs Holtz so darein gelegt wirdt / faul / vnd grün.

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a Characteristically, P. sees the corrosive effect of moisture and salt as a "sweat" of iron: *Von Vrsprung, Herkommen vnd Anfang der Frantzosen Acht Bücher:* "Also ist diese Feuchte des **Eysens** ein Schweiß / darauß ein **Saltz** würd" (H C:246c).

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CAP. VII.
Concerning Coppery Water.

Similarly do the waters of copper arise. They are nothing but resolved vitriol that resists coagulation because it abides too much in the salt and in moisture. It derives its power too much from the three principles of the saline entities. It bears within it the subtlest spirit of the coppery tincture. However, it does not possess the *corpus* of vitriol or copper, though their tincture is in it without a corresponding *corpus*. Therefore, it amounts to water. Moreover, it tinctures the iron deposited in it as copper. This is because the iron has its *corpus* from the coppery *mercurius*, without the red hue abiding in the metallic three principles. For the salt colors the iron. Hence, because the coppery water derives from the redness of the metallic three principles, it tinctures the *corpus* that comes likewise from the *mercurius:* that is why iron becomes copper in the inside, as it is coppery in color from the salt spirit.

CAP. VIII.
Concerning the Stone Waters.

By the same token, there are many waters that produce stones out of wood or clay. This derives from the power of the salt when it is resolved and, being without substance, resists reverting to a coagulated state and lacks its *corpus*, so that from the water of the three principles stones emerge and grow without *corpus*.

From this it results that such waters, encompassing clay, pass through it and 136
coagulate in it, thereby yielding a stone. This is what whetstones are. The same occurs with wooden objects which are immersed. Water passes through them, filling their *pori* and causing coagulation so the wood acquires the appearance of stone. It is in fact a coagulated salt extracted from the three principles of the lapidary material that wood has induced to coagulate. Stones of this kind often result from clay. Flintstones for example and others of the kind, as well as any wooden object immersed to become rotten and green.

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b Petrification and sedimentation are pivotal to P.'s understanding of purity, impurity, and tartarus in *Von den Tartarischen kranckheiten:* "Das ist aber nicht also / sondern in allen dingen ist reins vnnd vnreins bey einander / als Wasser vnd sein **Letten** / als Wein vnd sein Feces" (H 2:257).

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TRACTATVS TERTIVS, De Mineralibvs.

CAP. I.
Von Marcasiten.[a]

Die Marcasiten / wie sie dann in allen geschlechten erfunden werden / es sey in Farben / Glantz / Form / vnd in ander weg : so seind sie all allein der vberfluß der Metallen / das ist / der Materia / die da zuuil ist in den Metallen / vnd die Metall mit jhnen oder bey jhnen nit mögen zu Metallen werden. Auff das folgt / das am ersten / so die *Salia* geschieden werden auß dem *Ares*, die schiedung der Metallen hernach folgt : Vnter denen das erst ist der Marcasith / als das / das da nicht tauglich ist in ein Metallen / vnd in derselben *Materia* doch ligt / also / das anfenglich wechst herauß vom *Ares, materia Metallorum :* Vnd ist *materia prima*, gesetzt in drey stuck / in *spiritum Salis, spiritum Mercurij, spiritum Sulphuris*, also / das die drey Ein ding seind / darinn ligen alle *Metalla, Mineralia*.

So sie also nuhn ligent / wirckt der *Archeus* anfenglich die Metallen / zu procreiren vnd zu scheiden in sein Form vnd Wesen. Vor dem vnd er die Metallen angreifft / wirfft er hinweg den vberfluß / der do im Saltz / vnd *Mercurio*, vnnd *Sulphure* nicht sein soll / vnd reinigt die drey Ersten / wie sie generirt sein / von jhrem vberfluß. So er nun also reiniget / so geht durch die *Triual* Lingen
137 das gewechs herauß / das vntauglich ist / in sein | *Yliadum*, vnd theilt sich nun anfenglich in zwen theil / Marcasit / vnd Cachimien. Vnd so es also in *Yliadum* kompt / so Coaguliert es sich in ein Miner / das do steht im Sulphur / Saltz / vnnd *Mercurio*. Der Geel Marcasit nimbt sein Farben vom Schweffel / der gewaltig in jhm ligt : der Weiß vom *Mercurio*, der gewaltiger in jhm ligt. Dann der *Sulphur*, vnd der *Cachimia* nimbt sein farb vom Saltz : Also dermassen auch jhr Form nemmen sie vom Saltz / daß sie in der gestalt geformiert seind / geecket vnnd glettet / dasselbig kompt auß dem *spiritu Salis*, die Schwere vom *Mercurio* in allen dreyen. Vnnd so sie recht geschieden werden / so sind die drey Mineral / *Sal, Mercurius, Sulphur*, jeglichs besonder in seiner statt / dann in disen dreyen Ersten stehnd alle Mineral.

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a The marcasites, though not true metals, display the properties of such, notably of gold or silver: "Der Genera **Marcazitarum** sind mancherley: Als Marcazita Aurea, Argentea: Talk album, Talk Aureum, Talk Purpureum: Wismat / Antimonium / Granaten / vnd dergleichen andere mehr. So ist doch in jhnen ein einige Extraction der Magisterien / die auff sie all gleich dienet. So ist auch jhr Krafft vnnd Macht in der Artzney / nach wirckung der Metallischen artt. Dann vnnd wiewol sie nicht Metallen seindt / so seind sie doch Approprijrt denselbigen nach" (*Archidoxis*—H 6:62: cf. *Liber de Mineralibus*—H 8:347).

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TRACTATVS TERTIVS.
DE MINERALIBVS.
[Third Tract. On Minerals.]

CAP. I.
Concerning Marcasites.

Marcasites of any kind that may be found, of whatever color, shininess, or form, or of any other variation, are nothing but the superfluity of the metals, that is, constituted by the material which is superfluous in the metals, a material that in their case does not accede to become metal. From this it follows that as soon as the *salia* are separated from *Ares*, the separation of the metals comes next. Of these, the first is marcasite, which is not suitable for transformation into a metal, though it abides in the same *materia* in such a way that there first emerges from *Ares* a *materia metallorum*. Then there is *materia prima*, composed in three entities, in *spiritus salis, spiritus mercurii, spiritus sulphuris* in such a way that the three are as one. In them reside all *metalla, mineralia*.

All things abiding thus, the *archeus* initially effects the metals, procreating them and distinguishing them in form and essence. Before taking up the metals, the *archeus* casts out what is superfluous, what abides unnecessarily in the salt, *mercurius*, and *sulphur*, and cleanses the three principles as they have been generated without their superfluity. Having been purified, the growth which is useless passes through the *trival* line and merges into its | *yliadum*. It 137
divides itself initially in two: into the marcasites and the *cachymias*. As soon as it enters into *yliadum*, it coagulates to a mineral and abides then in the sulphur, salt, and *mercurius*. The yellow marcasite takes its color from the *sulphur*, which abides powerfully in it; the white marcasite, from the *mercurius*, which is present more powerfully in it. For the *sulphur* and cachymia derive their color from the salt. They also receive their form from it so that it is angular and smooth from the *spiritus salis*. The weight derives from the *mercurius* in all three entities. Having been properly separated, the three minerals *sal, mercurius, sulphur*, have all found their proper place. For in these three principles, all minerals abide.

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CAP. II.
Von Cachimien.[a]

Wie also von Marcasiten verstanden wirdt / von Cachimien dermassen zu wissen / also so der *Archeus* in der Wirckung ligt der Metallen / am ersten außwirfft den Vberfluß vom *Sale, Mercurio* vnd *Sulphure*, auß denen wird der Marcasit / nach dem vnnd ein jedlichs sich zusammen fügt. Das ist / ettwann mehr *Mercurius*, dann *Sulphur*, ettwan mehr Saltz / dann der andern / ettwann mehr *Sulphur*, dann der andern. Welchs also prædominirt / dasselbig formirt jhm sein Mineral. Nuhn werden aber die drey Ersten in dermassen geschieden : Anfenglich der Marcasit / darnach die Cachimien. In Marcasiten vberwindet der *Mercurius* vnd *Sulphur*, als die leichtisten zwey / die am ersten hinfliegen / vnd Coaguliern sich / wie obsteht / vnd werden am schweristen : Vrsach der Vile deß *Mercurij*. Demnach geht der Vberfluß noch genawer herauß / vnd ist am meristen dz Saltz / mit wenigem *Mercurio*, vnd *Sulphure*, vnnd ist doch nit ohn derselbigen / aber mit weniger Substantz / als deß Saltzs ist : Auß dem folgt ein ander Form / so der *Cachimia* hatt / tafflet vnd geschiffret / auß arth deß Saltzs / das also im *Sulphure* vnd solchem *Mercurio* solcher Eigenschafft ist. Vnd hatt aber all farben / Weiß / Rott / wie Marcasit : dieselbigen farben hatt er vom *Mer-*
138 *curio* vnd *Sulphure*, welches dann | da am meristen vberwindet : Vnd ist Fix / vnd bestendiger / dann der Marcasit / auß vrsachen deß fixen Saltzs / so er ist : Figiert auch mit jhm die Farben / das jhm kein Fewr schadet : Dann es wirdt fixer in seiner Coagulation / vnd baß zusammen Coaguliert / dann kein ander Mineral. Dieselbig gwaltig Coagulation macht / daß es Fix ist : wie bald dieselbig auffgeloßt wirdt / so ist kein fixation mehr do / wie dann in den Metallen auch ist. Also ist der Marcasit nichts / als allein der vberfluß / so do ist in der ersten *Materia* der Metallen im *Ares*, das durch den *Archeum* geschieden wird in den *Yliadum*, auß dem dann Marcasiten vnd Cachimien geborn werden / ob dreissigerley geschlecht vnnd formen / jedoch alle vnter den zweyen Nammen begriffen. Vnd wiewol jhr vilerley sind / vnd nit Ein form / vnd kommen doch von Einer *materia :* Vrsacht das / das vngleich zusammen kompt die Gewicht der dreyen Ersten / eins mehr / dann das ander / darumb mancherley form darauß entspringen.

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a P. has less to say about *kakimien* as distinct from *marcasites*; however, the generation of both in the warm springs of Wallis is noteworthy: "Das Bad in Wallis laufft von dem dritten theil der Globel / vnnd ist auß den *Liquoribus* des Magneten vnnd des schwartzen *Carabe:* laufft durch die Ertz vnd Kiß / Margazithen / *Thalk*, ***Kakimia***, etc. Vnd ettlich arth der Granaten: nimpt sein Hitz auß der Separation / empfahet auch den *gradum* vom Schneebirg / vnd wirdt abkült mit den *Liquoribus Crystalli*, zeuhet den Margaziten vnd **Kakimien** jren *Sulphur* auß /

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CAP. II.
Concerning *cachymias*.

So much for the marcasites. Concerning the *cachymias*, it is likewise to be noted that when the *archeus* in its operation produces the metals, it first casts out what is superfluous from the *sal, mercurius*, and *sulphur*, which become the marcasites, depending on how each one is put together. This means, in the one there is more *mercurius*, in the next more *sulphur*, then more salt, and so on with the others. Sometimes more *sulphur* than the others. The one that prevails forms its mineral accordingly. Now, however, the three principles subdivide themselves as follows. First the marcasites, then the *cachymias*. In the marcasites, *mercurius* and *sulphur* prevail as the lightest two and are the first to flee, and they coagulate as described above in order to become heaviest. The cause is the multiplicity of *mercurius*. Consequently, the superfluity issues even more clearly, most of all the salt with less *mercurius* and *sulphur*, though not entirely without them, but only with less of their substance than of salt. This results in the distinct form of the *cachymia*, incrusted and slaty according to the nature of salt, which has the same property in the *sulphur* and in *mercurius*. It has every color, white, red, as of marcasite. It derives these from the *mercurius* and *sulphur*, | depending on which becomes dominant. Moreover, it becomes 138
fixed and is more stable than marcasite in consequence of the fixed salt which it is. Fixed along with it is its color which no fire can damage. For it becomes more securely fixed in coagulation, a more cohesive state than any other mineral. For this, its powerful coagulation is responsible. When the latter dissolves, there can be no more fixation, as is the case with metals. Hence, the marcasite is nothing but the superfluity that abides in the prime *materia* of the metals in *Ares*, separated then by the *archeus* into the *yliadum*, so that from the latter marcasites and *cachymia* arise. Though there may be thirty forms and kinds of them, all are subsumed beneath these two designations. Moreover, though many and not all of a single form, they all derive from a single *materia*. They are caused by the variable conjunction and weighting of the three principles, one gaining over the other so that many different forms result.

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mit einem anhangenden Vitriol / vnd hatt ein kurtzen *Gradum* durchzulauffen die *Mineralia Lunae* vnd *Mercurij*. Seine *Virtutes* sind wie die bemelten Bäder / in nichten außgenommen" (*Von den Natürlichen Bädern*—H 7:319).

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CAP. III.
Vom Kupffer.[a]

Darnach / so die Margasiten vnd Cachimien geschieden sind von der *prima materia Metallorum*, folgt hernach die erst *generatio*, vnd ist *Veneris*, also daß der *Archeus* treibt auß der *prima materia* die merist Röte / so im Schweffel ist / vnd vom *Mercurio* den leichtisten / vnd von [Saltz] die gröst Gilbi / so im Saltz ligt. Auß den dreyen macht er das Kupffer / so er das herauß treibt in der *Triual* Lingen in *Yliadum*, so ist es ein Metall / vnd ist grob : Dann in der röttisten farben deß Sulphurs ist kein subtiligken / vnd ist die nächste farben beim Gold / aber die gröbist farben / wo sie im Sulphur bleibt / da mag kein Gold außwachsen. Vnd dieweil es aber ein Metallen *materia* ist / so scheidt es der *Archeus* herauß / vnnd macht darauß das Kupffer. Nun mag er nit zu gedignen Metallen werden / dann in der Operation ist er mit dem Vitriol vermischt / vnd gehenckt also genaw zusammen / das er ein Ertz gibt / darinn das Kupffer ligt. Auch dermassen durch die Separation / so der Marcasiten vnd Cachimien arth außgetriben werden / die Kupfferischen Generation zu schnell mitlauffen / vnd sich darinn einbilden / vnnd | zusammen Coagulirn : Das alles auß 139
der vrsachen / daß er der erst Metall ist nach der Separation der Marcasiten / vnd Cachimien. Darumb in seiner rechten schiedung werden die Marcasiten vnd Cachimien gefunden / vnd jhre drey Ersten / auß denen sie geborn seind.

CAP. IIII.
Vom Eisen.

Das Eisen ist der ander Metall / nimpt sich auß den dreyen Ersten / mit vil Zusätzen / vber daß / das Eisen ist / das ist / das in der geberung deß Eisens am meristen Saltz / vnd *Mercurius* ist / vnd weniger *Sulphur* deß rotten / von dem Kupffer wachset. Es hatt auch Kupffer saltz in jhm / allein den *Mercurium* nit. Sein zusammen setzung ist der mehrer theil in seinem Corpus / Saltz / darnach *Mercurius*, vnd darauff der *Sulphur*. Dieweil nun also das Saltz mehr ist / dann in die Composition deß Sulphurs gehört / so mag es nit zu einem Metallen werden / dann es muß in gleichem gewicht stehen : Auß vrsachen / daß die Geschmeidigkeit auß *Mercurio* gehet / vnd die Coagulation auß dem Saltz. Darumb so das Saltz zu viel ist / so macht es nuhn zuvil hert / aber mit zuvil

a *De Mineralibus* specifies under the heading of "DE VENERE": "Das **Kupffer** wirdt von Braunem Sulphure, Rottem Sale, vnnd Gelben Mercurio: Die drey Farben / so sie durch einander gemischt werden / so volgt hernach das Kupffer. Nuhn hatt das Kupffer in jhm sein Weibli / das ist / sein Scorias, vnnd so durch die Artisterey die Scoriae geschieden werden / wirdt

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CAP. III.
Concerning Copper.

After the marcasites and the cachymia have been separated thus from the *prima materia metallorum*, the first *generatio* that follows is *Venus:* the *archeus* expels from the *prima materia* the greater part of what is red in the sulphur, as well as the lightest part of it from the *mercurius*, and the greater part of what is yellow in the salt. From these three, it fashions copper, extracting it in the *trival* line into the *yliadum:* this results in a crude metal. In the reddish color of sulphur, there is no subtlety. It is the color closest to that of gold, but also the coarsest if it remains in the sulphur. No gold can result from it. But since it is nonetheless a metallic *materia*, the *archeus* separates it out and transforms it into copper. However, it cannot become a refined metal: in its operation it is mixed with vitriol and conjoined so it yields an ore in which the copper abides. Yet, through the separation, things are such that when the marcasite and cachymia are expelled, the generation of the copper may be precipitous, with the result that these coagulate as well. | All this happens because it is the first metal 139
to come after the separation of marcasite and cachymia. Hence, in its proper separation, these two are found, as are their three principles from which they were born.

CAP. IV.
Concerning Iron.

Iron is the second metal. It derives from the three principles with many admixtures. Beyond the iron itself, there is in its emergence chiefly salt and *mercurius* and less *sulphur* of the redness from which the copper grows. There is also cuprous salt in it but not cuprous *mercurius*. For the most part, its composition in the corpus is the salt followed by *mercurius* and then *sulphur*. If there is more of the salt than belongs in the composition with the sulphur, it cannot become a metal, for it must be equal in weight, since its ductility comes from the *mercurius*, while the coagulation results from the salt. If there is too much of the latter, it causes too much hardening, and too much metal, for it only increases the har-

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Reduciert in ein Corpus, als dann so ist das Männli auch do. Vnd ist ein solche vnderschiedt zwischen dem Männli / vnnd dem Weibli / daß das Männli sich nimmer zerstören läßt / vnnd das Weibli gibt kein Scorias mehr / vnnd seindt in jhrer Fusion vnnd Malleabilitet von einander / gleich wie Eisen vnnd Stahel. Also soll do es auch geschieden werden / jedlichs in sein Arth / so werden zwey Metall darauß / vnderschiedlich / in Wesen vnd Gestalt / vnd Eigenschafft" (H 8:357).

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Metallen : Dann es geht nur in die hertti. Dorauß folgt / das in dem Eisen vil Ertz ist / vnd vil / das nit Eisen ist / von wegen / das deß Saltz mehr do ist / dann es sein soll. In seiner geberung anfenglich gibt sich / das da mitlaufft der *spiritus Vitrioli* in der schnell / vnnd herttet den *Mercurium* zu Stahel : Vnd so er sich abstost in seiner hertti / folgt hernach die geberung des Eisens. Vnd wo der *spiritus Vitrioli* nit so starck do ist / da mag kein Stahel werden : dann sein geberung ist allein auß einem schnellen Geist / der im Vitriol ligt.[a] Derselbig Geist vom Vitriol macht das Eisen rostig : dann vrsachen / er frißt sein *Corpus* selbst hinweg / von wegen der grossen Scherpffi / die er in jhm hatt : auch das Kupffer / dann es ist Ein *spiritus :* vnd ferben sich nach dem Sulphur vnd Vitriol / vnnd ist Ein geberung / dz Kupffer / Eisen / vnd Vitriol / vnd Einen vrsprung deß *spiritus Salis* halben. Darumb im Eisen / Stahel / vnd Kupffer der Vitriol ligt / vnd der Vitriol in jhm auch hatt dieselbigen Metallen / vnd auß jhm gezogen werden.

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CAP. V.
Vom Bley.

Das Bley ist die Schwertzi der dreyen Ersten / so nicht ein vberfluß ist / sonder ein Metallische arth an jhm. Dann da ligend in *Mercurio* alle Metallen / vnnd ist alles nur Ein *Mercurius*, dergleichen mit dem Saltz / vnd *Sulphure*. Wie also nun dz Kupffer die vbrig Rottin ist der dreyen Ersten : Also ist do das Bley die Schwertzen / so in den dreyen Ersten ligt / nemlich / was Schwery in *Mercurio* ligt / die am meristen ist / wirfft der *Archeus* herauß / vnd dergleichen die grobigkeit vom Saltz / vnd Sulphur. Der *Mercurius* gibt die Geschmeidigkeit / dz Saltz die Coagulation / der *Sulphur* den Fluß vnd Tinctur. Darumb so ligend im Bley vier farben gutt : Die Schwertzi / dann es ist die Schwertzi der 3. Ersten : vnd die Rötti / auß vrsachen / das er ein præcipitation in jhm hatt / vom *Mercurio*. Wiewol er dem rechten nit gleich ist in der gütti / so ist er doch so viel / als in einen groben *Mercurium* gehort. Dergleichen die Weissy ligt in jhm / auß vrsachen / daß die Weissy allein kompt auß der Calcination deß *Mercurij* : darumb er auß der Calcination Weiß wirdt / allein auß arth deß *Mercurij*, auß dem das Bley ist. Also auch die Gilbi in jhm ligt / die kompt jhm auch auß dem *Mercurio*, das ist / so er in der Calcination getriben wirt vber den ersten Grad / als dann volgt einem jeglichen *Mercurio* ein Gilbi hernach / die im Bley auch ist. Also ist das Bley nichts anders / dann der schwartz *Mercurius*, der do ligt im *Ares*, vnd durch den *Archeum* geschieden wirdt / damit die grobigkeit / vnd solche farben herauß vom *Mercurio* kommen.

a This *spiritus vitrioli*, a spirit that lies in the vitriol, has nothing to do with the remedy of P. bearing that name (H 6:253–254: *Proceß vnd Arth Spiritus Vitrioli*).

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dening. It follows from this that there is much ore in iron and much that is not ferrous. This happens because there is more salt than there should be. In the beginning of its generation, it happens that the *spiritus vitrioli* goes into it too precipitously, hardening the *mercurius* to steel. But if the hardness decreases, the generation of iron occurs. If the *spiritus vitrioli* is not so potently present, no steel can emerge; for it is generated solely from the precipitous spirit which lies in the vitriol. That spirit which lies in the vitriol also causes the iron to rust. The reason is that it consumes its *corpus* by virtue of the great acidity that it bears within it. The same with the copper; for it is one and the same *spiritus*. They take their color in accordance with the sulphur and vitriol, since it is the same generation: copper, iron, and vitriol indeed have one and the same source due to the *spiritus salis*. This is why there is vitriol in iron, steel, and copper, and the vitriol, too, has in itself the same metals, which are extracted out of it.

CAP. V. 140
Concerning Lead.

Lead constitutes the blackness of the three principles, insofar as the former is not something extraneous but rather of a metallic character. For in *mercurius* all metals abide, and it is all but a single *mercurius;* likewise for salt and *sulphur*. In the same way as copper is but the superfluous red quality of the three principles, so lead is the blackness that resides in the three principles. Indeed, the black that resides in *mercurius*, which predominates, is expelled by the *archeus*, as well as the crudity of the salt and sulphur. *Mercurius* lends its ductility, salt the coagulation, sulphur its ability to melt and its tincture. Hence, in lead four colors abide appropriately:[1] black, for this is the blackness of the three principles; red, because it has a precipitation from the *mercurius*. And even though the latter does not match the true one in goodness, it nevertheless amounts to as much as is proper for a crude *mercurius*. Moreover, white abides in it because the whiteness only derives from the calcination of the *mercurius*. Hence, it turns white from the calcination, solely on account of the nature of the *mercurius*, from which the lead is constituted. Moreover, the yellow which abides in it also derives from the *mercurius*, when it is pushed in its calcination beyond the first degree. At that stage, the yellowness that also abides in lead follows any sort of *mercurius*. Hence, lead is nothing but black *mercurius* abiding in *Ares*, separated thus by the *archeus* so that the crudity and those colors come out of the *mercurius*.

1 See above, H 8:3.

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CAP. VI.
Vom Zinn.[a]

Das Zinn ist ein lautter *Mercurius*, mit wenigem Saltz Coagulirt / vnd mit mehrerm weissen Schweffel. Sein *Mercurius* ist der *leprosus Mercurius*, so im *Ares* ligt / vnd doch Metallisch ist / durch den *Archeum* herauß gezogen / vnnd
141 in ein Metall geordnet. Nimbt auch sein Farb auß dem | *Mercurio*, Weiß / vnnd Gelb vnnd Rott. Sein Sublimation kommt auch vom *Mercurio*, sein Resolution vom Saltz / darumb er durch die Sublimiert vnnd Resoluiert wirdt.

CAP. VII.
Vom *Mercurio*.

Das *Argentum Viuum*[b] ist der *Mercurius*, der die Geschmeidigkeit nicht an sich nimbt / vnnd ist wieder die Geschmeidigkeit : Denselben wirfft der *Archeus* auß / vnd lasset jhn ein sondern Metallen sein ohn Geschmeidigkeit. Vnd wiewol er vor allen Metallen dem *Mercurio* am gleichsten ist / allein in dem geschieden / das er die Geschmeidigkeit vom *Archeo* nicht annimbt / von wegen der schwäche / so in jhm ist vom *Sale*, vnnd *Sulphure*, die zu wenig in jhm seindt. Darauff volgt / das er durch die *Spagyricam Practicam*, durch Addition / in die Geschmeidigkeit / vnd in ein Metall geformiert mag werden / als *Philosophia de Transmutatione* außweiset. Dann er ist in allem Weg einem jedlichen Metallen zu gleichen / vnnd darein zu wandlen : Wann das auß der vrsachen / das er von allen Metallen vberbleibt in der Operation / was do nicht mag in die Geschmeidigkeit geführt werden.

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a P. has relatively little to say about tin; but he is aware that it resists alloying with lead: "**Zinn** vnnd Bley. Wo aber solche bey einander seindt / do ist nicht viel außzurichten / dann sie fügen nicht in Ein Corpus" (*De Mineralibus*—H 8:358).

b The two names of mercury allow P. to sometimes make a subtle but medically important distinction of *argentum vivum* from mercury: "Vnd sag euch / so jhr Mercurium bekannten in seinen Krefften / jhr würden euweren vngeschickten Recepten abston / Proceß vnd Ordnung / vnd würden gedencken / Das **Argentum vivum** nicht Mercurius were / vnd würden euch der Astronomischen Namen abthuen" (*Drey andere Chirurgische Bücher, Liber 3 de Morbo Gallico*—H C:414c; cf. H C:268c). The distinction is vital in the treatment of syphilis: "Aller grundt in der Summ inn den gantzen Frantzösischen Kranckheiten / ist das Haupstuck vis Mercurialis, aber nicht Argentum vivum, das jhr darfür nemmen" (*Von den Blatern* […] *vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen*—H C:288b).

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CAP. VI.
Concerning Tin.

Tin is a pure *mercurius*, coagulated with little salt, but with more white sulphur. Its *mercurius* is the *leprosus mercurius* [leprous mercury] abiding in *Ares*, which is nonetheless metallic, extracted by the *archeus* and consigned into a metal. It also derives its color from the | *mercurius*, white and yellow and red. Its sub- 141
limation derives as well from *mercurius*, its resolution from the salt, for which reason it is sublimated and resolved by them.

CAP. VII.
Concerning *mercurius*.

Argentum vivum is the *mercurius*[1] which does not accept the ductility, but instead acts against it. The *archeus* casts it out and makes it into a particular metal without ductility. And even though of all metals it most closely resembles *mercurius*, it still differs insofar as it does not accept the ductility from the *archeus*, due to the weakness that it derives from the *sal* and *sulphur*, of which too little is present within it. From this, it follows that, by way of *spagyrica practica*, through addition, it can be formed into the ductile state and thus into a metal, as demonstrated in the *Philosophia de Transmutatione*. For in every regard, it is comparable to any other metal and able to be transformed into them, which is due to the fact that, of all metals, it subsists in the operation after all that cannot have been conducted into a state of ductility.

1 P. uses here the word *mercurius* as one of the *tria prima*, and *argentum vivum* as the actual metal.

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CAP. VIII.
Vom Silber vnd Goldt.[a]

So nuhn also die Metallen Procreirt werden / vnnd geschieden auß dem *Ares*, also / das do nichts mehr ist von groben rohen Farben oder Wesen / sondern allein das subtilist bleibt do / Purpur / vnnd Schöne / das ist / das Reinist vom *Mercurio*, vom *Sale*, vnnd vom *Sulphure*, in der Form / Substantz / vnnd Wesen / vnnd in allen Farben das klärlichst vnnd beste. In diesem wirckt der *Archeus*, vnd scheidet do zwey Wesen von einander / ein Weiß / vnd ein Brauns. Das Weiß / das Lautter vnnd Rein ist / Fix vnnd Subtil / vnd all sein Vnflat vnnd Grobigkeit von jhm gezogen ist / Zinn vnnd Bley / vnnd Eisen / mit sampt dem Stahel : Darumb es weither Fix ist / vnnd Coaguliert das zu Silber / darinn seindt
142 die hüpschen | Farben / Grün vnnd Blaw / am gewaltigsten. Wiewol ander Farben do auch gefunden werden in dem Corporalischer / kommen auß dem *Mercurio*, der sein Arth nicht gar lasset / es laufft etwas wenigs mit / das er behalten hab / das ist ein scheiden durch den *Archeum*. Darnach nimbt er die Breune / vnnd macht darauß das Goldt / das ist der Edlist *Sulphur*, vnnd Saltz vnnd *Mercurius*, geschieden von aller Farben / vnd steht allein in der Breuny. Das aber Gelb ist / vrsacht die Subtili vnnd Klarheit deß Metals / das also die trüben Farben alle herauß seindt gezogen / vnnd Rubinisch angezogen. Nimbt diese Farben auß der Temperatur : Aber das Silber nicht / sondern allein vom Saltz die Blewi / vnnd vom *Mercurio* die Grüni / vom *Sulphure* nichts. Aber das Goldt nimbt sein Breuni vom *Sale, Mercurio* vnnd *Sulphure*, die in der Composition ein solche Breuni machen : Purpurfarb vom Saltz / ein durchscheinende Rötti vom *Sulphure*, ein Gilbe vom *Mercurio*, die drey machen die Goldisch Farb.

CAP. IX.
Vom Zincken.[b]

Wie nuhn also die Metallen geboren werden / vnd seind / also / das der recht Metallisch Fluß vnnd geschmeidigkeit hingenommen ist / vnnd getheilt in die

a As in many other authors, gold and silver may assume a paradigmatic status in P.: "Vnnd wie der Schmeltzer durch das Fewer **Goldt** vnd **Silber** bringet: Also soll der Artzt durch Fewer das edel Arcanum herfür bringen / die Mysteria der Natur / die Magnalia der Artzney / die Essentias eins jeglichen Wesens / vnd hindan scheiden das Vnrein vom Reinen. Weiter auch wirdt er geborn auß dem Microcosmo, das ist / das er wisse durch das Fewr wer der Mensch sey / vnnd warauß er gesetzt / vnd gemacht sey / als nemlich auß Dreyen dingen : Solchs alles gibt die Erfarenheit die auß dem Fewr entspringt" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:79c).

b See vis-à-vis. Inventorying the mineral resources of the South Austrian region of his youth, P. extols its unique wealth of zink and the unique properties of the latter: "Jtem das Ertz /

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CAP. VIII.
Concerning Silver and Gold.

Now if metals are procreated and separated from *Ares* to the effect that nothing remains of the coarse, red colors or essences, but rather only that which is subtlest, purple and beautiful, abides: this is the purest form of the *mercurius, sal,* and *sulphur* in form, substance, and essence; and in all the colors it corresponds to that which is clearest and best. In this, the *archeus* is separating in operation two distinct essences from one another, one white and the other brown. The white one is pure and pristine, fixed and subtle, since all of its impurity and coarseness has been extracted: zink and lead and iron, together with steel. For this reason, it is generally fixated. It coagulates it to a silver in which the prettiest | colors, green and blue, prevail. Certainly, other colors are 142
found besides in the corporeal being, deriving from the *mercurius* which has not entirely divested itself of its nature. Something of it still remains in play, retained by it. Thus, is the separation by the *archeus*. Next, the *archeus* takes up the brown essence and transforms it into gold which is the noblest *sulphur*, salt, and *mercurius*, disposed of all color and abiding alone in the brown essence. The yellow color, however, is instituted by the subtlety and clarity of the metal: all the opaque colors have been extracted and the rubinous one taken on. Extract these colors from the tempering, but not silver, the latter only takes its blue quality from the salt, and its green quality from *mercurius*, and from the *sulphur* nothing at all. But gold takes its brown quality from the *sal, mercurius*, and *sulphur* which in composition constitute that sort of brownness: the purple coloration from the salt, a penetrating redness from the *sulphur*, a yellow quality from the *mercurius:* the three together constitute the golden color.

CAP. IX.
Concerning Zinc.[1]

Granted that the metals are born and comport themselves in this way so that the true metallic fluidity and ductility is extracted and distributed among the

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Zincken / der weiter in Europa nit gefunden wirt / ein gar frembder Metall / sonderlich seltzamer denn andere" (*Chronica des Landts Kärnten*—H 2:156).

1 P. is acknowledged as the first to have distinctly named zinc as a separate metal, hitherto unknown (see indeed vis-à-vis, as well as *De mineralibus*, H 8:350 and 359). The chapter devoted to it in *De mineralibus*, as short as the present one, shows, however, a further stage in P.'s study of zinc. On the history of the word in and after P. see the impressive article on "Zink" in Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*.

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sieben Metallen / wie obsteht : So bleibt ein Residentz da im *Ares*, als die *Fæces* der dreyen Ersten / auß dem wachst der Zincken / welchs ein Metall ist / vnnd doch keiner : Auch der Wißmat / vnnd jhres gleichen / die da fliessendt / vnnd etlichs theils geschmeidig seindt. Vnnd doch / wiewol sie etwas anhangend den Metallen mit dem Fluß / so seindt sie doch nur Basthart der Metallen : Das ist / etwas jhnen gleich / vnd doch nicht. Der Zinck / ist das mehrer theil ein Basthart vom Kupffer / der Wißmat vom Zinn : Auß den zweyen werden am mehristen *Fæces* vnnd Remanentz im *Ares*.

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CAP. X.
Vom *Archeo*[a] der Metallen.

Wie nuhn oben gesagt ist / wie alle Metallen herfür wachsen : Ist weither zu wissen / das der *Ares* in jhm hatt *Primam Materiam omnium Metallorum*, wie obsteht. Nuhn aber / wie er dieselben außtheilt in der Globul von einander / zumercken ist in dem weg / das er in die *Triual* Lingen dem *Yliado* zu außtreibt die *Materias*, die da nicht gekocht sind in die Metallen / vnnd in seiner außtheilung geschieden von einander. An einem End Est vom Kupffer / am andern Est vom Zinn : Vnnd dergleichen von andern Metallen. So sie nuhn also kommen vom *Ares* in die *Triual* Lingen / so wirdt auß etlichen ein Ertz / als Zinn / Bley / Eisen / Kupffer / außtrieben / das nicht aller Marcasit / vnnd Wißmat / Cachimien / vnnd Zincken / etc. vor außpurgiert wirdt / oder *in Fæcibus* bleibet / sondern mitgezogen wirdt / demnach vnnd dann viel vnd wenig mitlaufft / das Ertzreich / oder klein am Metallen ist : Vnd nimbt sein Härtin in der *Triual* Lingen / so der *Archeus* sie auß dem *Ares* gebracht hatt : Als dann werden sie im *Yliado* gefunden in viel Weg vnd Form. Dann in derselben Præparation deß *Archei* werden viel Farben herfür gebracht / das kein Gäng dem andern gleich seindt. Zu gleicherweiß / wie auch vnder allen Früchten kein Apffel dem anderen gleich ist / oder kein Birn der andern gleich : Also ist das auch vngleich in seiner Form / als vom *Thisma*[b] Philosophiert wirdt : Dann solchs ist allein der *Thisma*, vnnd sein Krafft / die hie nicht begriffen wirdt. Aber Silber vnnd Goldt werden viel mahl gedigen funden vnnd lautter : Auß der vrsachen / das die Marcasit / Wißmat / vnd ander solche Ertzmaterien wol geschieden werden von den Metallen / vnd in jhren Triual Lingen herfür gebracht : Vnd also bleibt der Metallen lautter / das beschicht allein Silber vnnd Golde : Auß vrsachen / das vorhin alle Metall außgetriben werden / vnnd aller Vnflat von jhn gereinigt / drumb sie gar lautter gefunden werden / nach dem vnnd sie der *Archeus* geordnet hatt.

a See above, 308, note a.

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seven metals as detailed above, there remains a residue in *Ares*. It is the *faeces* of the three principles out of which zinc grows, which is both a metal and not a metal. The same holds for bismuth and substances of the same kind: they have fluidity and some are ductile. Yet, even though they can be grouped with the metals in terms of fluidity, they are nevertheless bastards of the metals: like them, and yet not their equals. Zinc is usually a bastard of copper, and bismuth of tin. From these two, there often stem *faeces* and residual substances in *Ares*.

CAP. X. 143
Concerning the *archeus* of Metals.

Now that it has been stated above regarding the way in which all metals grow, it must be said further that *Ares* bears within itself the *prima materia omnium metallorum*, as we have said. But as to the way in which these are distributed by *Ares* on the globe one from another, it should be noted that it pushes into the *trival* line toward the *yliadus* the *materiae* that have not yet been cooked into the metals and separated from one another in their distribution: from copper at the end of the one branch, from tin at the end of another branch; and so on with all other metals. If they are brought by *Ares* into the *trival* line, some are compelled to become an ore, be it tin, lead, iron, or copper, that has not been entirely cleansed of marcasite and bismuth, cachymia, and zinc, etc., not remaining as *faeces*, but is instead pulled along, much or little, depending on the amount of metal or of ore. Moreover, it receives its hardness in the *trival* line when the *archeus* conducts it out of the *Ares*. At that point, they are found in the *yliadum* in many modes and forms. For in their preparation by the *archeus*, many colors are elicited, so that no vein is like the others. Similarly, among fruit, no apple or pear is like any other. Likewise every vein is unique in its form: thus do we speculate concerning the *thisma*.[1] For this is only the power of the *thisma*, which will not be discussed here. However, silver and gold are often discovered in a mature and purified form. The reason is that the marcasites, bismuth, and other ores of this kind have been separated from the metals and elicited in this condition in their *trival* line. Thus the metal remains pure, which happens only with silver and gold, for all other metals have been previously expelled and all impurity has been purged from them so they are found in a highly purified state after the *archeus* has disposed them.

b This word only appears on this page and nowhere else.

1 This unknown word was glossed by Michael Toxites as "mineral vein" (Toxites, 485). We do not really know what P. intended by it, however.

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144 Auch offtmahls Schaumsweiß auff den Felsen liegendt / | als Tafelsilber / auch auff den Wisen / als Flammgoldt : Vnd in viel ander weg in *Yliado*. Vnnd am mehristen in den Wassern / auß vrsachen / das solch ledig Goldt durch die Wasser mit dem Sandt auff die Globul gestossen werden / vnd als dann Körnlinweiß gefunden / als im Rein / vnnd anderswo. Dann die Cataract der Wasser / wo sie gehndt durch die *Triual* Linien / darinn solch Goldt ligt / do stosset das Wasser dasselbig herauß an Tag / nach dem vnd sein viel oder wenig ligt : Vnd am mehristen / mit den Güssen / vnnd gewaltigen Flüssen / am mehristen außgewäschen werden / vnd auff der Globul außgeworffen auff die Gstatt vnnd Boden. Auch begibt sich vielmahl / das zwey / drey / oder [mehr] Metall vndereinander gefunden werden / als im Kupffer / Silber vnd Goldt / im Zinn dergleichen / auch in andern : Geschicht auß der vrsach / das im *Ares* der *Archeus*, durch sein Operation / im außtreiben zu dem *Yliado*, zwey oder drey zusammen kommen. Als die Metallen / die sonst einander gleich / vnd verwandt sein : Als im Silber vnd Gold / da begibt sich / dz in derselbigen Scheidung offt Goldt im Silber bleibt / vnnd Silber im Goldt : Also auch mit den andern. Vnnd so es also vermischt wirdt / als dann so es kommt zu der Coagulation / so mag es nimmer von einander / vnnd bleiben also bey einander.

TRACTATVS QVARTVS. DE LAPIDIBVS ET GEMMIS Elementi Aquae.

CAPVT PRIMVM. PROLOGVS.

In dem Ersten *Yle*, da der *Ares* gesetzt ist worden / vnd in sein Operation geordnet / ist die Steinisch *Materia* auch in *Ares* gestelt von dreyen Ersten / vom *Liquore Salis*, vnd *Liquore Sulphuris*, vnd *Liquore Mercurij* : Dann die drey seindt Anfang in allen dingen / vnnd aller dingen *Prima Materia*. Die Stein nemmen
145 jhr Härtti vnnd Coagulation vom | *Liquore Salis*, jhr *Corpus* vom *Sulphure*, jhr Gewicht vom *Mercurio*, vnnd etlichs theils den Corpus. Vnnd ist die vnterschied vnder jhnen do gegen den andern dreyen Ersten / das die nicht Metallisch seindt / noch Wasser / noch *Gluten*, sondern gantz Steinisch / also in die wirckung gebracht. In diesem *Ares* ist anfenglich die Reinigung von den Mineren gangen / darnach die Frucht der Steinen / darnach am letsten die Gemmen Procreirt.

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Moreover, it frequently happens that a sort of foam is found on rocks | such 144
as native silver, also on meadows as native gold,[1] and in many other ways in the *yliadum*, mostly in the waters. For such free-standing gold is pushed by the water along with the sand on the globe and then found in grains, as it occurs in the Rhine and elsewhere. For the cataracts of water that traverse the *trival* line in which there is gold push it to the surface depending on whether much or little was present. And the more it happens with torrents and powerful rivers, the more it gets washed out, and cast up onto the surface of the globe onto banks and soils. Moreover, it happens often that two, three, or [more] metals are found mixed together, as with copper, silver, and gold, with tin, or what have you. This happens because in *Ares* the *archeus* in its operation of expelling them to the *yliadum* allows two or three to merge, namely the metals that are similar and related, as silver and gold. It happens often that in their separation, the one remains in the other. Likewise, with the other metals. When they are mixed together, and it comes to coagulation, they do not separate back ever again, and thus remain together.

TRACTATVS QVARTVS.
DE LAPIDIBVS ET GEMMIS ELEMENTI AQUAE.
[Fourth Tract. On Stones and Gems of the Element of Water]

CAPVT PRIMVM.
PROLOGVS.

In the prime *Yle*, back when *Ares* was set up and configured in its operation,[2] the lapidary *materia* was also instituted in *Ares* by the three principles, that is, *liquor salis, liquor sulphuris*, and *liquor mercurii*. For these three are the beginnings of all things and their *prima materia*. The stones derive their hardness and coagulation from | *liquor salis*, their *corpus* from *sulphur*, their weight from the 145
mercurius, and to a certain extent their *corpus* as well.[3] They are distinct from the other three principles insofar as they are not metallic, nor water, nor *gluten*, but lapidary, and this is in this way that they act. In this particular *Ares*, first the cleansing from the mine occurred, after that the lapidary fruit, and finally the gems, were procreated.

1 German dictionaries such as Grimm and the FNHDW refer only to this single occurrence for *Tafelsilber* and *Flammgold*. Based on the context, we interpret both terms as descriptions of native silver and gold as found in nature.

2 On *Yle*, see above, H 8:124. On *Ares*, see above, H 8:66.

3 For other such mentions, see the references listed below, H 8:261.

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Darinn zu wissen ist / das etlich *Generationes* geschehen seindt / vnnd nimmer geschehen : Das ist / was da im Ersten *Ares* die Reinigung geben hatt / als Felsen vnnd Sandt[a] / deß wachst nichts mehr. Dann anfenglich ist der *Archeus* in der Reinigung der dreyen Ersten gewaltig gelegen / vnnd sie Depuriert / vnnd gereinigt an jhr statt : Darumb weither kein Reinigung mehr beschicht. Also wachst auch kein Felß mehr / auch kein Sandt nicht : Aber ander Stein vnnd Gemmen geberen sich täglich mehr zu denen / die vormahls geboren seindt. Nuhn aber seindt etlich Stein / die auß den dreyen Ersten nicht kommen / sondern Impressionisch vom Element Fewr geborn werden. Dieselbigen Stein / als Crystallen / Berillen / Citrinen / etc. werden vom Element Fewer erzehlt / vnnd hie inn diesem Tractat nicht.

CAP. II.
Von Felsen.

Anfenglich im *Ares*, als er sich Purgiert hatt von seiner Steinischen vberflüssigen *Materia*, ist das *Corpus* der Felsen dorauß worden. Wann ein jedlicher Felsen ist allein ein Schweffel *Corpus*, mit Saltz Coaguliertt / vnnd mit *Mercurio* Tingiert vnd geferbt / also. Do die drey Ersten auß dem *Ares* geworffen seindt / haben sie Ebulliert vnnd auffgesotten in der Globul / vnd von einander getrungen die Erden mit gewalt / vnnd jhnen selber Weg in den *Yliadum* gemacht nach der *Triual* Lingen. Dann das Saltz / vnnd der *Sulphur*, die do gestanden seindt / haben sich nicht mögen vergleichen in der Globul mit der Erden / sondern durch die Erden in das Wiederspiel gebracht / vnnd in ein
146 Wüten kommen / vnnd [sich] | gebläet / als ein Schaum oder Gest vonn einem Fleisch oder Wein. Dann ein jedlicher Felsen ist nichts / als allein ein Gest der dreyen Ersten in der Steinischen Materien / darumb er mit Gewalt hindurch getrungen hatt / durch die Triual Lingen an Tag zu Endt deß *Yliadi :* Vnnd so bald er kommen ist an *Yliadum* durch die Obern zwey Element / [sich] nider geschlagen / vnnd Induriert worden / vnd also blieben stehn / wie er im Gest gestanden ist / vnnd darauß ein Felsen worden / an den enden vnnd orthen / da sie seindt. Darumb viel Felsen gar auff der Erden ligen / vnnd vnder der Erden kein Felsen ist : Auß vrsachen / das der Gest aller hinauff ist auff die Globul / etwann noch in der Triual Lingen blieben / vnnd vbereylet / durch die Obern Element zu baldt erhertt / vnd noch in der Erden ligend Coaguliert. Vnd haben jhr Form / Spitz / vnd Eck / Schroffen vnd Zinck / auß dem Gest / wie sich der

a Notwithstanding the geological context, these two also have biblical associations for P., as in *Die grosse Wundartzney:* "Dann vollkommenen Künsten soll mann nachgehen / die auff einen **Felsen** gebawet sind / nit auff ein **Sand**" (H C:141b).

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It must be recognized that several *generationes* have come about once and for all; which is to say that the cleansing that occurred in the primal *Ares*, yielding rocks and sand—from it nothing further will sprout. For initially the *archeus* acted powerfully in the purification of the three principles, purifying and cleansing them in their place; so no further purification could take place there. Hence, the rocks do not continue to grow, nor does sand. Yet stones and gems are generated every day, more than what had come into being beforehand. There are, however, certain stones which do not issue from the three principles, but are born through impression from the element fire. Those stones, among them crystals, beryls, citrines, etc., are discussed under the heading of the element of fire rather than in the present treatise.[1]

CAP. II.
Concerning Rock.

In the beginning of the action of *Ares*, when it purged itself of superfluous lapidary *materia*, what resulted was rock. For every rock is but sulphurous *corpus*, coagulated with salt and tinctured and colored with *mercurius*, in this way. When the three principles were ejected from the *Ares*, they boiled over and spilled into the globe and thrust apart from one another against the earth and made their own way into the *Yliadum* along the *trival* line. For the salt and the *sulphur* abiding there were not disposed to accommodate themselves with the earth in the globe. Instead, the earth arrayed them in active opposition so that they raged and | swelled with a froth or egest as from meat or wine. For such a 146
rock is nothing but egest of the three principles in the lapidary material. Hence, it thrust through and emerged through the *trival* line into the *yliadum*. As soon as it arrived at the *yliadum* through the upper two elements, it precipitated and hardened, remaining there as in an egest. So it is with the rocks in all the places where they are found. This is why there are many rocks on the earth's surface but none below it. The reason is that their egest remained on the surface of the globe, perhaps while still in the *trival* line, and then hastened and hardened by the upper elements so that they abided on the earth in a coagulated state. It is from the egest and the way in which it swelled up[2] and abided that their forms derive: pointed or angular, harsh or serrate. They are not found in all lands of

1 See above, H 8:90–92.

2 Where we translate with "swelling," P. consistently used the words foaming up ("aufschaumen"). The phrase is still used in the next chapter.

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auffgeblasen hatt / also in der Form bliben ist. Das sie aber nicht in allen Ländern der Globuln seindt : Vrsacht das / daß ein Spalt / vnd jhm ein Kröcken gemacht hatt / wie es am ersten gespaltten ist worden / demselben nach hinauß gangen / wie es ohn geferd getroffen ist worden / mit sampt den Thälern / vnnd Alpen also geformiert. Darumb in den Thälern die Erden darauff bliben ist : Auß vrsachen / das im auffschaumen die Erden auff dem Schaum bliben ist / vnnd [die] Alpen vnd Thälern also fruchtbar gworden / vnd gemacht : Der Erden halben / so auff dem Schaum bliben ist / fruchtbar Thäler gemacht haben vnnd Alpen. Wo aber die Erd vom Schaum gefallen ist / da seind drucken vnd bloß Felsen.

CAP. III.
Vom Sandt.

Der Sand kommt auß dem Corpus der dreyen Ersten / so zu grob ist in die Stein / vnd die Geberung der Stein nicht annimbt. Sein *Corpus* ist Saltz / sein zusammen setzung ist Schwefel / sein Compaction *Mercurius :* Vnd ist dz / so zu keinen Steinen nit düglich ist / vnd auch kein Schaum nit ist. Darumb so folgt es nach dem Schaum / so der Gest von den Steinischen dreyen Ersten ist : Als dann scheidet der *Archeus* herauß / was nit Steinische Arth in jhm hatt / oder
147 zu Steinen | geformiert mag werden. Als dann ist der Sand / der von stundan herauß gehet / nach der ersten Scheidung / vnnd gehet in die Triual Lingen in *Yliadum* mit sampt dem Wasser / vnd Coaguliert sich ausserhalb dem *Ares* zu Körnlin / auß Arth deß Saltz / dann es nimbt die Form auß dem Saltz / das also Coaguliert / vnd wird in den *Yliadum* getrieben / am mehristen mit den Wasserflüssen / auff die Ebny der Globul. Was aber im Ersten *Ares* von stundan nach dem Gest geworden ist / dasselbig hatt sich auff die Erden gelegt / in massen wie die Felsen herauff getriben ist worden. Darumb etlich Länder voller Sand gefunden werden / auß vrsachen / daß sie der Gest der Felsen von jhn gestossen hatt / vnd geschiden / vnd also gefallen auff die Ebni : etwann mit Erden vermischt / etwann vnder der Erden / darumb / dz sie die Erden mit jhn auffgehebt haben / vnd nit gar vber sie kommen ist / durch den *Archeum* in der Operation. In solchem Sand ligt das gantz Meer : Dann dz auß der vrsachen / das anfenglich / wie vom Element *Terræ* steht / dz die Globul am ersten ist geworden auß dem Element *Terræ*, vnd auff das die *Generationes* deß Elements *Aquae*, vor allen am ersten die Reinigung der Früchten deß Elements *Aquae*, darnach dz Wasser / vnd die andern Frücht / [ist] das Wasser / durch den Sand getrungen vnd außgehült / vnd sich darein gelegert. Also seindt die Meer erstanden vnd eingraben worden / vnd wirdt allein erhalten durch die Krafft deß Centrums / vnnd durch kein festen Damm / allein was der *Centrum* thut. Wo der *Centrum*

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the globe because there was a crack and a split,[1] so that coinciding with this initial splitting there was an outward impulse, roughly shaping the landscape including the valleys and Alps. This is why in the valleys the earth remained on top. In its swelling, the earth remained upward. This is what made [the] Alps and valleys so fertile: it was the earth that remained uppermost of the swelling which made the valleys and Alps fertile. Where instead the earth fell off the swelling, there was nothing but dry rock.

CAP. III.
Concerning Sand.

Sand stems from the corpus of the three principles, wherever it is too coarse to go into the stones so that the latter cannot be generated. Its *corpus* is the salt; its composition the sulphur; and its compaction the *mercurius*. It emerges whenever there is nothing suitable for stones and there is no spume. It comes after the spume whenever there is an egest from the lapidary three principles. The *archeus* separates out whatever is not of a lapidary nature in it, whatever would not be | formed into stones. Then the sand which issues continuously 147
after the first separation passes into the *trival* line in the *yliadum*, together with the water. It coagulates with *Ares* to tiny grains resembling salt, which coagulates in the same way. It is driven into the *yliadum*, above all in rivers or streams, onto the surface of the globe. Whatever has come into being in the prime *Ares* after the egest spreads on the surface of the earth in the same way that the rocks have been thrown up. There is a reason why some countries are so full of sand. The egest of the rocks has cast it up and separated it off, so that it descends onto the plain. It is either mixed with earth or beneath the surface of the earth, having been cast up along with it and not strewn by the *archeus* in its operation. Amid such sand, the entire seas abide. This is so, because at the outset (as has been said of the element *terra*), it was from that element that the globe first arose, followed by the *generationes* of the element *aqua*, above all by the cleansing of its fruits, then followed by the water and the other fruits; the water was then pressed about and encased by the sand, so that it was stored within it. This is how the seas came into being and were scooped out, maintained by nothing but the power of the *centrum*, by no other dam or reservoir than that which the *centrum* brings about. If not for the *centrum*, the weight of the sea would

1 See Grimm, Krock.

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nicht wer / so zerfiel die Schweri deß Meers von einander : Dann kein Härtti ist da / die es möchte erhalten : Dann es ist allein der Damm vom Sand / der von stundan außgraben ist nach dem Gest / damit die Steinisch Krafft gantz vnnd Rein sey in jhrem Wesen.

CAP. IIII.
Vom Kißling.[a]

Die Geburt der Steinen / nemmen sich auß den dreyen Ersten der Steinen / nach der Scheidung der vorgemelten / also / das der grob *Sulphur, Sal* vnnd *Mer-*
148 *curius*, sich Resoluieren in ein Leym[b] / vnnd lauffen nach | der Triual Lingen in *Yliadum*, etlich durch die Wassergäng / etlich für sich selbst in die Globul. Was für sich selbs herauß dringt / so bald es kommt auß dem *Archeo*, so hertet es sich / vnd macht auß jhm selbst Steinhauffen / wie dann die Steinbrüch seind in vielerley weg / nach dem vnd der *Sulphur, Sal* vnd *Mercurius* sich viel oder nicht in der Composition halten : Dergleichen nemmen sie also von denen die Farben.

Welche aber in die Wasser kommen / also in Leymsweiß / die lauffen mit dem Wasser herauß in *Yliadum*, die Coagulierend sich vnderwegen im Wasser / setzt sich durch Krafft deß Saltzgeists an / vnnd kornt sich klein / vnnd henckt sich jhe lenger jhe mehr Schleim daran / vnnd grösset sich. Darumb jhe weither vom Vrsprung der Wasser / jhe weniger Stein gefünden werden / dann an selbigen orthen / da die *Materia* der Steinen außlaufft im Wasser / Coagulirt sich von stund an / so es den *Yliadum* begreifft / vnnd bleibt an der statt ligen. Durch den weg werden alle Stein geboren / vnnd nemmen also jhren anfang. Dufftstein[c] auch dergleichen in der Globul / allein auß einem Weissen Schweffel gesetzt werden / der da Fix ist im Fewr vnnd Wasser.

CAP. V.
Vom vnderscheid der Steinen.

Die Marmel nemmen jhre Farben vom Schwefel / dann der *Sulphur* ist aller Steinen *Corpus*, wie der *Mercurius* der Metallen : Vnnd ist Rott / darauß alle Marmel / vnnd Rott ander Stein werden : Nimbt sein Härti vom Saltz / vnd

a Two associations characterize *Kißling:* it is on the one hand coarse and inert ("wie ein grober **Kißling** gegen einem scheinenden Carfunckel" in *Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:3a), while on the other, as flint, also containing hidden fire.

b *Leym* is essential to God's plan for human industry and medicine: "Natur selbs / ist die Artzney: So soll sie in der Natur auch gelehrnet vnnd gesuchet werden. Als ein Exempel: Auß dem

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collapse. For it has no hardness to maintain it but only the dam or reservoir of sand which has been excavated after the egest so that there was the lapidary force whole and pure in its being.

CAP. IV.
Concerning Pebbles.

The emergence of stones arises from their three principles. Following the separation of the previously discussed entities, it happens that the coarse *sulphur, sal,* and *mercurius* become resolved to a clay and run | in accordance with the 148
trival line into the *yliadum*, some by way of the waterways, some on their own into the globe. Whatever emerges by itself, immediately upon emerging from the *archeus*, gets hardened and transformed into a pile of stones, as is the case in quarries of many kinds, depending on whether the *sulphur, sal,* and *mercurius* are much or little within the composition. From them, derive the colors in the same way.

But the entities that enter and flow with the waters, as for example in the form of clay, exit with it into the *yliadum;* and these coagulate in the water along the way. They congeal by the power of the salt spirit and become finely grained. The longer that slime accrues to them, the bigger they grow. For this reason, the further away from the water source, the fewer the stones found in it. When the *materia* of the stones flows into the water, it immediately coagulates as soon as it encounters the *yliadum* and remains on the bottom at that point. In this way, all stones are born and have their origin. Thus, tofa stone[1] and the like throughout the globe are composed of nothing but a white sulphur which becomes fixed in fire and water.

CAP. V.
Concerning the Distinctions of Stone.

The various marbles receive their colors from the sulphur. For *sulphur* is the *corpus* of all stones, as is *mercurius* of the metals. It is red, whence all forms of marble are red and other stones as well. It receives its hardness from the salt and

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Leim hat der Haffner sein Vrsprung genommen / Geschirr vnnd Gefäß auß jhm zu machen / vnnd dasselbig durch das Fewer vollendet" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:79b).

c See below, H 8:150, "Die **Dufftstein** sind die Stein / denn weder Wasser / noch Fewr schadet …"

1 See ETW 79; Grimm, Duftstein.

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Schwäri vom *Mercurio. Liquor Mercurij* musiert sich / auß der blüenden Krafft / so in jhm ist / vnnd bleibt also im Gewechs. Der aber Weiß vnd Rott ist vermischt / ist durch zwey Corpus / Weissen Sulphur vnd Rotten / zusammen kommen / vnd *in Liquoribus* lauffen mit einander / vnd also durch jhr vermischend Coaguliert werden *in Yliado*. Vnnd wie sie vngleich in ein Farben kommen / vngleich sindt vnd geblümbt erfunden werden : Also kommt auch der Weiß Marmel vom Weissen Schwefel / vnd ist das gröbist *Genus* vnder allen Steinen / vnd ist auch das erst Werck im *Archeo*, das in der Globul wird.

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CAP. VI.
Cacedonier.[a]

Der Cacedonier geschlecht ist die herttist vnd gröbist art vnter der Steinischen *Prima materia*, vber den Marmel / auß vrsachen / das ein subtiler Saltz in jhm ist / dann im Marmel : Aber baß gereinigt / dann der Marmel / auß vrsach / daß der Marmel die gröbist Substantz an sich gezogen hat / aber die nachgehende Grobi ist im Cacedonier. Seiner Geschlecht sind viel / auß vrsachen : Ettlich klar / dasselbig ist am meristen vom fixen Saltz also geworden / vnnd lautter wol gereinigten Schweffel / vnd *Mercurio*. Etlich dick / auß dem dicken Schwefel : nimbt sein farben / was Braun / Weiß / Blaw / vnd dergleichen ist / auß dem Saltzgeist : was Rott / vnd sein anhang ist / auß dem Schweffelgeist / vnd dergleichen auß *Mercurio*. Formiert sich in seinen farben mancherley weiß : Im duncklen mit zweyerley Corpus / wie der Marmel : Aber im lautern / da seind die Geist der dreyen Ersten / vnd musieren[b] dasselbig auß krafft deß *Ares*, als sein Geblüe. Dann kein Stein ist / er hab das Blü in jhm mit seinen Farben / vnd Blüwerck / darumb jhm die Natur *Archei* den Blumen gibt / vnd sein Form.

a The word occurs as well in its normal form with -l in P. (see e.g. above, H 8:90). In *Von den Blatern, Lähme, Beulen, Löcheren vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen* (H C:268c), this stone, again associated with marble, is also said to come mainly from salt: "der Marmor / vnd **Cacedonius** / vnd der Amethist / die alle drey auß dem Saltz gezogen sind."

b Huser gives the alternate reading "misciren" ("mix") in the margin.

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its opacity from the *mercurius*. The *liquor mercurii* is tinted by the blossoming power within it, and it remains this way in what grows from it. But the marble which is a mixture of white and red arises from two *corpora:* from white and red sulphur which come together to circulate *in liquoribus* and in combination are coagulated together in the *yliadum*. Just as they appear unequal in color, so do they appear unlike when they blossom fully. So, too, the white marble comes from white sulphur and is the coarsest *genus* of all stones. Moreover, it is the first work in the *archeus* to arise in the globe.

CAP. VI. 149
Chalcedony.

The genus of chalcedony is the hardest and coarsest kind among the lapidary *prima materia*, surpassing marble; for it contains a subtler salt than does marble. But it has been more thoroughly purified than marble; for marble will have attracted the coarsest substance. Yet a persistent coarseness resides in chalcedony. There are many kinds of it. Some are clear, having arisen from the greater amount of fixed salt and from clear and well purified sulphur. Some are thick, from the thicker sulphur; they take their colors, whether brown, white, or blue, and so on, from the salt spirit. Whatever is red or similar comes from the spirit of sulphur; and so on with *mercurius*. Their colors are manifold: in the dark one with two *corpora*, as in marble. But in the brighter one the spirits of the three principles are found; and it is tinted by the power of *Ares*, as its blossoming. For there is no stone that does not have the capacity to bloom in its colors or the means to do so, which the nature of the *archeus* lends it along with its form.

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CAP. VII.
Alabaster.[a]

Der *Alabaster* vnd ander mürb Stein / auch ettlich der mürben Amethisten[b] form / werden auß der mürbigkeit der dreyen Ersten in Steinen / also / das all jhr Mürbi / die da zu Steinen nit tauglich ist / vom *Archeo* auß dem *Ares* hinauß geworffen wirt : Darauß werden Alabaster / darinn ist kein Saltzgeist / sonder allein ein mürbe Substantz vom Saltz / vnd weissen Schweffel / compactiert mit *Mercurio*. Darumb in ettlichen Alabastern Blumen / wie im *Cacedonio* vnd Amathisten gefunden werden : Auß vrsachen / das dieselbig Steinisch wesen der Härtti manglet / aber der Farben nit : drumb der Härti halben Alabaster genennt werden vnd sind. Ander Alabaster haben kein offenlich Blumen / dann vrsachen / vilerley geschlecht der Steinen / haben vnsichtig Blumen in seiner
150 Substantz. Es | werden auch vil grober Stein / als Leberstein gefunden / die dermassen murb seind : kompt auß der vrsachen / daß die Marmel / vnd Cacedonier / Kißling / vnd Dufftstein hertti / so sie herauß gezogen werden / als dann / was vbrig da ist / ist allein ein Mürbi / manglet der Hertti / darumb grob mürb Leberstein darauß werden.

CAP. VIII.
Dufftstein.[c]

Die Dufftstein sind die Stein / denn weder Wasser / noch Fewr schadet : vnd ist gesetzt auß einem fixen Schwefel / der in keim Fewr verbrinnt / vnd von einem fixen Saltz / das in keim Wasser sich resoluiert / compactiert mit dem Liquor von *Mercurio*. Vnd ist die gröbist Substantz / die sich nit gletten leßt / noch Gletti an sich nimbt. Dann sie werden erst geboren / nach dem vnnd die Gletti der Cacedonier / vnnd Marmel / vnd Kißling / vnnd dergleichen herauß gezogen werden in jhr Wesen : Als dann die vbrig grob arth / die als ein grober

a Alabaster is among the substances that exercise powers of attraction: "Von den attractivis zu reden, sind etliche, die holz ziehen, fesen und solich ding, als asphaltum und carabe, etliche eisen, als magnes, etlich kupfer und zin, als die geferbten amethisten, etlich blei und stein, als der **alabaster**. etlich lempen vom fleisch, heimschröt, als die gummi, terpentin und asphaltum, etliche in allen stücken, als die serpentina" (*Bertheonea*—H 6:82).

b Such substances also have occult powers of repulsion: "Also auß solcher kunst treibt Hypericon jetzt Ascarides auß / jetzt Vermes, jetzt Serpentes, etc. Also wirckt Eisen deß Goldts krafft / vnd die **Amethisten** haben in den weg die krafft der Perlin / vnd der Marmel wirt also ein Hyacinth. Das ist die Himmlische wirckung : vnd noch der dingen viel mehr / die ich de potentia Astronomica schreib" (*Ein ander Paragranum*—H 2:135).

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CAP. VII.
Alabaster.[1]

Alabaster and the other friable stones, as well as some forms of friable amethyst, come from the friability of the lapidary three principles, in this way: all their friable quality, which is not suitable for stones, is cast out by the *Archeus* out of the *Ares*. What results is alabaster which does not contain the spirit of salt, but only the more friable substance of the salt and the white sulphur compacted with *mercurius*. Hence, in some alabasters there are blooms, like those found in chalcedony and amethysts.[2] All these kinds of stone lack the lapidary essence or harness, but not the colors. For this reason, they are called alabaster, and that is what they are. Other kinds of alabaster have no evident blossom.[3] The reason for this is that many kinds of stones possess invisible blossoms in their substance. There | are also many coarse stones, such as liver stone, which 150
are friable.[4] The reason for this is that, when the hardness of marble, chalcedony, pebbles, and tofa stone are extracted what remains is friable without firmness, so that coarse, friable liver stone is left.

CAP. VIII.
Tofa Stone.[5]

Tofa are the stones that cannot be damaged by water or fire. They are composed of a fixed sulphur impervious to fire and of a fixed salt that cannot be resolved by water, compacted with the *liquor* of *mercurius*. It is the coarsest substance; it cannot be smoothed and is not susceptible to a smooth property. They only come into being after the smoothness of the chalcedony, marble, and pebbles has been extracted and subsumed in those other stones. Only then does

c Cited elsewhere as crude, this stone is nonetheless the equal of its supposed superiors in the "light of nature": "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: das beweist das liecht der Natur" (*Opus Paramirum*—H 1:113).

1 See ETW 203, n. 4 (alabaster was used in medicine for various purposes including treatment of ulcerations according to Zedler).

2 See ETW, Amethyst, 161, 812.

3 See Grimm, Blume (12): *"bergmännisch*, blume, *blase, die der blick des silbers setzt:* das silber geht in blumen, *es wird bald blicken. man erwäge die verwandtschaft der wörter* blühen *und* blasen. die weisze blume *ist der weisze natürliche vitrtiol*." The blooms, as bubbles, pertain to the porousness of certain kinds of stone.

4 According to Grimm, *Leberstein* may designate slate or soapstone.

5 See ETW, tofa stone, 79.

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Moder / hool als ein Schwamm / Coaguliert sich zu einem Stein / darinn gar kein Subtiligkeit ist.

CAP. IX.
Schifferstein.

Die Schifferstein vnnd Plattenstein werden auß dem Corpus vom Sulphur / der in jhm hat den Saltzgeist / vnd ist gescheiden worden von allen anderen Steinen : Auß vrsachen / wo dieser Saltzschwefel ligt / vnnd ist / do laßt er kein Stein gantz / er spalt jhn : Darumb ist er besonder außgezogen. Seiner Geschlecht sind viel / vnd mancherley in der Schiferform / auch in Farben : dz alles kompt vom Saltzgeist / nach dem vnd er mit den farben gesetzt ist : je dünner / je subtiler er ist in farben / je dicker / je gröber.

CAP. X.
Von Gemmen.[a]

Die Gemmen nemmen jhren vrsprung in diesem *Ares* also. So auß dem *Ares*
151 alle geschlecht der groben Stein gezogen | sind / vnd nichts mehr darinn ist der Grobheit : So bleibt da ein lauttere Subtily / Diaphanischer art / vber all ander Stein auß / auß welcher der *Archeus* demnach die Edlen Gestein procreirt / vnd herfür zeucht / also in der form / das anfenglich die grössest Hertti / vnd die grössest Diaphanisch arth am ersten bereitt wirt. Demnach / so die Bereittung geschehen ist / also / daß es gnugsam vnd gerecht ist zu den Gemmen : Als dann werden die Gemmen darauß geschiden / vnnd præparirt / ein jedlicher Gemm in sein Form vnd Wesen : Vnnd ist die grössest Subtiligkeit der Natur / Geberung der Gemmen / vnd die höchste arth.

CAP. XI.
Carbuncul. *Color lucis*.[b]

Am ersten vnter allen Gemmen wirdt der Carbuncul herauß gezogen / dz ist die leüterist arth / so in allen dreyen Ersten ligt / die am Diaphanischen ist / vnd

a The gems have powers or *quintae essentiae* which are identical to their colors: "So ist nuh das zuuerstehen / [daß] die Quinta Essentia die Farb gibt / gleich wie die Tugent: vnnd so das Goldt sein Farb verloren hat / so ist jhm sein Quinta Essentia hinweg. Also ist auch von allen Metallen zuverstehen / so bald die farben entzogen / ist auch jhr Natur auß : vnd deßgleichen in den Steinen vnd **Gemmen**. Als die quinta Essentia Corallorum ist ein rothe Feiste / vnd das Corpus weiß. Der Smaragd ist ein griener Safft / vnd das Corpus weiß" (*Archidoxis*—H 6:27; cf. *Quinta Essentia* in note on H 8:100; cf. H 8:180).

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the remaining coarse essence which is like a crude decay, hollow as a sponge, becomes coagulated to a stone that lacks any subtle quality.

CAP. IX.
Slaty Stone.

The slaty and sheet-like stones come from the corpus of the sulphur that bears within it the salt spirit and has been separated out from all other stones. For wherever a saline sulphur abides it leaves no other stone whole without splitting it. For this reason, it is extracted separately. Its kinds are many, many of them in the slaty form, and they are of many colors. All of this results from the spirit of salt, depending on how it is combined with colors: the thinner and subtler it is in color, the thicker and coarser.

CAP. X.
Concerning Gems.

Gems bear the same origin in this same *Ares:* when all the classes of coarse stones have been extracted from *Ares* | nothing remains of the coarseness: what 151
is left is a pure and clear subtleness of a diaphanous kind surpassing all other stones. Out of this quality, the *archeus* then generates the precious stones and brings them forth, and indeed in such a form that from the beginning, they display the greatest hardness and the greatest diaphanous character. When they have been processed in a way that is sufficient and adequate for gems, these are then separated and fashioned, each gem in its form and essence. The generation of gems is the greatest subtleness of nature, and the most sublime species.

CAP. XI.
Carbuncle.[1] *Color lucis.* [The Color of Light]

First among all gems is the carbuncle extracted: it has the cleanest character that lies in all three principles. It is the most diaphanous and resplendent.

b Specification of **color** is again not idle: "Also auch können 24. colores im Gold sein / vnnd die bleichest weret als lang als die hüpschest : Vnnd können zwey vnd dreyssigerley weyche im Silber stehen / vnnd je ein jegliches Silber wie das ander. Der gestalt in den anderen auch so mancherley gesundtheit seind auch im Menschen / vnnd der bleychest als gesund als der hüpschest. Also auch in Smaragdo seind neunzehenerley veränderung / siben vnnd achtzigerley farben in Saphyro, hundert vnnd zwey vnnd dreissigerley Schein in **Carbunculo** / zehenerley arth im Corniol / neunerley Viscositet in Corallis" (*Bertheonea*—H C:370a).

1 See ETW, carbuncle.

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am scheinbarlichsten. Vnd ist sein *Corpus* ein *Mercurius*, sein Farb ein *Sulphur*, vnd wenig Saltzgeist / von wegen der Coagulation. In jhm ist alle Liechti : Auß vrsachen / der *Sulphur* hat ein scheinbars Liecht in jhm / als die Kunst beweist von seiner Transmutierung : So alle Grobheit von jhm hinweg kommen / vnnd allein das subtilist / so im gantzen Sulphur ist / in ein Gemmen gebracht wirdt. Vnd geschicht durch die trefflich Regeneration der Clarificierung durch den *Archeum*, also / daß er wie ein subtiler *spiritus* auffsteigt durch die *Triual* Lingen in die *poros* der Globul / vnd von stundan in *Yliado* erherttet.

Seins geschlechts sind vil / als von Iacinthen vnd dergleichen / was scheinend vnd leüchtend Stein sind / auß dem Geschlecht *Carbunculi* sind. Dann jedlicher Grad der Liechty wirdt sonderlich geschiden / vnd für ein Stein gemacht. Deß geschlechts ist am wenigsten : dann alle Stein vnd Gemmen kommen auß diser *materia*, vnd ist das subtilist vnter jhn allen / vnnd das edlist.

CAP. XII.
Schmaragd.[a]

Der Schmaragd nimbt sein vrsprung auß denselbigen drey Ersten / vnd ist die
152 Grüni / so vnter den dreyen Ersten ligt. | Sein *Corpus* ist ein lapillirter *Mercurius*, vnnd sein Farben kompt auß jhm selbs / mit dem Saltzgeist Coaguliert : Steigt auff durch die Triual Lingen in *Yliadum* tröpfflins weiß / darumb er als die *Guttae* gefunden wirdt. Dann es Distillirt sich vom *Centro* deß *Ares* auß in die Höhi / vnd im wider absincken Coaguliert es erst sich selbst : Dann im Auffsteigen ists nit gnugsamen zu der Coagulation / sonder allein im Absteigen. Wo es also durchtreufft die *poros*, am selbigen [orth] es sind Stein / oder Erden / so Coagulirt es sich da / nach dem vnd der Tropff ist. Ettwann ist ein eilende Operation da / das viel Tropffen zusammen kommen / in Ein Maß / vnd also groß Schmaragd / auch ander Stein gefunden werden / nach dem vnd der *spiritus Ares* außgeht / vnd sich außspreitt. Vnnd werden an ettlichen orthen viel gefunden : Auß vrsachen / in der ersten Operation seind sie mehr gefallen auff Ein orth / als auff das ander / vnd also durch die Triual Lingen gezogen ettlichen Ländern zu / so auff diesen Triual Lingen im *Yliado* gelegen seind. Vnd nit / daß die Edli deß Landts also sey / sondern ohn gefehrde den *Yliadum* da getroffen. Es seind viel örther / da mehr ligt / dann nie erfahrn ist worden. Dann der *Ares*,

a Smaragd and many of the other gems and metals treated here are elsewhere subject to what P. calls "transplantation": "Wie nun die Transplantationes der Erden beschriben stehnd / so ist jetzt vom Element Aquae die Transplantation auch zu mercken / die geschicht durch Extractiones. Dann wie im menschen vier Matrices ligen / also ausserthalb dem Menschen auch. Es muß doch nicht nur Ein modus Transplantandi sein / jhr sind vil [...] Der Saphir ist auß der

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Its *corpus* is a *mercurius*, its color a *sulphur*, and it has little spirit of salt for the coagulation. There is all light in it, because the *sulphur* contains a radiant light, as art demonstrates in its transmutation. Everything coarse departs from it; only what is subtlest in the whole sulphur is transposed into a gem. This is brought about through the excellent regeneration of its clarification by the *archeus* so that it ascends as a subtle *spiritus* through the *trival* line into the *pori* of the globe, to be thenceforth hardened in the *yliadum*.

It comes in many kinds, such as hyacinths and their sort among the luminous and radiant stones from the family of the *carbunculi*. For every degree of brilliance is separated in particular and constituted as a stone. Of this particular kind there are the fewest. For all stones and gems come from this *materia*, which is the subtlest of them all and the noblest.

CAP. XII.
Emerald.

The emerald originates from the same three principles and is made of the green quality that abides among the three. | Its *corpus* is a lapillated *mercurius;* its 152
color is inherent to it, coagulated with the spirit of salt: ascending up through the *trival* line into the *yliadum* by drops, for which reason it appears as the *guttae*. For it is distilled from the *centrum* of *Ares* up high; only in precipitating does it coagulate. Its ascent does not suffice for coagulation but only its descent. Wherever it passes through the *pori*, where stones or earth are found, it coagulates there from the drops. Sometimes this operation is fast when many drops come together in a single receptacle, so that large emeralds and other stones appear when the *spiritus Ares* emanates and spreads out. In some spots, many are then found, since in the primal operation more of them will have fallen in one particular place than another, having been conducted through the trival line to certain regions which are situated on this trival line in the *yliadum*. This is not because of any particular superiority of that region; rather they will have struck the *yliadum* by chance. There are many places where more lie than have been discovered. The *Ares* that has produced so many crude stones must

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Fünfften Transplantation der Lasuren. Adamas auß der Andern Transplantation des Saturni. Der **Smaragd** ein Transplantiert Kupffer. Ich geschweig der andern / die alle extrahiert werden auß dem Element Aquae / das ist / auß jhren früchten / Als Gold ist ein Extracts vom Sulphur. Luna extrahiert vom Mercurio. Argentum vivum ist transplantiert von gleichen Metallen. […] Cacedonius ist ein Extractiert Gemma vom Saltz" (*Von den Blatern* […] *vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen*—H C:268c).

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der so viel roh Stein geben hatt / muß ein grosse Vile gehabt haben / darauß mehr / dann so wenig Gemmen worden seind. Solcher Schmaragdt sind mancherley / vnd werden nach den *Gradibus* durch den *Archeum* gemacht / vnd bey vns mit viel Nammen gesetzt / die alle die Grüni seind von den drey Ersten.

CAP. XIII.
Rubin.[a]

Der Rubin / vnd seine Farben all / in den Gemmen / was Rott sein / seind die Rötti deß Sulphurs / vnd das *Corpus* deß lapillierten *Mercurij*. Dann der *Mercurius* ist aller Gemmen *Corpus*, darumb sie sollendt schwär sein / vnnd kalt in allen stucken / vnd durchglantz / das wirdt lapilliert. Also zeucht der *Archeus* die Rötti herauß / darauß macht er viel geschlecht von rotten Gemmen / nach dem vnd ein jedtlicher Grad in jhm hatt / demnach ein Rubin darauß wirdt.

Granaten seind auch dergleichen / allein / daß sie deß Saltzs mehr haben /
153 als die Rubin / darumb sie vierecket werden. Also | auch andere *genera*, die von der Rötti deß Schweffels in dem Corpus *Mercurij* werden / in viel Form vnnd *Gradibus*, nach der arth deß Schweffels / vnd deß Saltzes / vnd Leüteri deß Corpus *Mercurij*.

CAP. XIIII.
Adamas.[b]

Der vrsprung Adamas ist die gröste Härtti aller Gesteinen / vnd wird auß allen gezogen / vnd wachst allein auß der Härtti. Sein *Corpus* ist *Mercurius*, sein Coagulation allein der Saltzgeist / der *Sulphur* sein Farben. Vnd ist Diaphanisch vnd lautter / dann sie seind alle Lapilliert vnd wol geleüttert : Diese *generatio* Adamas nimbt die Härtti der Gemmen / die sonst alle noch härtter werendt : vnnd ist die Härtti am mehristen / die dem Alabaster abgeht / vnnd den mürben Amathisten / durch den *Archeum* in ein sonder wesen gebracht vnd gesetzt : Also auch von andern Gemmen zuuerstehn ist.

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a Inner and outer, pathology and mineralogy are comprehensively linked elsewhere: "Vnd zu gleicher weiß wie die Eusser Impression eingeht in die Elementaten / Also gehet auch ein dieselbig Infection in die Mineralia Microcosmi. Darumb sich erscheint daß jhr in dem Apostem Thalk / das jhr Phlegmonides heissen / vnnd das Apostem Plumosum / welches jhr in die Vndimiam setzen / größlich jrrendt / vnd das Apostem Anthracis / das **Rubini** ist / vnnd nennent Carbunculum / der etwas weniges sich concordiert hierin" (*Liber 5 de Apostematibus*—H C:426b).

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have possessed a great abundance, more than the few actual gems. There are many such emeralds which have been made in accordance with the *gradi* by the *archeus* to be given many different names by us, all of which refer to the green quality of the three principles.

CAP. XIII.
Ruby.

The ruby and its colors in all gems that are red have the redness of the sulphur and the *corpus* of lapillated *mercurius*. For *mercurius* constitutes the *corpus* of all gems, for which reason they should be heavy and cold in all particulars, as well as translucent in their lapidation. Thus, does the *archeus* extract the redness, creating so many kinds of red gems, depending on the degree at hand, so that a ruby results.

Grenadines are of the same sort, though they have more of the salt than do the rubies so that they are rectangular. So, too, | with the other *genera*, which 153
derive from the sulphur in the corpus of the *mercurius* in many forms and degrees, in accordance with the kinds of sulphur and salt and purity of the corpus of the *mercurius*.

CAP. XIV.
Adamas. [Diamond]

The source of *adamas* is the greatest hardness of all stones. It is extracted from all and grows from nothing other than this hardness. Its *corpus* is *mercurius;* its coagulation nothing but the spirit of salt; sulphur its colors. Moreover, it is diaphanous and pure. They are all entirely lapillated and well-cleansed. The *generatio* of *adamas* takes the hardness of the gems which otherwise would themselves become more hardened, and the hardness at its highest, a quality which alabaster and friable amethysts lack, is brought to and established by the *archeus* in one particular essence. The same can be said of the other gems.

b The origination of diamond from the element of water is included in the essential knowledge of the physician: "Das jhr [...] ohn erkanmuß [...] wo auß dem Element Aquae der **Adamas** entspringe [...] So jhr dise Cosmographey / nicht nach dem Buchstaben / sonder nach den Linien der Natur wissend / auß Erfarenheit / wie möchte ich dann sagen / das jhr nicht Artzt werend" (*Von den Blatern* [...] *vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen*—H C:262c).

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CAP. XV.
Saphyr[a] / vnd ander Gemmen in der gemein.

Die Blawen Diaphinischen Gemmen / als der Saphyr ist / werden auß dem *Mercurio*, im Leib vnd in der Farben : Wird gesetzt auß weissem Sulphur / vnd weissem Saltz / aber auß einem bleichen *Mercurio*, der da Lapillirt ist : Darumb offt ein weisser Saphyr gefunden wird / auß der vrsachen / daß der *Mercurius* Weiß mitlaufft : Auch Gelb / auß vrsachen / daß die Farben Gelb im *Mercurio* auch ligend.

Auß dem folget / das alle *Gemmæ*, die jhr farben auß dem *Mercurio* nemmen / die Edlisten / vnd schweristen seind / vnnd Mercurialisch Gemmen heissen.

Also in der Form vnd Weiß werden alle Gemmen geborn auß den dreyen Ersten / die auff die Steinische arth vnd Gemmische geprædestinirt seind.

Auff das folgt auch / das ettlich Stein in souil mancherley weg geferbt / get-
154 heilt / gesprecklet / vnnd dergleichen / wachsen : | Das alles seinen vrsprung nimbt auß dem / das ettwann zwo / oder drey Materien / von zweyen / oder dreyen Gemmen zusammen kommen / vnd sich doch nit vermischen in Ein farben / sonder bleiben in jhren Farben. Darumb offtmals viel farben gefunden werden in Einem Gemmen. Sich begibt auch vil / das etwann der lautter *Mercurius*, mit dem Saltz geferbt wirt / mit zweyen / oder mit dreyen / oder mehr farben / vnd darnach dieselben Farben all kommen allein auß dem Saltzgeist / als Braun / Blaw / Weiß / Grün / vnd dergleichen / all Graw : vnd anhangt etwann vom Schwefel / so derselbige kompt in ein lautter *Mercurij corpus*, vnd lautter Saltz / die ohn farben sind / Rott / vnd dergleichen / vil gespregleter farben macht. Auch der *Mercurius*, so er ohn farben vom Saltz. vnd Sulphur bleibt / vnnd mit seiner Farben selbs herfür kompt / Grün / Blaw / Weiß / Gelb / vnd Schwartz macht : Oder etwann all drey durch einander gespreglet Farben setzen / vnd vnuermischt bleiben : als Oel vnd Wasser / sich nicht vermengt / also die drey *Liquores* mit jhren farben auch verhartten / vnd also in der Coagulation bleiben / vnd erfunden werden / deren viel ohn zahl sind.

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a Although P. treats of gems collectively, this one is significant enough to name and single out: "[…] 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 / vnnd Coagulationem / vnnd Fixationem" (*Paragranum*—H 2:67).

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CAP. XV.
Sapphire[1] and Other Gems in General.

The blue diaphanous gems such as sapphire stem from *mercurius* in their physical and chromatic properties. They are composed of white sulphur and white salt, but from a pale *mercurius* that is lapillated. This is why so often a white sapphire is discovered: the white *mercurius* has entered into the process. Yellow is another possibility, since this color also resides in the *mercurius*.

It follows from this that all *gemmae* that derive their colors from the *mercurius* are the noblest and heaviest; they are known as mercurial gems.

It follows further, that there are certain stones that grow so variously tinted, segmented, spotted, and so on. | All this results when two or three gems 154
coincide in originating from two or three materials without combining into a single color, but instead retaining the colors or their sources. For this reason, it often happens that several colors are found in a single gem. It also often happens that a pure *mercurius* is tinged with the salt with two, three, or more colors, after which all these colors emerge by themselves from the spirit of salt: brown, white, green, and so on, all of them gray. This sometimes attaches to the sulphur when it merges with a pure *corpus mercurii*, when these are uncolored, causing intensely spotted stones, with red or whatever color. The *mercurius*, no less, when uncolored by the salt and sulphur, emerges with its own colors, causing green, blue, white, yellow, and black. Or it happens that all three cause colors that are dotted together and remain unmixed, the way oil and water do not mix. In the same way, the three *liquores* retain their colors and remain so in the state of coagulation and are then encountered as such in innumerable variations.

1 See ETW.

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TRACTATVS QVINTVS, De Glutine[a] *Elementi Aqvae.*

CAPVT PRIMVM. Praeambulum.

Wie nun die *Prima materia* auff ein jedlichs sunderlich geordnet ist / also ist es auch von *Glutine* zuverstehn / das alle Gluten auß Einer Materien kommen : das ist / Schwefel / Corallen / *Carabe* vnd *Entali*, welche alle auß einer besondern *Prima materia* kommen / nemlich auß dem *liquore Sulphuris, Salis* vnd *Mercurij* : Vnd ist der Eigenschafft eines zehen Hartz oder Leims / die da bleiben an jhnen selber / wie sie dann an jhnen selber erfunden werden. Dise *prima materia* ist ein Form vnd *Liquor* eines Hartzs / der da ettlichs theils Steinisch arth an jhm hatt / darauß ettwas gleichformigs wird den Gemmen vnd andern Steinen / vnnd doch derselben Materien nit. Vnd ist vereinigt auß dreyen Mate-
155 rien : von deren Steinischen | ein theil : von den Metallen den andern theil / in der Resolution : In der Salischen / von wegen der Diaphinischen arth / vnd im Gest / das etwann gleich dem Saltz ist : Vnd in dem vber sie alle / daß ein Hartz ist / vnd ein Zeheni / vnd ein brinnende krafft / nach dem vnd ein jedlichs ist / nit figirt / noch auß seiner Materien kommen / wie die Metall / sonder sie bleiben das / daß die Metall werden mögen / vnd darein transmutiert.

CAP. II.
Vom Salpeter / *Plumoso*,[b] vnd Oger.[c]

Anfenglich in diser *materia* scheidet der *Archeus* das hinauß / das nit von der arth ist der Resinen / vnd reinigt das also / daß ein lautter Resinen da bleib / das

a On *gluten*, see above, H 8:129, note.

b *De Praeparationibus* informs that "Ex **plumoso** geht Virtus insensiua, igitur optimum Medicamen in Paralysi" (H 6:239).

c *Annotationes* (*scholia*) *in libros duos Theophrasti de Tartaro*: "**Oger**, pestis, prunella, pleurisis : Auripigmenta, arsenica, plumosum, habent vnam generationem." (H 5:245).

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TRACTATVS QVINTVS.
De Glutine Elementi AQVAE.
[Fifth Tract. On the Gluten of the Element of Water]

CAPUT PRIMVM.
Praeambulum.

Now that the *prima materia* has been taken up each in its kind, it needs to be understood concerning *gluten* that all glutens come from a single material: sulphur, corals,[1] *carabe*,[2] and *entali*[3] which all stem from a particular *prima materia*, namely from the *liquor sulphuris, salis*, und *mercurius*. This is of the quality of a thick resin or lute which retain the same quality or form in which they are found. This *prima materia* is a liquid form of resin which often is of a lapidary quality. From it arise things that are structurally akin to the gems and other stones, but are not of the same material. It results from the combination of three materials: one part is stony material, | the second, metallic when 155
resolved, [the third] saline material, due to its diaphanous quality, as well as the egest, which is like a salt. Beyond this, in all there is a resin, a viscousness, and an inflammable quality that varies with their particular character. It is not fixed, and does not come out of its [prime] matter like metals do, but it stays as what the metals can become, and can be transmuted into.

CAP. II.
Concerning Saltpeter,[4] *plumosum* [Asbestos],[5] and Ocher.[6]

Initially, in this material, the *archeus* separates out what is not of the nature of resins and purifies the latter so that pure resin remains which is capable of

1 See ETW, on corals and their healing power, 200–201; cf. Zedler, "Trochisci de Carabe" for context of the term.

2 Yellow amber. See ETW 807, n. 2. For the context of the terms "carabe und citrinen" and their relation to the substances of gems, see the drafts on spa waters: "Das Bad in oberen Baden / nimpt sein vrsprung auß den *Liquoribus Gemmarum*, nemlich auß dem *Carabe* vnd Citrinen / auch *Perlarum* […]" (H 7:318).

3 See *Die grosse Wundartzney* (H C:86c): "Thus, from the rock salt the layered alum comes out, which is called Entali when it is dead" ("Also wirdt auß dem Sal Gemmae der Alumen scissum, welcher Entali genent wirdt / so er gestorben ist"). *Alumen scissum* has been identified either as a kind of asbestos, or as feather alum (halotrichite). See Büttner 2004, 134–135.

4 See Principe-Weeks 1989.

5 Below, *plumosus* ("feathery") is identified as "Federweiß," i.e. *Federalaun* or *alumen plumosum*: asbestos.

6 See NCE, ocher is a mixture of iron oxide and clay, occurring naturally as yellow ocher, the iron oxide being limonite, or as red ocher, the iron oxide being hematite.

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do zumfliessen vnd Coaguliren geschickt sey. In dieser Separation anfenglich geht herauß die vnreinigkeit vom Saltz so in diesen dreyen Ersten ist / durch die *Triual* Lingen in *Yliadum*, vnnd Coaguliert sich. Ettwann darauß wirt der Salpeter / der dann ist allein der Schaum vom Saltz der Resinen / vnd erzeigt sich am meristen an Felsen : auß vrsachen / in der Erden wirdt er wider resoluirt / vnd zergehet / aber im Felsen da Coaguliert er sich / vnnd scheüst herauß Zapffen weiß : Also ist der *Archeus* deß Saltzs also. Diser Scheidung nach reinigt sich der *Mercurius* von seiner Grobigkeit / vnd geht von jhm sein Gest durch die *Triual* Lingen in *Yliadum*, da Coaguliert es sich / vnnd wachst nach seiner arth / darauß wirt *Plumosum*, Federweiß / das ist allein der Schaum vom *Mercurio*, der also da nit Resinisch ist / sonder fix : Wann in diesen dreyen Ersten bleibt nichts fix. Dornach scheidet sich herauß vom Sulphur sein Wuest / darauß wird Oger / der sich gleich einer Erden macht / vnd Stein / vnd deren keins nicht ist. Solcher dreyen Gest seind mancherley geformbt vnnd gestalt / all auß der Materien der Resinen / vnd denselbigen gantz widerwertig / in jrem Wesen. Vnd demnach im selbigen Land Oger / *Plumosum*, oder Salpeter gefunden werden / darnach werden rein oder lautter Resinen erfunden / oder besonder arth / oder gestalt / deren vil im *Ares* ligen / durch den *Archeum* herfür gebracht.

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CAP. III.
Vom *Arsenico*.

Wo nuhn also die drey Materien gereiniget seind / geht hernach die erst scheidung seines wesens / vnd ist der Arsenick / Weiß vnd Gelb / in der gestalt / das die Matery etwas Metallisch an jhr hat / darumb sie sich den Metallen zueignet / vnd gemeinklich sich schlecht zu dem Ertz / vnd mit demselben Coagulirt wird. Als dann durch die scheidung derselben kommen von einander die frucht der Metallen besonder / vnd die frucht der Resinen besonder. Auch begibt sich vil mahl / daß der Arsenick allein auffsteigt in der *Triual* Lingen in *Yliadum :* derselbige Arsenick macht jhm sein besonder Ertz / dann er ist das gröbest / so im Resin ligt / vnnd sicht gleich den Metallischen in der Arbeit / aber nicht in der Form. Vnd ist die gantz gifftigkeit der Resinen in jhm alle zusammen kommen in ein *Corpus*. Dann vnter allen früchten deß Elements *Aquae* ist nit grösser Gifft / als in der *materia* der Resinen : Darumb ein besonder gewechß herauß geht auß dem Leib deß Saltzs.

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flowing and coagulating. In the separation, what is parted by way of the *trival* line into the *yliadum* to coagulate is first of all the impurity of the salt abiding in the three principles. From this results saltpeter, which in itself is the foam of the salt of the resins. You see it most of all on stony surfaces. The reason for this is that in the earth it gets resolved and dissolved; however, on the stony surfaces it gets coagulated, emerging in cone-like formations. This is the effect of the *archeus* of salt. By this separation, the *mercurius* is cleansed of its coarseness. Its egest departs through the *trival* line into the *yliadum* to coagulate and grow in its peculiar manner. There results *plumosum*, asbestos, which is nothing but the foam of the *mercurius*, not resinous but fixed. For in these three principles, nothing remains fixed. After this, the sulphur is separated from its waste, which becomes ocher that behaves like earth or stone, yet is neither. These sorts of egest are formed and shaped in various ways from the matter of the resins, yet they are quite opposed to them in essence. In the same region, ocher, *plumosum*, or saltpeter may be found, or some other peculiarity of which there are many in *Ares*, elicited by the *archeus*.

CAP. III. 156
Concerning *arsenicum*.[1]

After the three materials have been purified, there occurs the first separation of its essence which is arsenic, either white or yellow. Its form is from the affinity with metal, for which reason it can be accorded to the metals and is generally coagulated and included with ore. By way of its separation, the products of the metals are distinguished from the products of resins. It often happens as well that by itself the arsenic ascends in the *trival* line into the *yliadum:* this particular arsenic generates a special kind of ore. For it is the coarsest substance in the resin. It appears like the metals in its operation but not in its form. Moreover, the full poisonous quality of the resins coincides in it in a single *corpus*. For among all products of the element *aqua*, there is no more virulent poison than in the *materia* of the resins. Hence, it is a particular growth which proceeds from the body of the salt.

1 See ETW, *arsenicum*, 121.

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CAP. IIII.
Auripigment.[a]

Also geht nach dem *Arsenico* herauß der Auripigment / welcher sein *Corpus* auß dem Sulphur hatt / vnd sein Coagulation vom Saltz / vnd vom *Mercurio* den glantz : Ist Steinischer vnd Metallischer arth / vnd doch deren keins nicht / sonder das nachgehend Gifft / so auff den *Arsenicum* hernach folgt / gehet auß den dreyen Ersten in die Triual Lingen / da setzt es sich in *Yliadum*, vnnd generirt sich geschifert / vnnd getaflet : Dann da hengt vil von der arth an der Cachimien in der Form / vnd im Schein viel der Metallen / nemlich deß Goldts. Dann es ist ein gelber *Sulphur*, der also schön vff die Metallisch arth bereitt wirt.

CAP. V. ANTIMONIVM.[b]

Denen nach folgt das Spießglaß / nimbt sein *Corpus* auß dem *Mercurio*, vnnd
157 ist die gröbist arth deß *Mercurij*, nach | dem vnd er gereinigt wirdt : Behalt auch alle Krafft vnnd Tugendt deß *Mercurij*. Darumb vnder allen Früchten / so von den dreyen Ersten außgehnd / keinerley Frucht ist / dz deß *Mercurij* Wesen klarlicher behelt / als der *Antimonium :* Vnd ist nichts als allein ein Coaguliert *Mercurius* durch den Saltzgeist / vnd *Sulphur :* Allein das er ein grober *Mercurius* ist / vnd ein sprüssiger / auß vrsachen / dz er nicht kommt von der reinen Arth deß *Mercurij*, sondern in dieser *Materia* also geordnet. Steigt auff in *Yliadum* Ertzweiß / dann er hatt von wegen seines Corpus viel Ertzischer Arth in jhm / wiewol er die nicht ist.

CAP. VI.
Sulphur.

Demnach geht die Sulphur Arth herauß / wie sie an jhr selber ist / vnd sicht seim Corpus am gleichsten / wie der *Antimonium* seinem *Mercurio :* Vnd behalt auch die arth vnd dz wesen *Sulphuris* an jhm : Vermischt sich auch etwann vnder die Mineral / wie die andern vorbemelten Gewechs / darumb / dz sie

a Elsewhere *auripigment* also challenges the elemental division by harboring fire: "Als jr wisset / das ein jeglichs Gifft Arsenici, Mercurij, **Auripigmenti**, etc. brennend / fewrin Art in jm hat" (*Drey Bücher von den Frantzosen*—H C:183c).

b This offers a premier example of P.'s alchemical medicine: "Dann Artzney vnd Alchimey / soll allweg bey einander stehen. **Spießglaß** / oder **Antimonium** hat in jhm grosse wunderbarliche Heylung / in den Wunden die sich mit Leibschäden vereinigen / als mit Fisteln / Krebs / Wolff etc." (*Drey Bücher der Wundtartzney*—H C:495c).

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CAP. IV.
Orpiment.[1]

So it is that from the *arsenicum* proceeds orpiment, which receives its *corpus* from the sulphur, its coagulation from the salt, and its sheen from the *mercurius*. It is of a lapidary and metallic character, yet neither the one nor the other. Rather, it is the delayed poison that comes after the *arsenicum*, proceeding from the three principles into the trival line where it asserts itself in the *yliadum*, generating itself in a layered and stacked form. For it has much in common with the character of the cachymiae in form and in the sheen with the metals, namely with gold. It is a yellow sulphur which can be treated beautifully in the metallic manner.

CAP. V.
ANTIMONIVM.

After these comes antimony[2] which receives its *corpus* from *mercurius* and is the crudest form of the latter after | it is purified. It also retains the full 157
power and virtue of *mercurius*. Hence, of all the products of the three principles, none so clearly retains the essence of *mercurius* as does *antimonium*. It is nothing but a *mercurius*, coagulated by the salt spirit and the sulphur. It is, however, a coarse and brittle *mercurius*, stemming not from the pure nature of *mercurius*, yet found in the *materia*. It ascends into the *yliadum* as an ore, for physically it possesses much of the nature of an ore without being one.

CAP. VI.
Sulphur.

What comes up next is the nature of sulphur as it is in itself, most closely approximating its own body, as *antimonium* is to its *mercurius*. Moreover, it retains the nature and essence of *sulphur*. It ranges among minerals, like the products mentioned above. It is in certain regards like them. Thus, it often happens that

1 Orpiment is one of the two best known arsenic sulfides; the other one is realgar. See ETW, *realgar*, 156–157.

2 The title of this chapter is in capitals in Huser, which probably means nothing special. See Grimm, Spieszglanz, for an extensive discussion of the alchemical and medicinal properties of antimony. For the chemical properties, see NCE, "antimony." It was known to the ancients and an object of interest in P.'s time. See also Trense 1985.

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etwann denen gleich seind. Darumb offt ein *Sulphur* Göldisch gefunden wirdt / oder in einem Khiß / oder dergleichen / von wegen der vermischung in der Triual Lingen : Auch mit dem *Antimonio* offtmahls solchs beschicht.

CAP. VII. Entali.[a]

Also ist auch der *Entali* nichts / als allein das Saltz / seiner ersten Materien am gleichisten. Vnnd wie der *Antimonium* vom *Mercurio* sein *Corpus* nimbt / vnnd der *Sulphur* vom *Sulphure*, also der *Entali* vom Saltz. Aber in keinen weg vereiniget er sich mit den Metalln : Auß vrsachen / daß das Saltz kein Reinigung weither sucht / als allein in seiner *Materia* zu bleiben. Dieser *Entali* ist wol geferbt / vnd geschossen auß Krafft deß Saltz / das also zu formieren geordnet ist / vnd ligt im *Yliado* als ein Bergwerck / gleich einem Fixen Salpeter / der im Wasser Fix ist / vnd bestendig / vnd behalt an jhm die Materien deß Saltz / vnnd sein Wesen.

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CAP. VIII. Carabe Citrinum.[b]

Der Gelb *Carabe*[c] nimbt sein Vrsprung / nach dem vnd die vorbemelten groben harten Arth auß der Resinischen *Materia* kommen sind : Zeucht da *Archeus* herauß die Subtilist arth / vnder den dreyen Ersten : Das *Corpus* vom *Sulphure*, die Coagulation vom Saltz / vnd die Compaction vnd *Resinam Mercurij*. Vnd ist lautter vnd klar / auß vrsachen / es ist allein die Cläry der dreyen Ersten in jhm / kommt also herauß in *Yliadum* vnd Coagulirt sich / dorauß wird Gelber Agstein. Wiewol er sich Miscirt / vnd etwann mehr Weiß ist : Auß vrsachen / dz die Weisse deß Sulphurs mitlaufft / vnd also zwo oder drey Farben durch einander kommen / vnd geben die Blumen nach Arth der Steinen : Also Coaguliren sie sich damit. Vnd wz von *Carabe* Blumerey ist / ist ein gutter *Carabe :* Dann er soll seine Blumen nit verliren. Wa er aber seinen Blumen verleurt / da ist er zu fast Steinischer arth. Dann ein jedlicher Stein der den Blumen nit hatt / ist zu frü Coagulirt worden / vor dem vnd er zeittig geworden ist : Dasselb [ist nit]

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a See above, 305, note g.

b The *Artzneyisches Manuale* gives this definition and use: "Recipe **carabe citrinum**, id est Augstein, pone eum in loco in quo fit locus pluviae, quae de canna terrae fluit & mite jacere ad aliquot annos, dein excipe secundum quod mutetur ex splendore solis in lapidem pretiosum seu in margaritam" (H CA:55c).

c In addition to defining *carabe citrinum* as yellow amber, P. classifies amber among the extracts: "Argentum vivum ist transplantiert von gleichen Metallen. […] Cacedonius ist ein Extractiert Gemma vom Saltz. […] Dann also transplantieren sich auß den Ersten Dreyen alle Mineralia des Wassers. Der Margazith ist ein Extracts von dem Kakimia. Der Kakimia von

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a *sulphur* appears like gold, or is found in gravel or the like. This is because of admixture in the trival line. The same often happens with *antimonium*.

CAP. VII.
Entali.[1]

Entali is nothing but the salt, resembling its first matter most closely. Just as *antimonium* has its *corpus* from *mercurius*, and *sulphur* from *sulphur*, so does *entali* have its body from salt. But in no way does it unite with the metals, for salt does not seek any other purification than to only stay in its own *materia*. This *entali* is well tinged and crystallized by the power of the salt which is devised to shape itself in this way. It resides in the *yliadum* as a mine, like a fixed saltpeter, one that is fixed and constant in water, retaining the material and essence of salt.

CAP. VIII.
Carabe Citrinum.[2]

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Yellow *carabe* originates only after the aforementioned coarse and hard qualities have left the resinous *materia*. First the *archeus* extracts the subtlest quality found among the three principles: the *corpus* from the *sulphur*, the coagulation from the salt, and the compaction from the *resina* of the *mercurius*. What one has then is pure and clear, since it contains nothing but the clarity of the three principles; this emerges into the *yliadum* and coagulates to yield yellow amber or agate.[3] However, it can become adulterated and even whiter when the whiteness of the sulphur enters into it. Two or three colors can merge yielding blooms in the manner of stones. In this combination, they coagulate. Whatever has the florality of *carabe* is good *carabe*. It will not lose its blossoms. When it does, however, it is reduced to a fully petrified mode. Any stone that lacks them has coagulated too soon before becoming ripe. What one has then [is not] of

Thalck. Der **Charabe** ein extracter Resin seins Elements. Der Sulphur ist extrahiert auß dem Margaxita. Asphaltum auß dem schwartzen **Karabe** / Vnnd also ander mehr da je eins auß dem anderen extrahiert ist worden / vnd das in mancherley gestalt / wie der Marmor / vnd Cacedonius / vnd der Amethist / die alle drey auß dem Saltz gezogen sind" (*Von den Blatern* [...] *vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen*—H C:268c).

1 *Alumen scissum* (feather alum). See above, H 8:154.

2 Yellow amber. See above, H 8:154.

3 See ETW, 807, Agstein, the term could refer to amber, agate, or even magnet.

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der *Carabe*, sondern seine Blumen / vnd wol gesprengt : Dann es ist ein Resin / dz da fleußt auß Arth seines Diaphinischen Schwefels : Vnd kalt ein Stein ist / auß Krafft der Composition *Mercurij* vnd *Salis*.

CAP. IX. Carabe Nigrum.[a]

Der Schwartz *Carabe* ist ein Schwartzer *Sulphur*, sonst aber in allweg gleich dem Gelben mit seiner Generation : Vnd hat aber in dem ein härtern *Spiritum* an jhm / dann der Gelb : Also / dz er viel Schiffer gibt / vor dem vnd er ligt : Auß vrsachen / dz viel arth in jhm ist / die da nit mag zu *Carabe* gehn / vnd wird ein Steinwerck darauß : Dann er hatt mehr der Steinischen Arth an jhm / dann all ander Resinen Frücht : Dorumb er sich offtmahls gar zu Steinen macht / vnd Stein darauß werden / dz ist / dz er von seiner Arth kommt vnd last / vnd macht sich selber zu einem Stein / also daß er den Fluß im Fewr / vnd alles dergleichen / verleurt / vnd gleich einem Schifferstein ist. Hengt sich auch viel in
159 die Steinische *Liquores*, vnnd Coagulirt sich | damit / da werden viel Schwartze Körnlin gefunden / wie die Granaten : Auß vrsachen / daß die Steinische *Materiam* in allen drey Ersten hatt / vnd vnderspickt ligt in jhr. Dann alle Schwartze Steinwerck der groben Arth / sind alle deß Schwartzen *Carabe* arth / vnd von jhm hie : Aber zerbrochen durch die Einmischung ander Materien / dordurch er sich selbs zu fast steinet / auß seiner eignen Arth.

CAP. X.
Corallen.[b]

Die Corallen nemmen jhren Vrsprung auß den Resinischen dreyen Ersten / also / das vom *Sulphure* ein Rötti bleibt / vnd ein Weisse Fixische Arth / dieselbig scheidet sich herauß durch den *Archeum*, Sahmens weiß / dz ist in Körnlins weiß / vnd wirfft dz also hinauß in *Yliadum*, welcher am meristen ist im Meer / dz ist / das anfenglich sein *Triual* Lingen in dz Meer gefallen ist : An solchen orthen wachst es. Wo es aber sunst in der Globul bleibt / do verdorret es / vnnd wird nichts darauß. So es aber in das Meer kommt / im selbigen *Yliado* hebt es an zu wachsen / vnnd wachst auß dem Körnlin ein Baum / gleich wie auß einem

a *Praelectiones Chirurgicae de Vulneribus* specify: "Aurum resolutum ultimum medicamen in Venenis. Aliqua veniunt ex Elemento terrae, ut asphaltum **nigrum** (id est **Karabe**) Vitrum, & omnia quae statim faciunt baire carnem, habent in se Venenum" (H C:472c).

b *Die grosse Wundartzney* explains the virtues and use of corals: "Also auch ist die Farben der **Corallen** / die Artzney vnd Tinctur zu reinigen das Blut. Dann in roten Corallen ist ein Mysterium vnd Arcanum, der gleichen nit vil seind: vnd also in Tugenden / der sie gebraucht / wirdt

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the *carabe* but rather of its blooms, nicely scattered. For it is a resin that flows out of the diaphanous sulphur. When cold, it is a stone from the power of the composition of *mercurius* and *sal*.

CAP. IX.
Carabe Nigrum.

Black *carabe* is a black *sulphur*, otherwise, however, it is in every way like the yellow variant in its generation. Yet it also bears a harder *spiritus* within it than the yellow. Accordingly, it yields much slaty formation in proximity to it. This happens because there are many qualities in it that do not readily become *carabe*, resulting in stone formations. It contains more lapidary quality than all the other products of resin. For this reason, it often gets petrified and stones then result: it abandons its prior nature, turning itself into stone. It divests itself of fluidity in fire, losing such qualities, and becomes like slaty stone. It also has much to do with the lapidary *liquores* and it coagulates | with them: many 159
black grains are then found, like garnets. The reason is that the lapidary *materia* resides in all three principles distributed among them. For all black stones of a coarse kind are of the nature of black *carabe*, resulting from it, yet it is fragmented by admixture of other materials, causing it to petrify too precipitously on its own.

CAP. X.
Corals.[1]

Corals originate from the resinous three principles. From the *Sulphur*, a red quality remains and a white fixated quality which is separated out by the *archeus*, in the manner of seeds, being disseminated into the *yliadum*, which predominates in the sea, for its *trival* line initially descended into the sea. In such places, it grows. If it remains, however, in any other part of the globe, it dries up, yielding nothing. Only in the sea and its *yliadum* does it begin to germinate and increase, growing from grains into a tree as with any other seed. In

nit möglich sein / das in seinem Blut Aussatz / Vnreinigkeit oder ander Vngesund gefunden mögen werden / vnd dermassen reinigt es das Blut / vnd erläuterts / daß kein offner Schad inwendig wurtzen mag vnd bleiben / auch auß dem Blut / es sey in welchen Adern das wölle / inwendig des Leibs / oder in den äussern Glidern" (H C:103a).

1 See ETW, esp. 200–201.

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Sahmen : Vnd so es wachst / sein Altter auß / so erhart es durch seinen eignen Saltzgeist / vnd Jahrzahl : Das beschicht auß seiner eignen Krafft / mit seiner gegebnen Zeit. Vnd nimbt seine Arth deß Wesens auß dem *Archeo* deß Elements *Aquae*, welches in allen Früchten sein besonder Gewechs hatt. Etwann das Silber wunderbarlich wachsen läßt / etwa das Goldt in seltzam Form. Also spilt die Natur in jhrer Meysterschafft / vnd frewet sich jhres Meisters / vnd jhrer Krafft. Auch wie der *Plumosum* vnd ander wachsen / also ist in den Corallen ein bsonder Gewechs auß dem Sahmen / so von den dreyen Ersten kommen in drey Farben / Rott / Weiß / vnd Gelb : Vnd ist dz letst Gewechs / so die Natur Produciert auß den dreyen Ersten der Resinen im Element *Aquae*, vnder den Edlesten Gewechsen.

Finis Libri Quarti Philosophiæ Theophrasti, de Generationibus Elementorum.

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growing to its full age, it is hardened by its salt spirit and years of age. This happens from its own power, in its given time. It receives the nature of its essence from the *archeus* of the element *aqua* which has its peculiar kind of growth in all its fruits. Thus, does it cause silver to grow wondrously, or gold in wondrous configurations. Thus, does nature play in her mastery, rejoicing in her Master and her powers. Like the growth in *plumosum* and other species, so, too, in corals there is a peculiar growth pattern from the seed, proceeding from the three principles, into three colors: red, white, and yellow. And this is the last growth which nature produces from the three principles of the resins in the element *aqua* among the noblest of all outgrowths.[1]

Finis Libri Quarti Philosophiae Theophrasti, de Generationibus Elementorum.

[End of the fourth book of Theophrastus' Philosophy on the generation of the elements.]

1 This sentence sounds distinctly like a deliberate conclusion, thus demonstrating that the whole treatise is indeed entirely completed and has been thought out by P.

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Als nuhn Gott hatt wöllen die Erden beschaffen / vnd in seiner Göttlichen Weißheit dieselbige fürbetracht / wie vnd in was wege sie sein solle / hatt er sie geteilt in Vier Theil / also / das da seind vier *Corpora*, welche 4. *Corpora* Mütter sollend sein aller der dingen / so dem zugehörig solten sein / den er nach seiner Bildtnuß beschaffen würde / das ist / *Adam*, das ist der Mensch. Do nun das Fürnehmen also in Gott beschlossen ist worden / da sind die vier *Corpora* geschaffen worden / nemlichen Himmel / Erden / Wasser / Lufft. Dann als die Geschrifft sagt / so hatt er am ersten den Himmel beschaffen / demnach die Erden / nachfolgendt die andern dergleichen.

Nun wissent jetzt auff dißmal / daß die vier *Corpora* allein Mütter sind /
178 also / daß sie tragendt die Früchte[a] / vnnd helffen denselbigen / | damit sich der Mensch ernehren soll. Als ein Exempel / die Erden tregt seine Frücht / derselbigen Frucht ernehret sich der Mensch / vnd der Erden nit. Also ist auch der Himmel ein ledig *Corpus* an jhm selbst / von dem da allein außgehn früchte zu erhalten den Menschen. Wie nun der Himmel seine Frücht zeigt vnd gibt / will ich in diesem Buch fürhalten. Vnd das *Caput* habe ich allein darumb anzeigt / dz der Himmel ein *Corpus* sey für sich selbst ohn all anders / vnnd seine Frucht gibt dem Menschen / wie die Erden.

a Here we can see distinctly the link between this treatise and the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:59: "Vnnd wie nuhn diese vier Yliastri geschaffen seind / vnd zu Elementen gemacht / das ist / zu **Müttern** seiner **Früchten** […]").

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LIBER[1] *METEORORVM PHILIPPI THEOPHRASTI Paracelsi, Philosophi & Medici excellentissimi.*

[The Book of the Meteors]

When God wanted to create the earth and contemplated in his Divine Wisdom how and in what way it should be, he thereupon divided it into four parts, these being the four *corpora* or mothers of all things pertaining to him whom he intended to create in his own image, namely ADAM, the human being. As soon as this intention was conceived in God, the four *corpora* were created, namely the heavens, earth, water, air. For as Scripture says, he first created the heavens, then the earth, and after that the rest.[2]

Now you should know that the four *corpora* are nothing but mothers in that they bear fruits and help them along | in order to nourish the human being. 178
Consider it this way. It is by their fruit that the human being, not the earth, is nourished. Likewise, the heavens are a *corpus* in their own right from which fruits proceed to sustain men. In this book I intend to demonstrate how the heavens manifest and yield their fruits. And this *caput* is to show that the heavens are a *corpus* of their own, separate from everything else, yielding their fruits to the human being, just as does the earth.

1 In Huser's edition, the pp. 160–176, comprised between the end of the *Philosophy of the Elements* and the present *Liber Meteororum*—usually designated as *De Meteoris*—, contain the *Philosophia de Generatione Hominis*, a tract not pertaining to meteorology, therefore not included in the present book.

2 See Gen. 1, 1: *In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram*.

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CAPVT I.
DE PATRE ELEMENTATO,
& Matre Elementata.[a]

Nuhn wissend weitter / das gesagt ist worden von den vier Elementen / wie das vier Element sein / dieselbigen muß der Mensch haben : vnd seind außgeteilt in die vier *Complexiones :* Aber es soll nit also sein wie die Alten geschrieben haben / nemlich / die Erden sey kalt vnd trocken / das ist nit also : Sondern / an ettlichen orthen also / kalt vnd trocken / an ettlichen kalt vnnd feucht / an ettlichen heiß vnd feucht / also auch heiß vnd trocken.[b] Aber ein *Elementum* ist es / dz ist / ein Mutter ist sie der Früchten. Vnnd das ist ein *Elementum*, das ein Mutter ist der dingen / so den Menschen erhalten / vnd nit von wegen der Complex. Also auch mit dem Wasser / da wirdt gesagt es sey kalt vnd feucht / vnd ist vielmal heiß vnd trocken / vnd kalt vnd trocken / etc. Dann das Wasser ist nit beschaffen / daß es soll kalt sein vnd feüchte / sondern es soll wol naß
179 sein / am andern ligt nichts. Die Nässi aber ist viel mal in jhrer krafft trocken / | hitzig / aber das *Corpus* ist in der Corporalischen Natur naß.[c] Das Erdtreich trocken / von wegen daß die Frücht auß derselbigen vnd in derselbigen also jhren fürgang mögen haben. Also ist der Himmel nit Einer Complexion / sonder auch vieler : Ist nit ein Fewr / vnd wirt ein Fewr geachtet : Er ist das Fewr / also / es kompt von jm. Sein Fewr ist ettwan Wasser / ettwan Fewr / ettwan Kalt / ettwan Warm / etc. So viel sollen jhr wissen vnnd verstehen / daß die Elementen allein Mütter sind / vnnd nicht in Ein Complexion zutreiben / sondern in mancherley.[d] Dann wie das ist / das von jhm wachst / also ist auch das / daß [das] selbige gemacht vnd geboren hatt / als *Flammula*[e] wirdt von *Flammula, Solatrum*[f] von *Solatro*.

Nun merckendt das also. Die Erden soll den Menschen tragen / vnd sein behausung / deßgleichen Stein / Felsen / Sand / vnd alle Gewächs. Auß dem folget nuh / dz sie muß sein ein Element / das da sey Compactirt vnd vest / also / daß sie solchs tragen mag. Auß dem folget nun / daß sie härt ist / dann mit dem Pflug muß sie gebawen werden. Nun das Wasser muß naß sein / von

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a For the two words *elementato* and *elementata* Huser added the variant reading *elementorum* in the margin.

b In the margin Huser added this heading: *Temperatum* ("balance").

c In the margin Huser added this heading: *Propter corpus Qualitates, non Complexiones* ("From the body come qualities, not complexions").

d In the margin Huser added this heading: *Nati sunt complexionati, non Matres* ("The children have a complexion, not the mothers").

e See above, H 8:121.

f Contrary to *Flammula*, **Solatrum** is cold (H 6:76).

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CAPUT I
DE PATRE ELEMENTATO
& Matre Elementata.[1]
[On the Elementated Father and Mother]

Now let it be understood further what has been said concerning the four elements; since they are such, they must also be possessed by the human being. They are distributed among the four *complexiones*. But in this respect, it is not the way the ancients claimed in their writings. It is not the case that earth is cold and dry. Not so at all.[2] Rather in certain places it is cold and dry; in others cold and moist; in still others hot and moist, as well as others hot and dry. But it is one *elementum*, that is, a mother of its fruits. Moreover, an *elementum* is characterized by its being a mother of things that sustain the human being[3] and not with regard to the complexions. The same applies to water. We say that it is cold and moist. Yet it can also be hot and dry and cold and dry, and so forth. For water was not created in order to be cold and moist. It should be liquid. That is all that matters. Yet liquidity is often in its powers dry or | warm. However, 179
the *corpus* is in terms of its corporeal nature liquid. The earthly realm is dry so that its fruits might proceed in it and from it. By the same token, the heavens are not constituted by one single complexion but by many. They are not fire yet are esteemed such. They are fire insofar as it comes from them. Their "fire" is sometimes water and sometimes fire, sometimes cold and sometimes warm, etc. Thus, it should be evident that the elements are nothing but mothers and cannot be subsumed under one single complexion, but under many. For whatever the nature of the thing born from it, that is the nature of the thing that has made and given birth to it, like *flammula* is born from *flammula, solatrum* from *solatrum*.[4]

Now take note of this. The earth should bear the human being and be his dwelling, as should the stones, cliffs, sand, and all vegetation. From this it follows that they must be an element compact and firm in order to be capable of bearing. From this it follows that it embodies hardness: it must be cultivated with a plow. Moreover, water must be liquid so that fish can swim in it,

1 Huser gave this variant reading in the margin: *De Patre elementorum & Matre elementorum*. We suspect that the words were abbreviated thus: "*element*." and he was looking for the most logical reading in this context. On the word *elementatum*, see above, H 8:125.

2 On this important argument see our introduction, on 6–7.

3 This definition should be compared with those of the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:56) and *De Elemento Aeris* (H 8:284).

4 *Flammula*: *clematis flammula*. *Solatrum*: *solanum*.

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wegen deß / das in jhm Fisch sollen schwimmen / das dann in der Erden nit sein mag / vnd soll Saltz geben / soll Stein geben. Nuh solches alles muß in seiner ersten Matery naß sein / vnd von der nässi kommen in ein *Coagulatum*. Was aber auß der Erden kompt / das hatt ein Sahmen / ein *Corpus* das trocken ist : als Sahmen / Wurtzen / Beum / vnd alles / seind von dürrer *Materia prima*, die da Compact ist. Im Wasser aber ist nichts also *in Prima materia*, das ein *Corpus compactum* sey / sonder alles ein *Liquor :* Das hatt nun sein Mutter auß dem Element Wasser / vnd im Element Wasser wachsen die *Vltimae materiae*,[a] deß anfang *Liquidum* ist vnd *Humidum*. Nuhn das dritte *Corpus* ist der Lufft : Dasselbige *Elementum* muß auch ein anders *Corpus* haben / also / das dasselbige *Corpus* nit sey *Humidum* wie das Wasser / nicht vest wie die Erden. Dann vrsach / alle ding die da wachsen auß dem Element / dieselbigen haben jren eingang in das *Corpus Aëris*, wie ein Fisch in dem Wasser. Der Mensch ist in das *Corpus Aëreum* gesetzt / im selbigen zuwandlen / gleich wie der Fisch im Wasser : Also auch alle Beume vnd was da wachst. Darumb ist nuhn von nohten / das *Aër* sey ein *Chaos*, nicht ein Erde / nicht ein Wasser / sondern *Per-*
180 *spicuum*, | *Diaphanum*, vngreifflich / vnsichtbar / damit daß das greifflich in jhm sein möge / vnd [das] das sichtbar ist / dardurch gesehen möge werden / vnd ist gleich einem Glaß.

Also wissent nun weitter / daß der Himmel dergleichen auch ein *Corpus* ist / das nicht Compact ist / nicht vest wie die Erden / nicht naß wie dz Wasser / nit *Perspicuum* wie der Lufft : Sondern hatt ein besonder *Corpus* mit einem andern Wesen / also / daß der Himmel nicht *Terrestre* ist / vnd ist doch ein Compact wesen / doch nicht Jrrdisch Compact : ist dünne vnd durchgengig wie das Wasser / vnd doch kein Wasser : ist klar durchsichtig / vnd doch nit als der Lufft : Sondern ist ein *Corpus* gleich einem Rauch / der sich scheidet in seinem Wesen vnd Corporalitet von allen andern *Corporibus*. Das ist / es ist nicht wie ein Stein oder Holtz oder Erden / auch nicht wie ein Wasser / nicht wie der Lufft : sondern / ist ein *Corpus*, das mit den andern gar keine vermischung hatt : Also ist auch der Himmel ein *Corpus*, das allein durch den Rauch am besten verstanden mag werden. Dann also muß er sein / auß der vrsachen / was von jhm wachst / ist auch also / seind *Corpora* vnd nit *Corpora*, seind Compact vnd nit Compact / sind durchgreiffig wie dz Wasser / vnd doch nicht Wasser / sind vngreifflich wie der Lufft / doch nit der Lufft. Als die Sonne / die ist ein *Corpus* wie gemelt ist / der Mon vnd alle Sternen. Nuhn ist er ohne Complexion / vnd ist das Element Fewr / vnd eine Mutter / auß dem das Fewr wachst vnnd entspringet. Wie nuhn

a Discussions on ***ultima materia*** are found in other treatises such as *De mineralibus* (H 8:335). See Kahn 2023.

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which could not happen in the earth, and water should also yield salt and stones. Hence, all this must have been liquid in its prime matter, having proceeded from its liquid state to a *coagulatum*. However, whatever comes from the earth has a seed which is dry. Thus, seeds, roots, trees, and everything of the kind are from a dry material which is compact. But in water there is nothing in such a *prima materia* that is that kind of *corpus compactum*. There is only a *liquor*. These things take their mother from the element of water. In it grow the *ultimae materiae* whose primal state is *liquidum* and *humidum*. Now the third *corpus* is air. This *elementum*, too, must possess another *corpus*, one not *humidum* like water nor firm like earth. The reason for this is that all things that grow from this element merge into the *corpus of* the *aër* like the fish in water. The human being is situated in the *corpus aëris*, placed there to go his way like the fish in water. The same can be said for all trees and whatever grows there. This is why it must be that the *aër* is a *chaos*, not an earth, not a water, but | rather *perspi-* 180
cuum, diaphanum [clear, transparent], intangible and invisible so that what is within it will be tangible and visible. It is like glass.

Let it be noted further that the heavens are likewise a *corpus*, one which is not compact, not firm like the earth and not liquid like the water; nor is it *perspicuum* like the air. Rather, they all have a particular *corpus* with a different essence so that the heavens are not *terrestre* and yet have a compact essence, yet not in the earthly way, but rather thin and porous like water yet not water; clear and transparent but not in the same way as is air. They have a *corpus* comparable to a vapor which is distinct in its essence and corporeality from all other *corpora*. This means that they are not like stone or wood or earth, not like water or air. They have a *corpus* that does not combine with the others. Thus, the heavens have a *corpus* which can best be apprehended as being like smoke or vapor. It has to be like that for the reason that whatever grows from it is like that too: those entities are *corpora*, and yet not *corpora;* compact and yet not compact, penetrable as the water, yet not water, and impalpable as air, yet not air.[1] The sun is a *corpus* of that kind as are the moon and stars. The heavens are without complexion; they are the element of fire, a mother from which fire emerges and

1 P. enjoys playing with the paradoxes of the limits of nature. See likewise his description of the elemental beings in the *Liber de nymphis*, tract 1, chap. 2 (H 9:50–51).

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das Fewr ein Corporalitet an jhm hatt / also hatts auch der Himmel / also auch die Sternen die auß dem Himmel jhr Natur vnd Wesen nemmen. Darumb so wissent nuh vom Himmel / das dasselbige *Corpus* ein besonder theil ist / vnd ein Element deß Fewrs : vnd was das Fewr thun soll / das thut der Himmel / der es gibt / vnd auß jhm wachst.

Also wissen nun fürhin auch [von] der Farben[a] deß Himmels. Die Erden hatt ein Farben durch vnd durch Schwartz / vnd wz ander farben / ist ein Miner.[b] Das Wasser hatt auch Eine farben / durch vnnd durch / was ander farben sind / ist auch ein Miner. Nun die farbe deß Wassers hatt kein Nammen / ist nicht Weiß / ist nit Graw / noch Blaw noch Grün / vnd mag doch vnter die alle gerechnet werden / oder darfür ettwas angesehen. Die Erden hatt auch ein Farben /
181 ist nit Schwartz / ist nicht Braun / etc. vnd | doch ettwz deren gleich. Also ist es auch mit dem Lufft / da sicht man ein lauttere farben / durch sichtig im *Chaos*, ist nit Weiß / nit Braun / nit Gelb / etc. vnd doch etwz disen farben gleich. Dermassen ist auch der Himmel geferbet / ist gleich Grüne / gleich Blawe / gleich wie Braun / etc. vnd doch deren Farben keines nit / vnd mag darfür angesehen werden. Dann also sind die Elementischen Cörper / dz keine Perfect Farben mit Nammen mag genennet werden. Was aber von jhnen kommt / das hatt seine deutliche verstendige vnd namhafftige Farben. Wann die Elementen selbs nit Perfect Farben haben / sondern wie gemelt ist. Dann nicht Eine Farben wachst von jhnen / sondern viel Farben. Darumb seind sie Componiert von viel Farben / in so viel / so viel von jhnen gehend. Als von der Erden gehet Grün / Roth / Blaw / Schwartz / etc. Also auch vom Wasser alle Farben : Also auch vom Lufft vnnd vom Himmel. Darumb seindt es *Colores collecti*, von allerley Farben zusammen in Eins vermischet : Vnnd die vermischung gibt keine Farben / das ist / mag keine Farben geben mit einem deutlichen Nammen / verstendig oder wissenhafftig.

Nuhn dergleichen so merckent auch von dem Himmel vnnd seinen Früchten durch das Exempel. Jhr sehent / was auß der Erden wächst / dasselbige hatt sein greifflichen Fuß vnd Wurtzen in der Erden / als Beume vnnd Graß / etc. Nuhn aber / die Sternen seindt Frücht vom Himmel / vnd seind deß Himmels / aber sie wurtzend nicht im Himmel / stehend vnder dem Himmel Fix ohn alle Heb vnnd Anhang : Ist gleich das wiederspiel gegen der Erden. Das eine gibt seine Frucht mit Wurtzen / das ander nicht : Das eine steht vbersich / das ander hangt vndersich. Das eine gibt seine Frücht der Höhe zu / dz ander vndersich. Also auch im Wasser / wie die Fische ein Exempel geben / die stehnt

a Colors for P. are more essential than accidental secondary qualities: see above, H 8:151.
b See vis-à-vis.

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grows. They bear a corporeality which is like that of fire, as do the stars which receive their nature and essence from the heavens. Therefore, let it be noted with regard to the heavens that their particular *corpus* exists for itself and is a fiery element. What fire effects, the heavens also effect since they yield fire and it grows from them.

We should know furthermore [about] the color of the heavens. Earth is in its color quite black. Any other colors are due to a mineral essence. Water is also very much of one color; any others are like a mineral vein.[1] However, there is no name for the color of water. It is neither white nor gray nor blue nor green, yet it can be ascribed to any of them and resemble them. Earth likewise has a color that is not black or brown, etc. and | yet it has something of them. So, 181
too, with the air: one perceives a pure color transparent in the *chaos*. It is not white or brown nor yellow, etc., yet somewhere between them in resemblance. Similarly, with the heavens: their coloration resembles now green, now blue, now even brown, and so on. Yet it has none of those colors, though it can be mistaken for them. So it is, too, with elemental bodies: no perfect color can be designated for them. But what proceeds from them does have a precisely notable and namable color, although the elements themselves have no perfect color, as we have stated. For it is not one color that emerges from them but many. For this reason, they must have been composed of many colors, of as many as proceed from them. Thus, from the earth green proceeds, as well as red, blue, black, and so on. So, too, do all colors proceed from water, as well as from air and the heavens. For this reason, these are *colores collecti* commingled from all sorts of colors into one. This mixture does not yield a distinct color, by which I mean that there can be no color with a precise name that is notable and comprehensible.

Now we should observe this state of affairs concerning the heavens and their fruits in the following example. You can see that whatever grows out of the earth possesses a palpable foot and root in the earth, as do trees and grass and things of the kind. But the stars are fruits of the heavens, pertaining to them; yet they are not rooted in the heavens but rather stand beneath them without any sort of lever or attachment. It is the opposite of the earth. The latter yields its fruits with roots, the former without. The latter rises up, the former hangs down. The one yields its fruit toward the heights; the other toward the depths. Consider the example of fish in the watery realm: they stand on nothing, lack

1 The meaning is difficult to grasp. In Palthen's translation: "In hac, quod colorem diversum habet, minera et ipsum est."—On P.'s use of "miner," see ETW 82–83.

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auff nichten / haben auch nit Füsse / Sondern sie schwimmen im Wasser : Also gleich so schwimmen die Sternen im Himmel auch / in dem Corpus deß Himmels / das gleich in der gestalt wie der Himmel / also im Wasser zu verstehen ist : Vnd haben die Ordnung mit jhrem schwimmen / wie sie Gott beschaffen hatt / hoch / nider / weith / nahe / schnell / langsam / etc. Welches ich der Astronomey befilch / hie nicht noth zu melden / allein zuverstehen / das der
182 Himmel ein *Corpus* ist / dz ein schwimmendts | ding tragen mag wie ein Wasser / vnd ist doch nicht Wasser / sondern drucken / vnd das drucken das in jhm schwimmt : Das nicht geschwummen ist / dann es ist nicht im Wasser / vnd ist doch geschwummen : Ist nicht gangen oder geloffen / dann da seindt nicht Füsse / auch nichts darauff sie tretten mögen : Sondern es ist also ein wunderbarlich Werck Gottes / vnd ein Element / das die andern alle behalt vnnd zusammen beschleust in ein Rotunditet vnd Circkel.

Nuhn so wissendt auch von den Sternen ein solchen verstandt. Sie seindt auß dem Himmel gewachsen vnnd stohndt im selbigen fliegendtweiß / wie ein Vogel im Lufft / nach der Ordnung vnnd Circkel / wie sie Gott geschaffen hatt vnnd jhm wolgefallen. Nuhn seindt sie einmahl gewachsen / vnd bleibendt also für vnnd für. Die Beum vnnd Früchte der Erden zergehendt vnnd werden wieder : Die Sterne aber zergehendt nur einmahl / vnd kommend nimmen wieder / das ist / im Endt der Welt. Sonst was in andern Elementen ligt / dasselbige alles frißt der Rost / die Schaben / der Todt : Als allein die Sternen deß Himmlischen Elements die bleiben / aber jhre Früchte kommendt vnnd vergehendt / als Regen / Schnee / etc. Nuhn haben sie ein Farben zu mehrerm theil / die ist Fewri : Wie die Erden Grün die mehriste Farben anzeigt / vnnd doch andere Farben mehr : Als dann die Sonne / die auch also besonder ist in der Farben. Nuhn wiewol die Farben Fewri seindt / vnnd seindt das Fewer / das rechte Element : So seindt sie doch nicht das Holtz Fewer / sondern das Element. Dann da ist ein Vnderscheidt / zwischen dem Fewer vnd dem Element Himmel / als *Ignis* vnnd *Cœlum. Ignis* ist kein *Elementum, Cœlum* ist aber ein Element. *Ignis* ist ein *Materia*, die do kochet vnnd bricht / vnnd in die *Vltimam Materiam* bringet / ist gleich dem Todt :[a] Das Fewr vnnd der Todt seindt gleich : Fewr verzehrts alles vnnd nimbts hinweg / also der Todt auch. Darumb so mag Fewr kein Element sein / aber wol ein Todt / ein sichtlicher Todt / ein empfindtlicher Todt : So der ander Todt vnsichtbar ist / den niemandts sicht noch gesehen hatt. Vnnd

a The abiding alchemical and at the same time eschatological sense of this otherwise variant concept is evident from the more or less contemporaneous *Die grosse Wundartzney:* "Die Feucht ist der Liquor / daß da brennt ist der Sulphur, das vberbleibt von den zweyen / ist das Sal, ein jeglichs nach seinem Gewicht / vom Schöpffer geschaffen / wie sich dann die drey ding durch den Vulcanum augenscheinlich beweisen / welcher auch bewert vnd für Augen

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feet, but instead swim in the watery element. So, too, do the stars swim in the heavens, in its corpus which in its form is like the heavens; this is how we can understand it in water. They bear out the order which God has ordained for them by swimming: high, far, near, quick, slow, etc. This is a matter we leave to an astronomy which does not need to be taken up here. We only need to understand that the heavens are a *corpus* that | can bear a floating object without 182
water. Pressure, not water, lets things float in them. Without water it is not a matter of swimming yet much the same, not a walking or running, for there are no feet and nothing to be trod on. It is a wholly marvelous work of God and an element that sustains all others and holds them together in the form of a rotundity and circle.

Now let it be noted that the stars can be understood in the same way. They have sprouted[1] from the heavens and stand afloat therein, like birds in the air, in accordance with their order and circumference, as God created them and as they pleased him. Thus, they have emerged and will remain on and on. The trees and fruits of the earth pass away and grow back; however, the stars will pass away only once never to return, namely at the end of the world. Everything that abides in the other elements gets consumed by blight, worms, and death. Only the stars of the celestial element remain, though their fruits also come and go as rain, snow, and the like. They have a color which is mostly fiery. Earth is green for the most part though it has other colors as well. So it is that the sun can have a special color. But even if their colors are fiery, fire being the color of the element itself, this is not the fire of burning wood, but of the very element itself. For there is a difference between that fire and the celestial element, as between *ignis* and *coelum*.[2] *Ignis* is not an element; *coelum* is. *Ignis* is a *materia* that cooks and destroys and turns things into the *ultima materia* as does death. Fire and death are alike. Fire consumes and takes away everything as does death. For this reason, fire cannot be an element.[3] It is rather death: a visible, perceptible death. The other death is invisible, no one having ever seen

stellt / was in dem offnen Physico corpore ligt. Dann durch das Fewer müssen alle ding erfaren / bewert vnd erfunden werden / es sey in dem Wasser / in dem Lufft / oder auß der Erden. Die drey ding sind alle Geschöpff Prima **Materia**, auch aller Geschöpffen **Vltima Materia**, der Anfang / Mittel vnd End eins jeglichen Leibs" (H C:81b). The contemporary *De Mineralibus* uses the same pattern with God understood as alpha and omega: "Er ists allein / alles in allem / er ist Rerum prima **Materia**, er ist Rerum **vltima Materia**, er ist / der alles ist" (H 8:337).

1 The vegetal language already present in the notion of "fruits" is heavily expanded in *De Meteoris* with the notion of "growth." See below, H 8:249.

2 Fire and the heavens.

3 See our introduction, on 5, 15, 31.

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wie das *Ignis* hinnimbt vnnd gar verzehret : Also nimbt auch hin der Todt den Menschen / vnnd was das Leben hatt. Also wirdt der Todt vnnd *Ignis* gleich in
183 Eim Grad stehen. Vnd | das Fewr das ein Element ist / ist der Himmel mit seinen Früchten / das seindt die Sternen.

Dann von Fewr sollendt jhr wissen / das es für ein Element gerechnet ist worden / der vieren eins zu sein / das nicht sein mag : Dann Erden erzeigt sich als ein Element / das Wasser auch / der Lufft auch : Nuhn sihe jetzt / wo das vierdte Element sey ? Nemlich das Fewer mags nicht sein : Dann es gibt doch dem Menschen nichts Elementisches / gibt nichts von Früchten / hatt kein gemeinschafft mit dem Menschen / noch der Mensch mit jhm : Sondern so viel vnnd es Todtes Natur antrifft / der da scheidt Seel vnnd Leib von einander. So muß nuhn das vierdte Element der Himmel sein : Dann der Himmel hatt mit dem Menschen gemeinschafft / vnnd der Mensch mag ohn jhn nicht sein / er muß jhn haben : Ohn das Fewr mag er wol sein / vnnd leben ohne das Fewr. Darumb / so er ohne Fewer sein mag / so ist das Fewer kein Element / sondern der Himmel / der Tag vnnd Nacht giebt / Sommer vnnd Winther / vnnd alle Früchte mehret / vnnd mithilfft den andern Elementen. Darumb ist er das Element : Vnnd soll nicht *Elementum Ignis* heissen : Sonder *Elementum Cœli :* Als *Elementum Terræ, Elementum Aëris, Elementum Aquae*. Also ist der Himmel das vierdt *Elementum*, vnnd das erste *Elementum*. Dann es sagt die Geschrifft / das Gott habe am ersten Himmel vnnd Erden beschaffen / das ist / den Himmel am ersten : Dann vrsach / im Himmel seindt die andern Elementen / in das Eusser *Elementum Cœli* verschlossen. Wann ehe der Wein wirdt / soll vorhin das Faß sein. Darumb so wissendt / das alle mahl das Reseruacul muß sein vor dem / darein das gehört / das im Reseruacul behalten soll werden. Also ist *Elementum Cœli* das Erst Element / nachfolgendt die Erden : Als am Ersten dz Faß / darnach der Wein.

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it. Just as *ignis* takes away and completely consumes, so does death remove and consume the human being and whatever else has life. For this reason, death and *ignis* are alike in one degree. Moreover, | the fire that is an element is the 183
heavens with its fruits which are the stars.

As for fire, you should be aware that it has been accounted an element, one of the four, yet it is not an element.[1] Earth manifests itself as an element, as does water and as does air. So, what then is the fourth element? It cannot be fire, because fire gives the human being nothing elemental; it bears no fruit and has nothing in common with the human being nor does the human being have anything to do with it. Rather it amounts to that which concerns the nature of death, which parts soul and body from one another. Hence, the fourth element can only be the heavens. The heavens do have much to do with the human being; the latter cannot exist without them but must have them. The human being could exist and live without fire. Since this is indeed possible, fire is not an element. Rather the heavens are the element that yields day and night, summer and winter, increasing all fruit and assisting the other elements. Hence the heavens are the element, not to be called *elementum ignis* but rather *elementum coeli*, conforming with *elementum terrae, elementum aëris*, and *elementum aquae*. Thus, are the heavens the fourth *elementum* and indeed the first one. For Scripture says that God created first of all the heavens and earth, which means first of all the heavens. The reason for this is that the other elements are enclosed in the heavens, in the outer *elementum coeli*. Why? Because before there can be the wine, we must first have the barrel for it. It is a general rule that there must always be the receptacle before that which goes into it and belongs in it. Hence, *elementum coeli* is the first element followed by the earth: first the barrel, then the wine.

1 A few years later, in the second book of *De Subtilitate* (1550), Girolamo Cardano argued at length, although very differently, that fire could not be considered as an element. His discussion was apparently not influenced by Paracelsus: while the latter retained the traditional number of four elements, Cardano insisted that there were only three. His discussion still deserves a closer examination in the light of P.'s ideas.

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CAPVT II.
DE PRIMA MATERIA CŒLI & Stellarum.

Damit vnnd ihr verstanden das *Corpus Cœli*, was [es] für ein *Corpus* sey : Dann *Terra* hatt ein besonder *Corpus*, also auch Wasser / also auch der Lufft / dergleichen hatt auch der Himmel ein besonder *Corpus*. Nuhn sollend jhr aber wissen / das alle vier *Corpora* der vier Elementen gemacht seind auß nichts / dz ist / allein gemacht durch das Wort Gottes / das (*Fiat*) geheissen hatt. Wiewol aber dem also ist / so ist doch das Nichts / auß dem Etwas worden ist / zu einer Substantz vnnd Corpus worden / wie sie dann erscheinen. Dasselbige *Corpus* aller vier Elementen / ist in drey *Species* getheilt : Also daß das wort *Fiat* ist worden ein dreyfach *Corpus*, das ist / getheilt in dreyerley *Corpora :* Dann also ist die Erden drey Theil / das ist dreyerley / das Wasser auch dreyerley in seinem Corpus / dergleichen der Lufft / dergleichen der Himmel. Zu gleicherweiß als wenn einer nehme / Goldt vnd Silber vnd Kupffer / machte viererley Instrumenten darauß / da keins dem andern gleich were / so were doch ein jedlichs wie das ander am Leibe / doch in der Forme nicht. Wiewol es sich auch scheidet in den Elementen : Also daß nit viererley Ein *Corpus* sey. Dann ein ander *Corpus* ist der Lufft / ein anderst das Wasser / ein anders die Erden : Also der Himmel auch : So die vier Trinck geschirr ein gleich *Corpus* haben. Doch aber so lautt das Exempel allein / das man verstehn soll / das die Erden dreyerley *Corpora* hatt / der Lufft / der Himmel / das Wasser dergleichen. Vnnd aber wie jhr sehendt / das ein ander *Corpus* ist dz Holtz / ein anderst der Metall / ein anderst die Stein / ein anderst die Schwamm : Also vnderschiedtlich seind auch von einander getheilt die vier *Corpora* der Elementen / als / wann einer nemme Bley / vnnd machte darauß *Minium*, vnnd *Cerussam*, vnnd Glaß / vnd ein *Spiritum Saturni*.[a] Nuhn sich / die viere seindt alle viere Bley / vnd ist doch

a These compounds of lead are often mentioned by P. Under the heading "De Saturno" in *De Praeparationibus*, we read: "Rec. Cineris **Saturni** [Bleyäschen] lib. j. Reduc ad decoctionem cum aceto per horas tres vel quatuor. Et est prima praeparatio : Heilet die Wunden / Incarnieret vnd macht gutt hertt Fleisch. **Cerussa** wirt auch ex **Plumbo**, so mans mit Wasser bleicht an der Sonnen / vnd auß dem Bleyweiß / wann mans in einer Pfannen seüdt / wirdt **Minium** darauß" (H 6:249). Closest to our text is, however, the discussion of lead in *De Mineralibus* (H 8:356–357): "Also ist nuhn **Saturnus** von einem schwartzen Sulphurischen groben Leib vber alle Metallen / vnd durch sein Grobheit ist bey jhm der grob Mercurius, vnnd das flüssigest Saltz vnter jnen / also das in den Saturnum kommt das flüssigist Corpus Sulphuris, Salis, vnd Mercurij : Vnd aber zum selbigen / so seind sie alle drey die gröbisten Arth aller Metallen. So nun dieser Metall zerbrochen wird / vnd kommt vom **Bley** / so wirdt er **Cerusa**, **Spiritus Saturni**, Bleygeel / **Glaß** am letsten : Dann drey Farben hatt er / vom Sulphure Gelb / vom Mercurio Weiß / vom Sale Spiritum, vnd von jhnen allen ein Glaßarth / etc. wie alle Metall haben." See likewise *Von den natürlichen Dingen* (H 7:182): "Mit dem Sulphure Saturni wirdt

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CAPVT II.
DE PRIMA MATERIA COELI & Stellarum.
[Chap. II. On the Prime Matter of the Heavens and the Stars]

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So, now you must understand the *corpus coeli* and of what sort of *corpus* it consists, for *terra* has its own peculiar *corpus* as do water and air; and so do the heavens have their own peculiar *corpus*. And you should be aware that all four *corpora* of these four elements have been made from nothing, which is to say, made solely through the word of God, which has been called the (*FIAT*).[1] Though this is indeed so, nonetheless that nothingness from which something has been made was turned into a substance and *corpus*, as they appear before us now. The same *corpus* of all four elements was divided into three *species*. Thus, the word *fiat* became a threefold *corpus*, divided namely into three *corpora*. The earth was in three parts, meaning, threefold; water was also threefold; the same for air and for the heavens. It is as if one were to take gold, silver, and copper and transform them into many sorts of instruments, each different from the other, yet physically each would be the same as the other, though not in form. In the same way things are separated in the elements so that the one *corpus*[2] is not fourfold. For the air is a different sort of *corpus;* water a different one; the earth different. And the heavens as well. Yet the four vessels have the same kind of *corpus*. But in accordance with this example, one should understand that earth has its threefold *corpora*, as does air, the heavens, and water. But as you can see that one kind of *corpus* is wood, another kind metal, a third stone, and another still fungus, so, too, are the four *corpora* of the elements distinct from one another, as if one were to take lead and transform it into a *minium*,[3] a *cerussa*,[4] a glass,[5] and a *spiritus Saturni*.[6] Yet the four are all lead, even though

der **Saturnus** Fix / also das er weder Bleyweiß / Bleygelb / **Minium**, noch **Bleyglaß** mehr gibt / auch kein **Spiritum** mehr."

1 As in Gen. 1, 3: *Fiat lux*, "let there be light." This is the creator word, literally, God's word.

2 "The one *corpus*": the world.

3 *Minium*: a lead oxyde.

4 See OLD, *cerussa*: Carbonate of lead, white lead.

5 The book four of Antonio Neri's *L'Arte Vetraria* (1612) is devoted to the "vetro di piombo." See Kerssenbrock-Krosigk 2008.

6 In later alchemical writings, a "spirit of lead" is distilled from lead acetate (a lead compound also known as "lead sugar"). See e.g. an addition "Vom Geist des Saturn" to the pseudo-Paracelsian treatise *De spiritibus metallorum* in Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. Guelf. 30.4 Aug. 4°, described by Sudhoff 1898, 100. See also Croll 1609, 275: "Ex hoc Saccharo destillatione artificiosa Spiritus elicitur inflammabilis, quo multi suo tamen proprio Sale fortificato conati sunt Auri Calcem diligenter beneficio Aquæ Regis præparatam facere potabilem."

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keins / das auß jhm gemacht wird / wie Bley / sondern anderst vnnd anderst.
185 Also will ich alleine | hie angezeigt haben / das drey *Species* seindt auß dem Wort worden / vnd dieselbigen drey *Species* seind in vier Elementen getheilt / jedlichs in ein besonder vnnd ander *Corpus*, nach dem vnnd denselbigen Elementen zugebürdt hatt zu sein / nach seinem *Officio*.

Nuhn soll sich dieser Philosophey niemandts verwundern / das dreyerley seindt / vnnd doch in vier Elementen getheilt. Wann so wir recht bedencken die Zahl / so hatt Gott Drey für sich genommen / vnd auß Dreyen alle ding gemacht / vnd alle ding in Drey gesetzt. Dann der Vrsprung dieser Zahl ist auß Gott am ersten / das ist / der Anfang ist Drey in der Gottheit. Nuhn ist das Wort auch dreyfach gewesen / dann die Trinitet hatts gesprochen / vnd das Wort ist der anfang Himmels vnd Erden vnd aller Creaturen.[a] Also bey der Zahl werden wir erinnert die Dreyheit in den drey *Speciebus :* Vnd fürhin seind alle ding in Drey gesetzt / vnd nichts ist auff Erden / es hatt vnd ist in den drey *Speciebus*, vnnd wirdt in drey *Corpora* wiederumb gebracht / also / daß sichtbar seindt vnnd sich beweist / das ein jedlichs Geschöpff zertheilt mag werden in die drey stück / jedlichs an sein orth. Das gesagt wirdt von den vier dingen / das ist / von vier Elementen / in der gestalt / es habe ein jedlichs ding in jhm vier Element : Das ist nuhn nicht / sondern hatt wol in jhm Ein Complexion vnd nicht mehr / vnd mag auch kein ander Element in jhm haben / dann so viel es von seiner Mutter hatt. Als / ein jedlichs Krautt hatt nur Ein Element / das ist *Terrae :* Ein jedlicher Stein hatt nur Ein Element / das ist *Aquae*. Weither aber hatts in jhm eine Complexion / Kaltt vnd Feucht / Kaltt oder Trucken / Warm oder Feucht / Warm oder Trucken : So ist doch dasselbige nicht das Element gar / sondern die Mutter ist das Element / das Wasser oder die Erden. Als ein Exempel / der Mensch ist von dem *Limo Terræ* : Nuhn ist aber das Element nicht der *Limus*, ist das Element / er ist *Quintum Esse*[b] : Aber er wirdt wider das Element / das ist / in dz Element kommt er : Aber mit solcher vnderscheid / wie es sich beweist /

a This trinitarian speculation shows up early in P.'s work. The *Liber de Sancta Trinitate* (1524) argues that "die zeit in der trinitat zahl ein anfang hat" (G 3:243). *De genealogia Christi*, written no later than the beginning of the 1530s, but possibly as early as the mid-1520s, anchors the three principles in the three persons of the Trinity (G 3:63). See vis-à-vis, n. 2.

b See vis-à-vis.

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nothing fashioned from it is like lead but rather each thing different. So it is that I hope to have | demonstrated that the word has turned into three *species*, 185
whereby the three are distributed among the four elements, each in a special and distinct *corpus* in accordance with what had been proper for the elements and the *officium* of each.[1]

No one should be amazed by our philosophy that there is the threefold which is divided among the four elements. When we think properly about that number, we realize that God claimed the number three for himself and made everything out of the three, thereby casting all things into three. For the source of this number comes first of all from God himself, which means that the beginning of all is three in the divinity. The word was of course threefold. For it was spoken by the Trinity. The word was the beginning of the heavens and earth and all creatures. Thus, with this number, we are admonished by the Trinity in all three *species*. Indeed, all things have been cast in three.[2] There is nothing on the earth that does not have and abide in three *species* and it is brought back into three things so that they will be visible and proven: that each created thing can be divided into three components, each to its place. What is said about the four substances is not true, namely, that every entity contains within itself the four elements. Rather, one bears a single complexion and no more; nor can it contain any other element, no more than it has received from its mother. Thus, every herb has but a single element, namely *terra*. Every stone has but a single element, namely *aqua*. However, it also does contain a complexion: namely cold and moist, cold or dry, warm or moist, warm or dry. These are not, however, the element at all. The mother is the element, namely water or earth. Here is an example. The human being comes from *limus terrae*. But the element is not the *limus*. The *limus* is *quintum esse*.[3] Yet it returns to the element, that is, it enters back into the element. But it does so while respecting the diffe-

1 *Officium*: their function.

2 This passage has a close parallel in the treatise *De genealogia Christi*. See Gantenbein 2020a, 21–22.

3 In several treatises Paracelsus explains that man was created from an extract of the prime matter of the whole creation. This extract is called by Paracelsus *limbus* or *limus terrae* (see Gen. 2, 7; ETW 180–181), and "das Fünffte Wesen" (the quintessence), as it was made up from the four elements. Thus man, as created from an extract of the whole world, has within himself everything that is in the macrocosm—including the heavens and stars. See *Von den natürlichen Dingen*, chap. 5 ("Von dem sanct Johanns kraut"; H 7:154): "Also merckend / do Gott alle ding beschaffen hatt / zum allen letzten beschuff er den Menschen auß dem *Limo Terrae*. Nun ist *Limus Terrae* das Fünfft Wesen der gantzen Welt / ein Außzug von allen Naturen: Auß dem Außzug ist der Mensch gemacht". See also *Astronomia magna*, book I, chap. 2 (H 10:31–34) and elsewhere. On this topic, see Kahn 2016, 61–62, 108, and Kahn 2018, 190 (with relevant quotations and bibliography).

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zwischen dem Element vnd dem Fleisch. Also sollend jhr in dem *Paragrapho* verstehen / das die Elementen allein in drey theil getheilt sein / vnd die drey theil seindt die *Materia prima* der Elementen. Aber anderst ist *Materia prima*
186 *Aquae*, | anderst *Terrae*, anderst *Aëris*, anderst *Cæli :* Dann die Zahl Drey gibt allein drey *Species* im Grund / die Drey ein vollkommen *Corpus* machen : Als in allen *Corporibus* durch die Kunst in der Natur gefunden wird.

Also merckend nuhn diese Zahl Drey / dz ein jedliche Kunst / so in der Natur ist / vnd auß jhr geboren wirdt / nicht mehr dann dreyerley *Species* suchen soll : Als wenig minder oder mehr / als wenig minder oder mehr die Zahl in der Gottheit ist / die vnbeweglich in Drey stehet / nicht weniger noch mehr sein mag. Vnd ein jedliche Kunst die da mehr suchet / die ist falsch / vnnd jrret in der Natur / sucht in jhr das in jhr nicht ist. Diese Drey seindt *Prima Materia*, haben nur Einen Nammen : Wie Gott / also *Materia Prima*. Vnd wie in der Gottheit drey Personen / anderst der Vatter / anderst der Sohn / anderst der Geist : Also an dem orth auch ein jedlich *Species* besonder für sich selbst ein anderst / nach seinem *Officio*.[a] Dann es ist *Officium Patris, Officium Filij, Officium Spiritus Sancti :* Also seind auch dreyerley *Officia* in den *Tribus Primis*, die doch vnder Einem Nammen *Prima Materia* geheissen werden : Vnd bey solcher Zahl bleibt *Materia Prima*. Weither aber / so ist von Gott die *Materia Prima* getheilt in vier theil / das ist / in die vier Elementen / vnnd seindt in vier Wesen gebracht / durch Gott selbst gescheiden / also. Was in der *Prima Materia* ist von der Erden / in die Erden gescheiden / in den Lufft / in das Wasser / in den Himmel : Vnd ein jedlichs geformiert in sein Prædestinierte Form. Die Erden als ein Erden mit jhrem *Officio*, also das Wasser wie das Wasser sein soll / der Lufft vnnd der Himmel dergleichen. Als ein Exempel vom Bley angezeigt ist / ist alles auß Einem Corpus / aber vier *Corpora*, da keins dem andern gleich ist / werden durch die Kunst der Natur dahin gebracht : Viel mehr vnnd wunderbarlicher Gott ist inn seiner Arbeit vber alle Natur : Als ers dann da bewiesen hatt : Nemlich / den Himmel wunderbarlich gemacht / die Erden / das Wasser / den Lufft / welches alles gescheiden ist in viererley *Corpora*, auß einer *Materia* genommen / die dann ist dreyfach / welche auß dem Wort ist.

Nuhn seindt die drey Ersten drey stück / nemlich / *Ignis, Sal* vnd *Balsamus*.
187 Das seindt drey ding / vnd ein jedlichs *Corpus* | ist auß den dreyen : Nicht allein die Elementen / sondern auch jhre Früchte so von jhnen kommen. Als nemlich / die Erden ist in jhrem Corpus dreyfach / Fewr / *Sal*, vnd *Balsamus :* Vnnd

a The term *officium*, traditional for the roles of the persons of the Trinity, is transferred to alchemical substances (*Von Oeffnung der Hautt vnnd Jhrer Natürlichen verletzung*—H C:406c) as well as to the faculties of the body and mind (*Opus Paramirum*—H 1:124) with the net effect that all things work within a great division of labor both hallowed and functional.

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rence between element and flesh. Thus, from this paragraph you should take the knowledge that the elements are only divided into three components; and that those three are the *materia prima* of the elements. Yet there is a different *materia prima aquae*, | and yet another of *terra*, still another of *caelum*. For the 186
number three offers at root only three *species*. They constitute as complete a *corpus* as we find in any of the *corpora* wrought by art in nature.

So, take note and do not look for more than three for every art that operates in nature and is born from nature. No more, no less than the number in the divinity, which abides immutably in three and cannot be any more nor any less. Every art that proceeds to seek more will be false and err in nature by seeking something which does not occur in nature. These three are *prima materia* and have but one name: as is God, so is the *prima materia*. Moreover, just as in the divinity the three persons are different in the Father, in the Son, and in the Spirit, so in this context each *species* is of its own kind, distinct in accordance with its *officium*. For there is the *officium Patris, officium Filii, officium Spiritus Sancti*. So, too, there are three *officia in tribus primis*, which nonetheless are properly called by the single name *prima materia. Prima materia* does not depart from this number. Moreover, God also subdivided the *prima materia* into four, namely the four elements, resolving them into four essences, thus arranged by God himself. Whatever within the *prima materia* is earth is separated to earth, thus also to air, to water, and to the heavens. Each is shaped into its predestined form. Earth becomes the earth with its particular *officium;* water becomes as water should be, and the same holds for air and the heavens. Our example of lead indicated how everything can come from a single corpus, but we have four *corpora*, none like any other, thus arrayed by nature. How much greater and more marvelous above all nature is God in his labor. See how he had demonstrated this. The heavens marvelously crafted, the earth, the water, the air, all of it separated into four *corpora* extracted from a single *materia* which is threefold, stemming from the Word.

Now, however, the three principles are three things, namely *ignis, sal*, and *balsamus*. Those are three distinct things; and yet every *corpus* | is constituted 187
by the three. Not only the elements, but also the fruits that come from them. Thus, the earth is in its corpus threefold: that is, fire, *sal, balsamus*, as is what

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was auß jhr wachst / das ist auch in drey *Species* dergleichen : Als ein Baum / deß *Corpus* ist *Ignis, Sal, Balsamus*, also der Kreutter auch. Also ist das Wasser / ist auch *Ignis, Sal, Balsamus :* Vnnd was vom Wasser wachst / ist dergleichen nichts als *Ignis, Sal, Balsamus :* Als dann seind alle Stein vnnd Metallen / deren Mutter das Wasser ist / dz ist / das Element. Also der Himmel auch / ist Fewr / *Sal*, vnd *Balsamus :* Was nuhn seine Frücht seindt / seind auch also : Das ist / die Sonne ist Fewr / *Sal, Balsamus :* der Schnee / Regen / dergleichen / in den dreyen *Corporibus* vnder Eim Corpus begriffen. Darumb die Kunst der Natur lernet nicht mehr auß den Früchten zu bringen / als Fewr / *Sal*, vnd Balsam : Vnnd durch die Kunst werden sie gescheiden von einander / also / daß das Fewr besonder ist / dz *Sal* besonder / der Balsam besonder / weder minder noch mehr mag nichts gefunden werden. Solchs alles erzele ich darumb / dz dester leichter die *Meteorica* verstanden mag werden : Sonst wird es in der *Philosophia* wol erzelt vnnd erklert mit mehrerm verstand. Nuhn sollend jhr wissen / dz dise drey Ersten / Fewr / *Sal* vnd Balsam wol mögend mit andern Nammen auch genennet werden / wie ich in der *Philosophia* melde : Als Fewr / *Sulphur*, als *Sal*, Balsam / als *Liquor, Mercurius*.[a] Das wer *Sulphur, Balsamus* vnd *Mercurius*, seind die drey / die da geheissen werden *Prima materia Rerum*. So viel ist nuhn genug vom anfang gesagt / zu einem eingang in die *Meteorica*. Vnd darumb zeige ich diese *Materiam Primam* an / das die Frücht deß Elements *Cœli* dester leichter verstanden mögen werden / wie die *Impressiones Cœlestes* geboren werden / vnnd wie sie in jhrer Natur sind : Von wegen auch der Tugend vnd Kräfften so in jhnen sind / einem Artzt desto bekanntlicher / vnnd einem *Meteorico*[b] desto verstendiger. Dann wie die Erden dem Menschen nutzlich ist / so viel nutzlich ist jhm auch der Himmel. Ein jedlichs Element ist von deß Menschen wegen geschaffen / darumb soll ers wol erkennen.

Weither ist auch von nöthen / das wir wissen von den Elementen / was
188 *Elementum* sey / vnd was nicht. So verstandent | am ersten das Exempel. Ein Mensch hatt ein grossen Leib vnd vielerley Wesen im Leibe : Das aber der

a See vis-à-vis, and e.g. *Von den ersten dreyen Essentiis* (H 3:15): "Nuhn aber zuwissen von den dreyen / was sein form sey. Eins ist ein Liquor, vnd ist Mercurij, Eins ist ein Oleitet / die ist Sulphuris, Eins ist ein Alkali, diß ist vom Saltz."

b The noun *meteoricus* / *Meteorist* is only used by P. in the present treatise (see also H 8:201), the *Astronomia magna* (H 10:100, 324), and the *Philosophia super Esaiam Prophetam* (H 10F:107).

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grows from it. A tree for example: its *corpus* is *ignis, sal, balsamus*. The same for herbs or vegetation. The same is true of the water: it is also *ignis, sal, balsamus*. And whatever grows from water is likewise nothing but *ignis, sal, balsamus*. The same for all stones and metals whose mother is water, which is the element. So, too, the heavens: they are fire, *sal*, and *balsamus*. The same holds for their fruits. The sun is fire, *sal, balsamus*. Likewise, snow, rain, and other such phenomena are comprehended in three *corpora* beneath a single *corpus*. For this reason, the art of nature does not learn to extract more from the fruits of nature than fire, *sal*, and balsam. By its art, they are distinguished from one another so that fire is a particular thing and *sal* and balsam no less so. Nothing more nor less is to be found. I recount all of this so that the *Meteorica*[1] can be grasped all the more clearly. Thus, it will be recounted in *philosophia* with more comprehension. You should be aware that these three primary things, fire, *sal*, and balsam may be designated by other names, as I do so in the *philosophia:* fire as *sulphur*, then *sal* as balsam and *liquor* as *mercurius*.[2] Thus, *sulphur, balsamus*, and *mercurius* are the three entities designated as *prima materia rerum*. Enough has been said about the beginnings for the purposes of an introduction to the *Meteorica*. I just want to elucidate the *prima materia* so that the fruits of the element of *cœlum* can be understood that much easier, as to how the *impressiones cœlestes* emerge and what their nature is. It is also on account of the virtues and powers contained within them, so that these will be better known to the physician and more intelligible to the *meteoricus*.[3] For just as the earth is of use to the human being, of equal use are the heavens. Every element has been created on account of the human being, so the human being should know about it indeed.

Moreover, it is necessary that we should know concerning the elements what the *elementum* is and is not. Hence | you should understand first of all this 188
example. A human being has a large body that contains many beings. But what

1 The *Meteorica*: this is the name by which P. designates *De Meteoris* here and below.

2 We do not know which *philosophia* P. is referring to. The most obvious candidate would be the *Philosophy of the Elements*, although P. consistently names the three principles salt, sulphur and mercury throughout this treatise. See, however, the parallel excerpt in the *Liber de Mineralibus* (H 8:335): "Nuhn hab ich in andern der *Philosophiae Paragraphis*, fürgehalten drey ding / nemlich / *Sulphur, Sal* und *Mercurium* ein Anfang zusein / aller deren dingen / so auß den 4 Müttern entspringen / das ist / auß den 4 Elementen. Nun hie in Ertzwerdung ist es von Nöthen fürzulegen: Also / das Eisen / Stahel / Bley / Schmaragdt / Saphyr / Kißling / Duelech / nichts anders seindt / dann Schweffel / Saltz / unnd *Mercurius*. […] So gibt die Natur zu erkennen / das im Ertz seind die drey ding / gleich als wol / als im Holtz / und in andern dingen / nemlich Fewr / Balsam / *Mercurius*."—P. liked to change names for the *tria prima*, as he did with elemental beings. See below, H 8:200, and Kahn 2016, 94–95 for a discussion on the names of the *tria prima*. See also vis-à-vis.

3 The *meteoricus* is the one who discusses sublunary phenomena.

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Mensch ist / ist eine Seele / ist ein Geist vnd ist klein. Darumb das man das *Corpus* ein Menschen heist / ist darumb / das der Mensch im Corpus ist / vnd die Seele ohne das *Corpus* nicht ist / sondern bey einander. Das Auge ist groß am Menschen : Das aber die Krafft ist / die da sicht / ist eine kleine Quantitet gegen dem Auge. Also die Erden wirdt geheissen ein Element / so es doch nur ein bloß *Corpus* ist / vnd aber das Element *Terra* ist im selbigen Corpus / vnnd ist vnsichtbar : Wie dann der Geist deß Menschen auch vnsichtbar ist. Dermassen der Himmel / das wir sehendt / ist ein groß *Corpus*, dz Element ist in jhm ein kleiner Geist gegen solcher Grösse / so der Himmel hatt. Der Mensch der redt auß seim Mundt / nicht dz *Corpus* redt / der Geist redt : Also die Erden tregt Frucht / nicht sie / aber das Element in jhr / die gibt die Früchte. Also seindt die vier Elementen Corporalisch : Aber im Wesen vnd Natur seindt sie Geiste. Vnd wunderbarlich ist Gott in seinem Geschöpfft / also / das er nicht ist als ein Zimmerman[a] / der macht ein Hauß auß dem Corpus / vnd fragt dem Geist nichts nach : Dasselbige *Corpus* ist ohn den Geist / darumb so gibts keine Frucht nicht / ist todt / ist nimmen lebendig. Dann der Geist ist lebendig / vnnd das Leben ist der Geist / vnd das Leben vnd der Geist wircken alle ding / seindt aber Ein ding vnd nicht zwey. Darumb so wissendt / so gesagt wirdt / das kommt von dem Element / so verstandent vom Element vnd nicht vom Corpus. Die Zunge redt / vnd redt nichts : Dann der Geist ist in jhr der redt / das Fleisch an jhm selbst nit. Aber mit solcher vermischung vnd einigung / daß das *Corpus* alle ding zu thun vermeint wirdt / vnd das Element selbst zu sein geacht / so es doch nur ein *Corpus* ist / vnd nicht der Geist. Als Fleisch vnnd Blutt ist nicht der Mensch / der Geist ist aber der Mensch. Also seindt vier Seel oder Geist / einer die Erden / der ander das Wasser / der dritte der Lufft / der vierdte der Himmel.

Ietzt auff solches verstandent nuhn weither / das also auß der Erden wachsen alle ding vnnd Früchte : Vnnd was auß jhr wachst / ist auch sein Mutter

a The example of the carpenter is one widely used by P. in several contexts, e.g. in this instance from *Von den Blatern, Lähme, Beulen, Löcheren vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen* (H C:253a): "So wissend / das die Theorick gleich so wol soll ein Werck sein / als die Practick an jhr selbs / vnnd sollen vngetheilt bleiben. Dann ein jegliche Theorick ist Practica speculativa, weder mehr noch weniger / dann wie Praxis operativa : Wie wöllen jhr dann in solchem handlen / so das speculiert sich gegen dem anderen / das beweren soll / nicht vergleicht ? Sie müssen beyde / entweder gerecht oder erlogen sein. Schawend an ein **Zimmerman** / der bawet sein Hauß im Köpff / wo nimpt er aber disen baw? auß der Practica oparativa : Vnnd so er dieselbig nicht wißte / so möcht er Speculativam nicht vollenden : Also kommen beyde Practick auß der erfarenheit." See other contexts e.g. in *Opus Paramirum* (H 1:70), *De Causis Morborum invisibilium* (H 1:250), *Liber de Podagricis, et suis speciebus* (H 4:257, 274, etc.), or *De Caduco Matricis, Das ist Vom Hinfallenden Siechtagen der Mutter* (H 4:276), among many others.

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is truly human is a soul, a spirit, and it is small. The reason why one calls the *corpus* a human being is because the human being resides in the *corpus* without which the soul cannot be. Rather, the two are together. The human eye is large; but the power that sees is a small quantity by comparison with the eye. Thus, too, the earth is called an element, though it is nothing but a bare *corpus*; yet the element *terra* is contained in the same *corpus* where it is invisible, just as the human spirit is invisible. By the same measure, the heavens which we see are a huge *corpus;* but the element in them is a small spirit compared to the magnitude of the heavens. The human being makes utterances by way of the mouth; but it is not the *corpus* that speaks but rather the spirit. So, too, the earth bears fruits, not of itself, but rather the element within the earth does this. So it is that the four elements are corporeal. Yet in their essence and nature they are spirits. Moreover, God acts marvelously in his creation: he is nothing less than a carpenter who builds a house with a *corpus* without consulting the spirit. That *corpus*, if it is without spirit, yields no fruit. It is dead and without vitality. For the spirit is life-giving;[1] and life and the spirit are one. Together they effect all things. They are indeed one and not two. Hence, when we say that something comes from the element, this means from the latter and not from the *corpus*. The tongue speaks and does not speak. For it is the spirit within it that speaks. The flesh of itself does not. But it happens with such a combination and unification that the *corpus* imagines that it does all these things, imagines that it is the very element when it is nothing but the *corpus*, not the spirit. Flesh and blood are not the human being. The human being is the spirit. Hence, there are four souls or spirits, one the earth, the second the water, the third the air, the fourth the heavens.[2]

Now let us carry this further: from the earth all things and all fruits grow. What grows thus is therefore also its mother, the element earth. The latter has

1 Though P.'s radical theology was *sui generis* and he therefore cannot be neatly assigned to any of the religious factions of his time, he was certainly aware of the ongoing disputes and aware of addressing them when he cites a *locus classicus* of the Protestant dissenters from the Lutheran Eucharistic doctrine, as here in his citation of Jn 6:63: (Jesus says in reference to the bread and wine of Communion) "It is the spirit that gives life; the flesh is useless."

2 See likewise the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:125), and *De Mineralibus* (H 8:343). In the former treatise P. states that the true element is invisible. In the latter, speaking of the element of water, he explains that the *tria prima* are actually the soul and spirit of the element, and its true being ("die Seel deß Elements / und sein Geist / und das recht Wesen").

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das Element Erden : Nemlich / es hatt ein *Corpus*, vnnd im Corpus den *Spi-*
189 *ritum :* Der | *Spiritus* ist das rechte / das ander ist nichts. Der *Buxus* hatt ein Geschmack / derselbige Geschmack ist sein *Spiritus*, das ander ist das *Corpus*.[a] Der Bisem hatt sein Seel im Geschmack / so der verloren ist / so ist er wie ein abgehawen todt Holtz / das keine frucht mehr gibet. Wie also im Geschmack / das ist / der Geist ist der Geschmack : Also in Corallen ist die Farbe der Geist / das ander ein *Corpus*. Also seind alle Früchte seinem Element gleich mit dem Corpus vnd *Spiritu*. Nicht das die Augen gar sehen / ist die Frucht / sondern allein das ist die Frucht / daß der *Spiritus* ist. Es ist aber ein vnderscheidt zwischen dem natürlichen Geist vnd vnnatürlichen : Der natürlich ist Corporalisch / vnd Materialisch eingeleibt in ein besonder *Corpus :* der vnnatürliche Geist ist gar ohn ein *Corpus*. Dann wiewol die Rötte der Corallen die Corallen seind / vnd das *Corpus* ists nit : Noch nichts dester minder so ist die Rötte ein *Corpus*, vnd dasselbige *Corpus* ist aber so gar allein deß Geists / also / das nichts fauls oder grobs mehr da ist. Vnd dieweil der Geist der Früchten nicht greifflich noch sichtlich ist / darumb hatt jhm die Natur ein *Corpus* geben bsondern / im selbigen zu sein / vnnd demselbigen Corpus ein ander *Corpus* von seinem Element. Das man sagt / die Corallen seind darzu gut / das ist / jhre Rötte ist darzu gut : dann die Rötte ist ein reines *Corpus*, in dem alle krafft ligt. Also verstanden auch vom Himmel. Der Donner der da schlecht / das ist / der Straal / etc. der ist ein außgezogenes Wesen von allen *Corporibus* gescheiden allein in sein eigen Leib. Vnnd dieweil der Himmel das subtileste Element ist / vnnd allein das reiniste vnd purgirteste / darumb ist sein *Spiritus* so gar vber andere *vehemens*, vber andere alle. Solches alles zeig ich euch darumb an / daß die *Meteorica* gantz im grunde wol verstanden werde / durch die Exempel der andern Elementen / dz Element *Cœlum*, auch dester leichter verstanden möge werden : Welcher verstand in *Meteorica* ohne die andern Elementen gründlich nicht mag vernommen werden / sondern jrrig vnd ein Jrrsal in den andern gehenckt / vnd gibt letze Verstand vnd Außlegung in der Erkandtnuß.

Also wissent weitter von dem Himmel / das Gott dem Himmel den Nammen geben hat *Firmamentum*, dann *Firmamentum* ist der Himmel vnd alle sein
190 Wesen. Wie man sagt / die Erden | / so meinet man alles was von der Erden ist. Nuhn heißt der Himmel *Firmamentum*, vnd *Firmamentum* ist das Element in seim ersten Nammen / Himmel ist der ander Nammen. Vnd Gott hatts also geheissen / von deßwegen / daß er veste stehen soll / das ist / veste bleiben in

a In Paracelsian medical alchemy, in essence a science of cooking, not only color but taste signifies the presence of spirit: "Vnd so bald es anfacht die Farb verendern / von der Oelfarben in ein röttere / auch so bald anfahend die Spiritus gehen / auffhören / so bleibet gar nahend der **Geschmack** vnd die Farb deß rechten Oels" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:26b).

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a *corpus* and in it is the *spiritus*.[1] The | *spiritus* is the real thing; the other is nothing. The *buxus*[2] has a taste and its taste is its *spiritus;* the rest of it is only the *corpus*. The musk[3] has its soul in the taste. When the latter is lost, it is no different from a felled, dead tree which yields no further fruit. It is the same with the taste: the spirit is the taste. So, too, in corals,[4] the color is the spirit; the rest is the *corpus*. So it is that all fruits are like their element in corpus and *spiritus*. Not what the eyes see by themselves is their fruit; the fruit is only that which is the *spiritus*. However, there is a difference between the natural spirit and the unnatural spirit. The natural one is corporeally and materially embodied in a particular *corpus*. The unnatural one is without *corpus*. For even though the red of the corals is the corals, while the *corpus* is not, nevertheless, the red is a *corpus* too, and it only pertains to the spirit as it is when nothing rotten or coarse remains. And even though the spirit of fruits is not palpable or visible, nature has nonetheless given to it a particular *corpus* to abide in, since it receives another *corpus* from its element. Whenever a person says that the corals are good for something, it is their red that is good for it. For the red is a pure *corpus* in which all their power abides. We must understand the heavens in the same way. The thunder that strikes, the lightning and so on, is an extracted essence separated from all *corpora* into its own body. Even though the heavens are the subtlest element and by themselves the purest and most purgated one, for that very reason their *spiritus* is equally *vehemens* above and beyond all the others. This I will demonstrate to you so that the *Meteorica* will be understood fully in depth by way of examples of the other elements; so that the element *coelum* will be understood all the more readily. This understanding cannot be achieved in the *Meteorica* without the other elements. Otherwise, it would be in error and an additional mistake on top of the others. It must yield a final sense and exegesis in our understanding. 189

Let it therefore be known furthermore with regard to the heavens that God gave them the name *firmamentum*, for it refers to the heavens in their entire being. Just as when one says | earth, one refers to everything pertaining to the earth. So, too, the heavens are called *firmamentum*, and this refers to the heavens by their primary designation. Heavens is the second designation.[5] God called them this because they should stand firm,[6] that is, remain firm in their 190

1 This statement is close to *Von den natürlichen Wassern*, book 5 (see below, H 8:415).

2 The boxwood tree (*buxus*) is noted for its pleasant scent and taste.

3 See ETW, *Moschus*, 125.

4 See ETW, corals, 200–201; Leprêtre 2021, 20–23, 28–29.

5 On this topic see Kahn 2016, 95–96 and the introduction, above, on 15.

6 P. is not playing on words, but directly using the very words of the German Bible (see vis-à-vis).

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seiner Arth[a] dahin er geschaffen ist.[b] Darumb so wissendt nuhn / das solchs von nöhten ist / das Gott den Nammen geben hatt. Dann wo Gott einen Nammen gibt / so gibt er auch demselbigen Nammen / wie jhm zugehöret. Als *Petrum* ein Felß : Nun ist der Namme von Gott jhm geben / nit von Menschen / darumb so bleibt er ein *Petrus*, vnd ist *Petra* ohn alle vberwindung. Also wissent auch vom Firmament / dz Gott also geheissen hatt / Standt vest : Vnd der Nammen vnd die Krafft die der Nammen hatt / ist groß. Dann die andern drey Elementen seind in das Firmament beschlossen / wie ein Ey in einer Schalen : Also ist die Erden / dz Wasser / der Lufft / in diesem Element verschlossen / wie der Dotter / das Klar / das Heuttli im Ey ist / dz ist / in der Schalen. Auff das Wort nuh / das Gott gesagt / Stehe Feste / das ist / der Namm *Firmamentum*, mögen die drey Element sich nit verrucken noch außfallen. Dann die Schale halt ein Ey / dz alles bey einander bleibt / ein jeglichs in seim orth da es sein soll : Der Dotter in seim orth / das Klar in seim orth. So aber nun die Schale breche / so zerfiels von einander / vnnd were das nicht / dz es in der Schalen ist. Also beweißt Gott durch sein Nammen geben selbst / das er dem Firmament die krafft geben hatt / eine Schale zu sein / in deren alle Geschöpffe der Natur beschlossen sind / vnd daß die Schale fest stande. Dann vrsache / es ist ein grosse Schweri die andern Elementen zu tragen / nemlich / Erden vnd Wasser. Darumb das Wort nohtwendig gewesen ist / Stehe Feste : Dann auff das Wort bleibt ein jeglich Element in seim Wesen vnd in seiner Natur : darzu bringts der Himmel. Das ist ein wunderbarlich gemächt / in ein solch *Corpus*, das *Diaphanum* ist vnd vngreifflich / dz lutich vnd greifflich soll getragen werden / vnd das leichte soll das schwere tragen : Ist gleich als ein Wasser / das ein Schiff mit Steinen tregt / vnd lests nit gen boden fallen.

Aber vom Himmel vnd seiner Substantz vnnd Corporalitet zu reden / verstanden es also / wie ers tregt. Jhr sehet im Ey den Clar / der ist weiß / lautter
191 vnd dunn : jedoch aber so hatt er ein Eigenschafft | an jhm / das er den Dotter in jhm tregt / das er nit ab statt mag / sonder er muß in der mitten bleiben. Wer dz Clar ein Wasser / so fiele der Dotter vndersich durch dz Wasser auff die Schalen : Aber da ist ein vnterscheidt zwischen dem Clar vnd dem Wasser / also / dz im Clar ein solche Chaosische arth ist / dz nichts dadurch fallen mag. Dergleichen ist nun das Firmament auch in seim Corpus / daß es in der mitten behalt / wz da ligt / daß es sich vnuerrucket halten muß. Vnd wie dz Ey

a In the margin Huser added the variant reading "in seinem orth."

b See Gen. 1:6–8 in Luther's trans. (1545): "Und Gott sprach: Es werde eine **Feste** zwischen den Wassern, und die sei ein Unterschied zwischen den Wassern. Da machte Gott die **Feste** und schied das Wasser unter der **Feste** von dem Wasser über der **Feste**. Und es geschah also. Und Gott nannte die **Feste** Himmel."

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nature[1] for which they were created. Be aware that it was therefore necessary that God gave them this name. For when God names something, the name pertains to the thing itself. *Petrus* is a rock. Hence, the God-given name is not from the human being. Therefore, a *Petrus* he remains, and a *Petra* that can never be overcome.[2] Know that it is the same regarding the firmament thus named by God "Stand fast." Both the name and its power are great. For the other three elements are enclosed in the firmament like an egg in its shell. Thus, earth, water, and air are enclosed in the shell like the yolk, egg white, and the membrane in the egg, that is, in their shell. Because of the word which God spoke, "Stand fast," which is the title of the *firmamentum*, those three elements cannot be displaced or fall out. A shell holds an egg so that everything remains in its place, each in its proper place where it belongs: the yolk where it belongs and the egg white in its own place. If, however, the shell should break, the egg would fall apart and no longer be what it was in the shell. So it is that God demonstrated by granting the name that he had given the firmament the power to be like a shell within which all created things of nature are enclosed; and that the shell is to stand firm. For it is a great weight to be born with the other three elements, above all, earth and water. Hence, the name was necessary: Stand fast! Obeying this word, every element stands firm in its essence and nature. The heavens cause this: marvelous is the artifice that encloses into a *diaphanum* and intangible *corpus* what is of clay and tangible, whereby the lightest is made to carry the heaviest.[3] It is like the water that bears a ship filled with stones without letting it sink.

But as for the heavens, their substance and their corporeality, you should understand how they carry it. In the egg you can see the albumen which is clear, white, pure, and thin; yet it has a | capacity within itself to carry the yolk so that 191
the latter does not deviate but must remain in the center. If the egg white were water, the yolk would sink down upon the shell. But that is the difference between egg white and water. The albumen has the sort of chaotic nature[4] that allows nothing to sink down. The same applies to the firmament in the quality of its *corpus*: it keeps what is in it centered so that nothing moves from its place. No matter which way the egg lies, right side up or down, it is all the

1 The variant reading in the margin shows that Huser hesitated between *Arth* and *Orth*, but selected the most plausible of both words.

2 See Mt 16:18 (Jesus says) "you are Peter (Latin: *Petrus*), and on this rock (Latin: *petra*) I will build my church, and the Gates of Hades will not prevail against it."

3 The elements are required to fulfill the injunction of Gal 6:2 ("Bear one another's burdens, and in this way you will fulfill the law of Christ").

4 I.e. of the nature of the *chaos*: viscous.

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ligt / vnten oder oben / so ist es alle mal dem Dotter eins wie das ander / es liget welchs theil vnten oder oben : Also ist es in dem Firmament auch / wo wir sind / da sind wir vnten vnd oben / mögens vbersich oder vndersich heissen. Dann der Circkel hatt kein obertheil noch vndertheil / es ist alles vnden vnd oben eins wie das ander. Solchs *Caput* hatt mich für nutz angesehen / zu setzen mit seinen sechs *Paragraphis*, allein zu einem Eingang deß *Meteororum*, das verstanden werden die Elementen worauß sie sind gemacht. Vnd das drey *Species* seind *Prima materia :* Vnd dz die zahl Drey im anfang der Geschöpffe gewesen sey / vnd alle ding in drey geschaffen : Vnd drey *Species* in der Kunst mögent gefunden werden / der *Sulphur*, der *Mercurius* vnd das *Sal*. Warumb nuh solches sey / ist gnugsam gemelt. Was deren dreyen *Officia* sind / wirt in seiner Philosophien gnugsam erkläret vnd furgehalten. Auff solches nuh folget weitter hernach das *Caput* von den Sternen / wie dieselbigen *Corpora* in den dreyen Ersten standen / wie sie Frücht deß Himmels sind / wie sie das Firmament seind / damit nach jhrem Caput nachfolgent verstanden werden möge / was jhre wirckunge sey gegen den andern Elementen vnd Menschen / auff Meteorische arth vnd erklärung.

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same for the yolk what side is up or down. It is the same with the firmament: wherever we are, we can be on top or on bottom;[1] we say that it is above us or below us. The circle has no top or bottom. Everything below or above is all the same. It seemed to me necessary to write this *caput* with its six *paragraphi* for the sole purpose of introduction to the *Meteora* so that it would be understood what the elements are and of what they have been made; and that three *species* are *prima materia;* and the number three was in the beginning, all things having been made in the three; and three *species* can be found through art: the *sulphur,* the *mercurius*, and the *sal*.[2] Enough has been said about why this has to be the case. As to their *officia*, this will be explained and exposed sufficiently in their Philosophy. After this comes the *caput* concerning the stars, treating of how their *corpora* abide in the three primary things; how the fruits of the heavens are by nature; and how the firmament itself is arrayed: all of this so that after this chapter, their actions upon the other elements and human beings can be understood and explained in accordance with meteorological nature.[3]

1 P. here touches on the old controversy, revived in his time of global circumnavigation, of the habitability of the antipodes or opposite ends of the earth: above and below are here relative terms.

2 The "art" (alchemy) and trinitarian doctrine offer corroborating testimony on the triadic structure of matter.

3 The order of creation sets the proper order of the world by assigning to each its place; but in this exposition cohesion is stressed over hierarchy; and against the latter, P. asserts that within the world there is no self-evident principle of "above" and "below," an assertion the significance of which was not lost on those influenced by him.

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CAPVT III.
DE STELLARVM PRIMA Materia & Essentiis.

Wie ihr nuhn gehört habt / von der *Prima Materia* der Sternen vnd Himmels / das da seind drey *Species* in Eim Corpus / vnter Einem Nammen : So wissendt nuhn weitter vom Himmel ein solche vnderrichtung / wie er ist in seiner Cor-
192 poralitet. Am ersten merckent das Exempel. Die | Erden ist Schwartz / Grob / Tölpet / Knochet / Lettig / Kottig / Vnfletig / Leimig / etc. vnd so grob / das nichts ist das gröber ist : Nun das Wasser Element ist subtiler / ist lauter / klar / rein / etc. das man dadurch sicht ettliche Schuch an Bodem : So viel ist nun das Wasser vber die Erden clarificiert. Darnach ist der Lufft / der ist gar durch sichtig / vngreifflich vnnd so lautter purgiert / das man gar nichts an jhm sicht. Ietzt ermiß / wie vngleich die *Corpora* gegen einander sind / die Erden gegen dem Wasser / vnd dz Wasser gegen dem Lufft / wie so eine weitte vnterscheid. Nuhn jetz so sihe den Himmel / der ist vber den Lufft : Wie weitt ist nuh der Himmel vnd die Erden von einander in der Corporalitet ? Als grob die Erden / als subtil der Himmel / als finster die Erden / als heitterer der Himmel / der ist dz kläriste Element / vnd ist doch ein *Corpus*, dann seine Frücht seind *Corpora*, als Regen / Schnee / Schawer / Strahl / etc. Wo nuhn kein *Corpus* ist / da wirdt keins geboren / da es aber ist / da wirdt es geboren.

Nuhn sicht man das *Corpus* vom Strahl / daß es ein *Corpus* ist / als wol als Holtz das von der Erden ist : Aber so viel weitter sind sie von einander / so viel die Elementen von einander seind. Als jhr sehent / wie das Holtz ist gegen dem Straal / gegen dem Schnee / Stein gegen Taw / etc. Vnd so viel der Himmel subtiler ist als die Erden / so viel ist auch seine Frucht vber anderer Elementen Frucht in der Subtilitet vnd Operation. Dann auß den Früchten werden sie erkennt / auß wem sie seind / vnnd was dasselbige ist von dem sie kommen seind. Dann ein jeglich Baum gibt sich selbst zu erkennen durch seine Frucht. Vnd bein Fruchten gehet die Philosophey an / vnd nit bey der Mutter / sondern beim Kinde. Der Meister wird durch seine Werck erkennt / vnd die Werck nicht auß dem Meister / der Meister aber durch seine Werck.

Nuhn weitter / nach dem vnd vom Himmel gnugsam gesagt ist / so ist nuhn fürhin am nötigsten zu wissen von den Sternen vnd jhrem vrsprung : Vnd dz nemlich in dem wege. Jhr sehent / daß die Erden in jhr nichts hatt / sondern was sie hat / das treibt sie auff die Erden / vnnd behalt nichts in jhr / gibt alles her-

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CAPVT III.
DE STELLARVM PRIMA Materia & Essentiis.
(Chap. III. On the Prime Matter of the Stars and on Their Essences)

You have heard now of the *prima materia* of the stars and heavens: they are three *species* in a single corpus with a single name. Now you should also be advised concerning the heavens as to the knowledge of its corporeality. First, take note of this example. The | earth is black, coarse, uncouth, boney, clayey, 192
slimy, filthy, etc., so coarse that nothing coarser can be found. The watery element is more subtle, purer, clear and clean, etc., so much so in fact that you can see the bottom several feet down. That shows the degree to which water is clarified above the earth. Next comes air. It is entirely transparent, impalpable, and purged so clean that you cannot see it at all. Now from that consider how unlike the *corpora* are compared to one another: the earth compared to water, the water compared to air. How great is the distance. Now regard the heavens which are above the air. How far apart are the heavens and earth in their corporeality? So coarse the earth, so subtle the heavens. So dark the earth, so radiant the sky. It is the clearest element, yet it is also a *corpus;* for its fruits are *corpora* in the form of rain, snow, hail, lightning, and so forth. Where there is no *corpus*, none is born; but where there is one, one is indeed born. Now consider the *corpus* of lightning: it is indeed a *corpus*, just as wood comes from the earth. Yet they are as different from one another as the elements can be. Now consider how wood is in relation to lightning, in relation to snow; or stone in relation to dew, etc. In the same measure as the heavens are subtler than the earth, so, too, are the celestial fruits superior in their subtlety and operation to those of the other elements. For they are recognized by their fruits, from whom they derive and what is the nature of their source. For every tree reveals its nature through its fruits.[1] It is with these fruits that philosophy begins, not with their mother but rather with her child. The master is known by his works, not the works by the master. The master is therefore indeed revealed through his works.

To continue, having said enough about the heavens, it is necessary to understand the stars and their origin, and indeed in this manner: You can see that the earth retains nothing in it. What it has is pushed to the surface of the earth,

1 P. is referencing Mt 15:17–20 ("every good tree bears good fruit") to confirm that like coincides with like: there is qualitative hierarchy of the elements based on the moral teaching of Jesus. Note that physical hierarchy is replaced by one of value by the same measure that popular religious reform rejected hierarchical authority in favor of an inner faith known by its active results.

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auß. Also seind alle Beum vnd Kreutter von der Erden / vnd vff der Erden / vnnd in der Erden ist nichts. Also wissent auch / das auß dem Himmel alle Gestirn
193 gewachsen seind vnnd auß jhm | genommen : Vnd daß die Sternen nit anderst stehend vor dem Himmel / gleich wie die Beume auff der Erden. Vnnd wie die Beume auff der Erden / vnd haben jren Fuß in der Erden : Also im widerspiel haben die Sternen keinen Fuß in jhrem Element. Dann solche vrsache ist da / daß die Beume fix müssen stehen vnd nicht ab statt rucken / sondern an dem orthe bleiben / dahin sie gesetzt / geseet vnd pflantzt werden. Die Sternen aber müssen nicht stille stehen / sondern sie müssen fürgehen jhren Circkel : Darumb so seind sie Kugeln / die da für vnd für waltzen vnnd walend / wie sie von der Hand Gottes geworffen werden : Vnd sind also von Himmel gescheiden / vnd doch im Himmel. Wie der Baum der Erden eingeleibt ist / vnnd ohne die Erden nicht sein mag / sondern muß in jhr sein / vnd sie haben : Also kommen die Sternen vom Himmel nit / dann sie haben jhre nahrung von dem Himmel : Vnd da sie jhre *Mansiones* habent[a] / da seind sie / vnd auß denselbigen kommen sie nit / als wenig als ein Baum auß seinem Garten. Also verstandent nun von den Sternen / wie sie in jhrem Element standen / vnd wie sie mit jrem Element eingeleibt sind / vnd wie sie Frücht sind gleich den Beumen auff Erden. Vnd das soll auch gemerckt werden / daß so vilerley arth der Sternen sind vnnd gemeinschafft / so vilerley Gewächs der Erden sind. So offt ein besondere arth der Beumen / so offt ein besondere arth der Sternen : Auch nit allein der Beumen / sondern auch der Kreutter / vnd aller jrrdischen Gewächs. Dann das bewert sich auß dem / das so viel Influentz seind / so viel arth der Sternen / so viel solcher Gewächs auff Erden. Vnd ein jegliche arth gehet in seines gleichen / vnd vngleich kompt nit zusammen : Als sich dann in der Philosophey vnnd Astronomey gnugsam befindt vnnd bewert : Dann ein jeglichs Element ist dem andern gleichförmig / vnd in der Zahl gleichmässig.

Nuhn sollent jhr weitter wissen / wie jhr sehend / das von den Beumen die früchte gehend / vnd daß die Natur an dem orth ein Eigenschafft ist vnd ein Wesen / das ist / ein geschöpffti Gabe / daß der Baum Biren tregt / der ander Oepffel / der ander Nüsse / etc.[b] Also in solcher Eigenschafft stehnd auch die Sternen / also / das eim Stern geben ist der Regen / dem andern der Schnee / dem andern der Hagel / etc. Vnd also alles / das vom Himmel kompt / in solcher
194 gestalt geboren wirdt : Wie dann in seinen Capiteln | vnd *Paragraphis* angezeigt wirdt. Nuhn sehend an die Sonne / was in jhr ist : nemlich die Hitze so auff

a The term is carried over from astronomy-astrology to medicine in *Von den Blatern* [...] *vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen:* "Dann nicht allein der himmel sein Motiones gibt / sonder auch ein jetlichs Tranck **Mansiones** hat nach art der kranckheit / darauß sie ist" (H C:283c).

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retaining nothing within but rather releasing everything outward. This is why all the trees and herbs are of the earth and upon it. Inside it is nothing. You also should be aware that in the same way all the stars grow from the heavens and are | of them. Moreover, the stars appear before the heavens just as the trees 193
appear upon the earth. But whereas the trees are on the earth, yet also have their foot within it, in contrast the stars have no footing in their element. There is a reason for this. The trees must stand fixed and not slide off, remaining in the spot where they are placed, sown, and planted. The stars, however, do not have to stand still; they must proceed in their circle. For this reason, they are globes which constantly weave and wander the way they have been cast by the hand of God. They are separate from the heavens, yet in them. The tree is incorporated in the earth and cannot exist without it but must stand rooted in it and have it. But the stars do not emerge from the heavens, for they have their nourishment from the latter. They abide where they have their *mansiones;*[1] but do not grow out of these, no more than a tree emerges from its garden. Thus, should you understand the stars and how they abide in their element and are incorporated into it; and you should know how they are fruits just like those of the trees on earth. Moreover, you should be aware that there are as many kinds of vegetation on earth as starry constellations. As often as there is a particular kind of tree, no less often will there be a particular kind of star. This applies not only to trees but to herbs and to everything that grows on earth. This results from there being so many influences and kinds of stars as there are many kinds of vegetation on earth. Each enters into its own kind; and the like and unlike never come together. This has been shown sufficiently in philosophy and astronomy. For each element conforms to the other and is numerically its equal.

Now you should also be aware how the fruits proceed from their trees and how in a place nature has a single property and essence, namely, a created gift so that the one tree bears pears, the next apples, and a third nuts, etc. The stars have properties in the same way so that it is granted to one star to yield rain, to another snow, and to a third hail, etc. Thus, everything that comes from the heavens is born in this way, as will be shown in the appropriate chapters | and 194
paragraphi. Now regard the sun and what it contains. The heat which shines

b This very example was used again by P. in another context in the *Labyrinthus*: "**Der Baum tregt Apfel / der ander Bieren / der dritt Nuß / etc.** Also ist auch die vnderscheid vnder den kranckheiten : Vnnd also sollen die kranckheiten erkennt werden / auß dem Sahmen zu sein / nicht auß den Humoribus, vom Vatter / vnnd nicht vonn der Mutter" (H 2:237).

1 The Latin word *mansio* has the connotation of an abode sent by God (perhaps with implicit reference to John 14, 2: "*in domo Patris mei mansiones multae sunt*," etc.).

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vns scheint / die ist jhr angeboren / vnd ist jhr Eigenschafft / daß sie soll heiß sein. Wie wir dann sehent von den Ethnischen[a] Fewr / von den heissen Wassern : Also ist in denen Sternen ein solche Natur auch / vnnd so viel mehr vnd stercker / so viel das Element vber die Erden ist vnd wz Jrrdisch ist. Widerumb so sehent jhr die Kelte der Steinen / Crystallen / etc. Also seind auch Sternen / die mit solcher Kelte auch begabet seind / vnd jhnen eingeleibt. Wie jhr sehent daß der Magnet an sich zeucht : Also seind auch anziehende Sternen im Firmament. Wie das auff Erden ettliche ding seind trockner Natur / ettliche feuchter : Also auch im Himmel durch das gantze Firmament. Darumb so sollen die *Operationes Stellarum* dermassen verstanden werden / daß sie kommen von jren eigenen Eigenschafften / die jhn dermassen geben ist. Vnd solche *Operationes* seind in den dreyen Ersten / auß denselbigen kommen sie / wie dann nachfolgent erzehlet wirdt. Darumb so ist die *Meteorica* falsch / die da sagt von der Hitz der Sonnen / vom Lauffen / oder von andern *generationibus*, wie sich das erhebt / vom ansich ziehen von der Erden / etc. Dann nicht wie dieselbigen sagen / ist es / sondern es ist *natura appropriata, dotata :* Wie auff Erden den andern Geschöpfften allen in einem gleichen verstand sind. Es ist kein Stern der Regen an sich ziehe / vnnd jhn darnach wider gebe / oder ander ding dergleichen : sondern / es ist jhr eigen Natur / wie deß Birnbaums mit der Biren. Was die Sonne aufftrocknet / das ist vnd wird im Lufft verzehrt / wie alle ding in der Erden verzehrt werden. Vnd wie der Todt deren dingen so von der Erden kommen / in der Erden ist / also / das alle ding zu nichten werden vnnd gar verzehrt : Also ist solche Grebnuß vnd Verzehrung im Lufft auch / aller nassen dingen.

Nuh wissent also vom Sommer vnnd Winter / die kommen auch von den Sternen. Dann im Sommer sind Sommersterne / die den Sommer geben / vnnd seind ander Sternen die den Winter geben. Die Sonne ist der Erste vnd Obriste Sommerstern / vnd hatt mit jhr viel andere Sternen / die Hitz von jhnen geben : dieselbigen gehend an im anfang deß Sommers / vnnd nemmen zu in jhrer Hitz. Wie ein dürrer Baum / im Winter nichts hat / vnd aber gegen dem Sommer so hatt er jetzt Proßlen / | dann Bletter / dann Blust / dann sein Frucht / 195
etc. Also sind Sternen / die der arth sind / daß sie jetzt im Winter wie die dürren Beum stehend : vnnd aber so die zeit kompt der Sternen Auffgang / so nemmen sie von der Sonnen jhre krafft / vnd steigen auff je lenger je vester in die Hitze / vndtz sie kommen auff das höchst hinauff / darnach nemmen sie wider ab mit jhrer Hitze. Als dann so gehend die Winter Sternen an / gleich wie die Sommer-

a This use of "ethnisch" is not recorded by Grimm. It is derived from the Etna and occurs frequently in the works of P.

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upon us is born from it; it is its property to be so hot. Just as we can see in the volcanic fires, in the warm springs, so, too, is there a nature in the stars, but so much greater and more powerful as the element is above the earth and beyond what is earthly. On the other hand, consider the frigidity of stones, crystals, and the like. So it is, too, with the stars endowed with the frigidity which is incorporated into them. As you can see, the magnet attracts unto itself. So, too, are the attracting stars in the firmament. On earth some things have a dryer nature, some a moister nature. So, too, in the heavens, throughout the entire firmament. For this reason, it should be understood that the *operationes stellarum* [the operations of the stars] derive from their properties which in this way are incorporated into them. Moreover, their *operationes* are centered in the three principles. From these they come, as will be explained. Hence, it is a false *meteorica* which talks about the heat of the sun, about orbiting, or about other *generationes* that arise from the attraction of the earth, etc.[1] It is not as they say. It is rather a matter of *natura appropriata, dotata*.[2] Just as on earth, the same can be said of all other created things. There is no star that attracts rain to itself in order to release it back, nor any other thing of this kind. It lies rather in its own nature, as the pear tree with the pear. That which the sun dries out abides and is consumed in the air. And just as the death of those things that come from the earth abides in the earth, so, too, all things come to naught and are utterly consumed. The air is the same interment and consumption of all liquid things.

Now you should be aware that summer and winter also proceed from the stars. In the summer, there are summer stars that yield it, and there are other stars for the winter. The sun is the first and highest summer star; and it has many other stars that emit heat of themselves.[3] They begin at the start of the summer and increase in warmth. Just as in the winter a bare tree has nothing yet with the approach of summer it has first its buds | and then its leaves and finally blos- 195
soms and fruit, etc., so, too, are the stars of such a nature that in the winter they stand like bare trees. Yet when the time of the stellar ascent comes, they take their power from the sun and rise up the longer, the stronger in their heat, until they reach a zenith, after which they again decline in their heat. After this, the winter stars begin, as did the summer stars, and turn green in their nature, but

1 Here P. rejects astronomy (in the common meaning of the term) in favour of what he calls a sound *meteorica*: a sound explanation of the sublunary phenomena as he intends to give.

2 Nature endowed with specific characteristics.

3 In the *Philosophy of the Elements* the sun was already a major provider of summer heat (H 8:68). Summer was, however, also brought up by the winds *Eurus* and *Auster* (H 8:69), which had the effect of tempering the sun's heat (H 8:74). There were no summer stars or winter stars, contrary to *De Meteoris*.

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sternen / vnd grünen in jhr Natur / vnd gegem Sommer dorren sie auß. Seind solche Sternen krefftig / so gibts dester kelter Winter : Seind die Sommersternen krefftig / so geben sie ein heissen Sommer. Dann wie ettwan ein Jahr ist gutt / ein anders nach besser / dz ander böser oder nit / gar nit gut : Also seind auch vngleich dieselbigen Sternen / in jhrem auff vnd absteigen. Der Wintersternen ist der Mond der Obriste / vnnd hatt in seiner Natur vnd Geselschafft viel mit jhm. Darumb so wissendt / wann die Sommersternen nicht werent / es wer kein Sommer : Dann die Sonne ist in gleicher Hitze / sie sey hoch oder nider. Vnd were kein Sommerstern / so were es für vnd für Winter : Dann der Mond mit seinen Sternen ist für vnd für kalt : Allein das brichts / dieweil beyde arth der Sternen sind / darumb dorren sie auß : der eine theil im Winter / der ander im Sommer. Die höhe der Sonnen gibt keinen Sommer / oder jhr weitter Lauff : Es geben die Sommersternen den Sommer / aber von der Sonnen nemmen sie jhr wachsen. Der Mond gibt kein Winter für sich selbest alleine / er gibt allein ein Winter mit seinen Sternen / er für sich selbst ist zu schwach : Auch die Sonne zu schwach ohn jhr mitgehülffen.

Dermassen so wissend auch vom Tag vnd Nacht : Nemlich / daß der Tag kompt vom Liecht der Sonnen : vnnd die Nacht vom Liechte deß Monds. Vnd das in dem wege / das Gott die Tagheitery geschaffen in die Sonne / gleich wie eine Heittery in das Fewr / Liecht / oder Mond. Vnd hatt da zweyerley Liecht gemacht in das Firmament / ein Tagliecht vnnd Nachtliecht / keins dem andern gleich / daß Ein Weiß / das ander Rott. So nuhn das Tagliecht auffsteigt / so gehet der Tag an / vnnd weichet die Nacht : Dann das Tagliecht hatt den Schein alle andere Liecht zu plenden. So nuhn das Tageliecht vndergehet / vnd sein
196 Gang / der jhm von Gott befohlen / vollendt hatt : Als | dann so gehet dz Nachtliecht an / das ist der Mond vnd die Finsternuß. Darauff wissent nun von der Nacht ein solch erkentnuß / daß die hinweg gehung der Sonnen die Nacht nit macht / darumb das die Sonne vndergangen ist : Dann jhr Schein ist so starck / ob gleich wol die Sonne gar vmb Mitternacht vnder vns ist / noch würd der Schein auff der Erden seinen *Reflexum* geben / das do so vil Tag were / das man den tag erkennen möchte / vnd desselbigen Liechts geniessen. Aber das ist die Nacht / vnd auß der vrsachen fallt die Nachtfinsternuß an / das ein sondere arth ist der Sternen / die dunckel macht vnd befinstert so viel / wo der Mond nicht ist / das gar nichts gesehen mag werden.

Als so ein trüber Wolcke vor der Sonnen ist / derselbige nimpt das Tagliecht auch hinweg : Auch wann ein Finsternuß kompt / die den Sonnenschein auch

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toward summer they again become bare. If those stars are powerful, the winter will be that much colder. If the summer stars are powerful, they will result in a hot summer. For just as one year is good, another even better, and a third evil or not at all good, no less dissimilar are the same stars in their ascent and descent. Of the winter stars, however, the moon stands highest. In its nature and association, it has much in common. You must be aware that without the summer stars, there would be no summer. The sun is of the same heat whether it is high or low. Without the summer stars, it would be entirely winter. For the moon with its stars is entirely frigid. Only this breaks it, that there are stars of both kinds so that they dry out: the ones in winter, the others in summer. The altitude of the sun does not cause summer, nor the extent of its course. Only summer stars cause summer, but it is from the sun that they derive their growth. By itself, the moon does not bring about winter; it only does so together with its stars.[1] Of itself it is too weak. So, too, the sun would be too weak without its assistants.

In the same vein, you should know this about day and night: Day is from the light of the sun, night from the light of the moon. The reason for this is that God created day bright and clear in the sun, like a bright clarity of fire, light, or moon. He placed two lights in the firmament, the light of day and light of night,[2] unlike one another, the one white, the other red.[3] When daylight ascends, day begins and night departs. For daylight possesses a radiance that outshines all other lights. And when daylight descends and completes its course ordained for it by God, | the light of night begins which is the moon and darkness. About 196
night you should know this: it is not the departure of the sun that causes night by going down; for its radiance is so powerful that even if the sun is beneath us at midnight, it would cast its *reflexum* onto the earth, so that there would be many days on which one would see day and enjoy its light. But it is night then: the darkness arises because of a peculiar power of the stars[4] that make it dark and obscure so much that when there is no moon nothing can be seen. When a dark cloud stands before the sun, it also takes away its light. The same hap-

1 In the *Philosophy of the Elements* winter was explained as the fallow season of the sun (H 8:68). Cold came from the stars (ibid.), although the wind *Boreas* helped to bring up winter (H 8:69). The moon, although a powerful source of cold, was not held responsible for winter (H 8:72). This is roughly the same here.

2 See Gen. 1, 3–5.

3 See the corresponding passage in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:67–68).

4 Just as the composite complexions are rejected since the elements remain segregated, interactive conjunctions are also cast in doubt for celestial events. Not the interrelation of sun and earth, but the distinctive action of respective stars, causes darkness. In undermining the holism of hierarchy, P. rejects interaction in favor of discrete agency.

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nimpt / vnd eine Nacht macht. Also sind sonderliche *Tenebræ* im Himmel / so bald die Sonne auffwerds scheint vnd abwerts / dz solche *Tenebræ* auff sie fallend / vnd bringen ein solch gantz finstere Nacht / in welcher Finsternuß allein der Mond sein Schein hatt / durch die Finsternuß : doch nit mehr / dann allein / daß die Finsternuß ein Nacht geben vnd machen / biß die Sonne diese Finsternuß wider vberwindet im auffsteigen. Auch so die Sonne jhren schein von dem *Eclipsi* verleurt / vnnd *Tenebræ* werden / macht die Nachtsternen / das (es) gar Nacht wird / dieweil die Sonne durch sie nit scheinen mag.

Also hatt nun Gott den Sternen den Lauff gegeben / daß sie geworffen werden von der Hand Gottes in das Kreiß deß gantzen Firmaments / ein jeglicher Stern in sein Kreiß vnd Gang. Dann vrsache / daß sie nicht feiren sollent / ist die / das also im abwesen eines andern Sternen / die andern jhre *Operationes* auch haben mögen : Also im abwesen der Sonne / die Nachtsternen auch erkennt mögen werden. Also in andern Sternen allen dergleichen / jetzt hoch / dann nider : ist einer hoch / so ist der ander nider / ist einer in der Exaltation / so ist der ander in der Declination : Also / das ein jeglicher Stern seine wirckung / darzu jhn Gott beschaffen hatt / vollendet / vnd geordnet / das je einer dem andern weichet / damit es alles vollbracht werde / wie wir dann ein Exempel in der Sonnen sehend. Dann da feyret kein Stern / kein Stern stehet stille /
197 seind alle in täglicher vbung / damit daß | sie die Natur auffwecken vnnd treiben in tägliche Wirckung. Vnd wie also die Sternen ohn alle ruhe seindt : Also seind auch ohn alle ruhe die ding in der Natur / das ist / sie wercken für vnd für. Vnnd wiewol das ist / das zu Nacht ruhe ist : Solche ruhe ist den Entpfindtlichen geben / das sie Rasten : Wann sie mögen dz nicht erzeugen / so die Sternen vnd ander vnentpfindlichen Creaturen nicht empfinden. Vnd wiewol das auch ist / das der Winter auch eine Ruhe ist / natürlicher dingen : Das ist die vrsache / das sie nach jhrer dargebung der Frucht ruhen sollen. So ist es doch keine Ruhe nicht / sondern / sie vbent sich für vnd für / vnd rüsten sich wieder gegem Sommer auff ein newe Geberung vnd darreichung der Frucht. Also feiret nichts in der Natur / es ist alles in vbung von Stundt zu Stundt / von Tag zu Tag / von Nacht zu Nacht : Allein der Mensch feiret zu Nacht / vnd den Sabbath / von wegen seines Gebotts. So ist aber der Sabbath nicht dem Geist gebotten still vnd müssig zustohn / sondern er ist allein dem Leibe zu rasten / wie dem andern Vieh allen dergleichen. Der Geist aber soll für vnnd für in Arbeit sein / also / das weder Schlaff noch Sabbath jhn still vnd ruwig macht. Also seindt die Geschöpfft alle / ob gleichwol das *Corpus* feyert / der Geist feyert aber nicht / er ist in täglicher Fürwirckung.

Also auff solches nuhn so mercket / das solche *Corpora*, von denn Tag vnnd Nacht kommen / von denn Sommer vnnd Winter kommen / vnd alle ding wie gesagt ist / vnd noch mehr gesagt wirdt / von den dreyen Ersten / die seind die

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pens when an eclipse takes away the sunshine and cause night. So, too, there are particular *tenebrae* [darkness] in the heavens when the sun shines upwards and downwards; and those *tenebrae* are cast upon it, causing such a dark night in the darkness of which only the moon is radiant through the obscurity. But it is no more than that the darkness causes and creates the night until the sun surmounts this darkness by rising. So it is, too, that when the sun loses its radiance through the *eclipsis* yielding to *tenebrae*, this is caused by the night stars with the effect that it becomes fully night for as long as the sun cannot shine through it.

So it is that God gave the stars their courses. Thus, they were cast by the hand of God into the circuit of the entire firmament with each one cast into its own orbit and path. The reason why they should never rest is in order that the other stars should continue their *operationes* without being interrupted by the absence of some star; so that without the sun the night stars can still be recognized. So it proceeds with all the stars, one is now high, one now low in its exaltation, as is the other in its declination: so each star will complete and command the effect for which God has created it and so that everything should be fulfilled as we can see from the example of the sun. For no star takes a rest, none stands still. All are in daily operation in order that they might | 197
arouse and drive nature in its diurnal action. Just as the stars are never at rest, the things in nature are quite without rest. They are at work on and on. Even if there seems to be calm at night, the calm is accorded only to sensible creatures in order that they might rest. However, they cannot impart sensibility to the stars and other insentient creatures. And though it seems that winter is a time of calm for natural things, the reason is that they should rest after yielding their fruit. This is equally far from a state of rest. Rather, they exert themselves continually and prepare themselves for the return of summer in order to generate and yield their fruit once again. Hence, nothing in nature is on holiday. Everything exerts itself from hour to hour, from day to day, from night to night. It is only the human being that rests at night and celebrates the sabbath on account of the commandment. However, the sabbath does not require the human spirit to be quiet and idle. It is only the human body that must rest as required for all other beasts besides. The spirit, however, should exert itself constantly so that neither sleep nor sabbath renders it quiet and in repose. The same holds true for all creatures. Even when the *corpus* is at rest, the spirit is not. It continues in its diurnal exertion.

So, let us observe in this context that the sort of *corpora* that come from day and night, from summer and winter, as well as all things mentioned above and more besides, all come from the three prime things which are the *corpora* of all

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Corpora deren dingen allen. Die Sonne ist *Sal perspicuum* vnd *diaphanum*, von den dreyen Ersten Clarificiert / Extrahiert / vnd Mundiert von aller Dunckli : Vnd wz die Dunckli vnd *Tenebræ* gewesen seind in derselbigen *Massa*, dieselbigen *Tenebræ* seindt in ein besondere arth gestellet / also / was lautter vnd klaar ist / in eine *Massa* besonder : Was finster ist / in eine andere. Gleich als wann man Weiß vnnd Schwartz zusammen mischet / so wirdt es weder Schwartz noch Weiß / vnd ein Farben / die in nichten Perfect ist / vnd wirdt Graw : So sie aber gescheiden werden von einander / so wirdt es wieder ein gutt Weiß / vnd ein gutt Schwartz. In dem Kißlingstein ist ein Liecht / im Fewrstein auch /
198 im Marmel auch : Aber die Finsternuß vmbgibts / daß nicht brennt / | sondern do wirdt gar kein Liecht gesehen. So es aber herauß geschlagen wirdt / als dann so ist das Liecht besonder / vnnd gibt sein Schein / vnnd der Stein bleibt finster. Also ist auß der *Massa primæ Materiæ Elementi Cœli*, genommen worden der Schein / vnd besondert der Weisse schein in die Sonne / vnd der Rott schein in den Mond vnd Sternen. Vnnd seindt dermassen also gescheiden / das die Diaphinitet vnnd Perspicuitet deß Weissen im *Sulphure, Sale* vnnd *Liquore*, als ein Geist außgezogen / vnd die Sonnen geschaffen. Darnach der schein deß Rotten in das *Corpus Sulphuris* gestelt / vnnd die Rotte Diaphinitet vnd Perspicuitet in den Leib *Sulphuris Rubei* gelegt. Also ist *Sal* ein *Corpus Solis, Sulphur* ein *Corpus Lunæ*, vnnd der *Liquor* ein *Corpus* der Finstere. Dermassen sollend wir auch wissen / das Gott in der ersten *Prima Materia* alle ding geschaffen hatt zu sein : Aber selbst gescheiden wider herauß / ein jedlichs in das / das es hatt sollen sein. Darumb hatt Gott sechs Tag gewercket / biß er Extrahiert / Separiert / geformiert hatt / auß der *Prima Materia, Vltimas Materias :* das ist / ein jedlichs Geschöpfft das er hatt heissen bleiben biß auff die zergehung der Welt. Also ist Gott derselbige / der am ersten alle ding in Eins geschaffen vnd gelegt hatt / darnach in sechs Tagen herauß gezogen / was im selbigen gewesen ist.

Dann das Exempel müssendt wir mercken : Weither mögen wir auch nicht kommen mit natürlichem verstandt. Dann gleich als ein Haffener / derselbig hatt für jhm seinen Leymen : Nuhn steckend im Leymen vielerley Instrumenten vnd *Vasa*, mag also auß Einem Leymen in tausenterley vnd mehr Instrumenten machen. Oder als ein Schnitzer / der hatt ein Holtz / vnnd mag darauß machen / was er will : Alleine so er von demselbigen weiß zu thun vnd zu scheiden / was nicht darzu gehört. Also hatt Gott auß Einer *Massa* vnd *Materia* all

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of those things. The sun is *sal perspicuum* and *diaphanum*, refined, extracted, and purified of all darkness.[1] Moreover, that which constituted the darkness and *tenebrae* in that same *massa*, those *tenebrae* have been translated into a particular nature which is pure and clear, into one *massa* in particular. What is dark passes into something else. It is the same as when one mixes white and black so that there is neither the one nor the other but rather an imperfect color which appears gray. Yet when the two are separated each from the other, what remains again is a pure white and a pure black. In gravel stones there is a light, in flintstone another, and in marble as well. But being surrounded by darkness nothing in it lights up |; no light is visible at all. But when it is struck and the 198
inner extracted, there is a particular light that shines forth while the stone itself remains dark. Thus was extracted from the *massa primae materiae elementi coeli*[2] the radiance, in particular the white radiance into the sun and the red into the moon and stars.[3] They were separated in such a way that the diaphanous and perspicuous quality of the whiteness was extracted into the *sulphur, sal*, and *liquor* as a spirit and the sun was created. After this, the radiance of redness was introduced into the *corpus sulphuris* and the red diaphanousness and perspicuity translated into the body of *sulphuris rubei*.[4] Thus, *sal* is a *corpus solis, sulphur* a *corpus lunae*, and the *liquor*[5] a *corpus* of the darkness. By the same measure, we must be aware that in the first *prima materia* God created all things to be. But each had to be separated out into that for which it was predestined. Hence, God worked for six days until he had extracted, separated, formed from the *prima materia* the *ultimae materiae*. That is to say: every creature he commanded to abide until the dissolution of the world. Thus, God is the One who in the beginning made and posited all things into one and afterwards extracted in six days what had been in the one.

We must take note of this exemplary truth: we will never go far with our natural understanding. For it is like the potter who has before him his clay. In it are concealed all sorts of instruments and *vasa* so that from a single clay he can craft a thousand instruments and more. Or it is as with a carver who has wood and can make from it whatever he likes. He only needs to know how to do it wisely and to separate off what does not belong. So, it was as well that

1 This description is close, yet quite different, from that of the *Philosophy of the Elements*. See above, H 8:67, on 183 and n. 1.

2 The mass of the prime matter of the element of heavens.

3 This is almost identical to the *Philosophy of the Elements* (above, H 8:67). The mention of the three principles that follows is, however, specific to *De Meteoris*.

4 Of the red sulphur.

5 Here, *mercurius*, as explained above by P. (H 8:187).

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Geschöpffte genommen / Extrahiert vnd Separiert : Also das kein Spehn da worden seind / sondern ein jedlichs ist kommen in sein *Vltimam Materiam :* Darumb er jhm sechs Tage zu wercken fürgenommen hatt. Also hatt er herausßzogen / was zun Sternen gehört / zun Sternen gemacht : Was zum Liecht gehört / in sein Liecht gemacht / vnd außzogen von der Finsternuß : Vnd jedlichs besonders in sein Arth vnd Statt / also das nienen nichts mehr zuschaffen
199 ist / | sondern alles gnugsam geschaffen / vnd die Zahl erfüllet / in allen Creaturen / Geschlecht vnd Wesen. Vnd ist gleich zu verstohn / als diß Exempel außweiset. Die Erden ist Schwartz / Braun / vnd vnfletig / nichts schönes noch hübsches : Noch aber so ist in jhr Grün / Blaw / Weiß / Rott / etc. alle Farben / da ist nichts das nicht in jhr werde. So nuhn der Früling kommt vnnd der Sommer / so kommen die Farben alle herfür / die (so sich die Erden nicht selbst bezeugt) niemandts in jhr zu sein möglich zu glauben were. Also / wie nuhn auß einem solchen Schwartzen Erdrich / solch Edel / subtile Farben gehend : Also seind auch so mancherley gangen der Geschöpfft auß der ersten *Prima Materia*, die auch in jhrer vermischung ein vnflat gewesen ist. Dann sehend an das *Elementum Aquae*, was es ist / so es in Eim ist. Nun secht auch an wie auß demselbigen alle Metallen werden / alle Stein / Rubin / die da scheinend / Carbunckel / die da Liecht geben / Crystallen / Goldt vnnd Silber. Nuhn wer ist der / der solches im Wasser erkännte / das Metallen / Stein / dorinnen werendt / als alleine das Werck bezeugts. Also hatt auch Gott auß den dreyen Ersten herauß gezogen / was er darein gethan hatt / jedlichs inn sein Prædestination vnnd Mansion verordnet.

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God extracted and separated all creatures from a single *massa* and *materia*. He did this in such a way that no scraps resulted but rather each thing was translated into its *ultima materia*. This is why he took six days to work on it. He drew out what pertained to the stars and made the stars from it. What pertained to light, he made into light, extracting it from the darkness. Each and every entity to its proper place and nature until nothing was left to be made | but rather 199
everything entirely created, and the number fulfilled in all creatures, kinds, and essences. It can be understood by way of this analogy. Earth is black, brown, and crude, not at all beautiful or pretty. Yet within it lie green, blue, white, red, etc., all colors: there is nothing that won't emerge from it. When spring arrives and summer, all colors emerge, which (if the earth itself did not bear witness) no one would have believed possible. Just as from that black earthly realm such noble and subtle colors came forth, so many kinds of creatures emerged from the first *prima materia* which in its conflation was a sordid mess. Just consider the *elementum aquae:* what is it when it is altogether? Now consider how all the metals arise from it, all stones, rubies which are radiant, carbuncles that radiate light, crystals, gold, and silver. But who recognized that in water there were metals and stones, which have no testimony but his very work itself? So it was that God drew from the three prime things all that he had enclosed in them, arraying each thing to its predestination and mansion.

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CAPVT IIII.
QVID IN STELLIS
DE VIVENTIBUS Speciebus.

Wie ich nuhn bißher gesagt habe von den vnentpfindtlichen Geschöpfft der Meteorischen Region vnd Einhaltung : So ist nuhn weither auch zu verstehn / das auch entpfindtliche / das ist / lebendige / bewegliche / verstendige Geschöpfft in selbigen Meteorischen *Regionibus* auch seindt. Dann das sollen wir wissen / das Gott in allen Elementen lebendige Creaturen geschaffen hatt / vnnd nichts hatt lassen leer[a] sein : Nicht allein Vnuernünfftigs / sondern auch Vernünfftigs. Als nemlich / im Wasser sehendt jhr die Fische / in der Erden
200 den *Talpam* :[b] Wie jhr nuhn da sehen / | also gedenckent nicht anderst im Lufft / im Himmel / seindt dergleichen *Animalia* die da leben / als im Lufft *Matene*, das ist / Mucken / im Himmel *Tortelleos*. Noch auch zu dem ein lebendig empfindtliche Creatur / inn Geistsweise : Als im Wasser die Nymphen / in [der] Erden die *Gnomi*, im Lufft die *Lemures*, im Himmel die *Pennates*. Was vns nach grobem verstand in der vndern Sphær vnnd Globul angezeigt wirdt / dasselbige gibt vns ein Exempel / das auch in den Obern Sphæren vnd in der obern Globul / dergleichen auch dermassen ein Gleichnuß sein muß : Vnnd befindt sich auch dermassen am Werck / vnnd in der Natur / vnnd in der Kunst. Nuhn von *Nymphis* ist hie nicht zu reden / auch *Gnomis* vnnd *Lemuribus*, sondern an jhren örthern dieselbigen zu Philosophieren. Darumb aber sage ich solches / das wir in der *Meteorica* wissen sollent / dz Verstanden Geschöpfft mit Menschlicher Vernunfft vnnd Sinnligkeit in solchen Elementen wohnen vnnd seindt. Dann nemment euch für viel Wunderwerck / so durch die obristen *Generationes* geschehen / in die Erden herab / die ohne solchen verstandt nicht geschehen möchten : Dann wie möchte es sein / das ein Strahl so geradt

a See *Liber de Nymphis* (H 9:54): "Jedliches hatt sein besonder Wohnung / aber dem Menschen dem erscheinen sie wie obsteht / das er erkenn vnnd sech / wie wunderbarlich GOTT sey inn seinen Wercken / das er kein Element feyren leßt / vnnd **leer leßt** / er hab doch grosse Wunderwercken inn jhnen."

b *Talpa* is discussed in a medical and cosmological context in a syphilis treatise in eight books (1529): though not explained per se, the "talpa" is guided without light or sight, as the known nocturnal creatures are guided by moonlight: *Von Vrsprung, Herkommen vnd Anfang der Frantzosen Acht Bücher:* "gleich wie die Nachteul / die wissen von keiner Sonnen nichts / der Mon ist jhr Liecht. Also auch wie die **Talpa** / darffe der Augen nichts wie sie wander" (H C:216c). Elsewhere they are akin to gnomes: "Also seind contrafeit Menschen in Elementen / die in den Elementen / vnd nicht ausserhalb wohnen / wie der Phoenix im Fewr / wie **Talpa** im Erdtrich" (*Astronomia Magna*—H 10:99).

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CAPVT IV.
QVID IN STELLIS
DE VIVENTIBUS Speciebus.
[About the Living Species in the Stars]

Just as I have explained concerning the insensate creations of the meteoric regions and their inclusion, it must be understood by the same token that there are in those meteoric *regiones* sensate, living, mobile, and animate creatures. For we must be aware that God created in all the elements living creatures, leaving nothing empty. Not only unreasoning beings but rational ones as well. So, there are in water the fishes, in earth the *talpa* [the mole]. As you can see, | it should 200
not be thought to be different in the air, in the heavens. The same sort of *animalia* live there, such as in the air the *matene*, that is, gnats;[1] so in the heavens *tortellei*.[2] But added to that is the living creature, sensate in spirit. Thus, in the water the nymphs,[3] in [the] earth the *gnomi*,[4] in the air the *lemures;*[5] in the heavens the *pennates*.[6] What is revealed to our inadequate understanding in the lower sphere and globe is instructive insofar as in the upper sphere as well such things exist for our instruction. We receive the same insights in the operation of nature as well as of art. Here, we will not address the *nymphi*, nor the *gnomi* or *lemures*, which are to be taken up in their proper philosophical context. I mention them, however, so that we in the *Meteorica* will be cognizant that in those elements there is a rational creature possessing human reason and consciousness. So, you should expect that many marvels should come to pass through their superior *generationes* down into the earthly sphere which cannot otherwise be comprehended. For how else could it happen that a bolt

1 See Grimm, Mücke (2), *culex*; but in older German there is no sharp distinction between various air-borne insects.

2 See OLD: *tortilis*, twisted. Could P. be thinking of a whirlwind as an inhabitant of the aerial region?

3 The names of the elementary beings given in this treatise differ from those found in the *Liber de Nymphis* and other treatises. Just as P. used to change the names of the three principles (see above H 8:187), he often changed those of these beings (see the table in Kahn 2021, 237).

4 See above, 72, note a.

5 *Lemures* are ghosts in Roman mythology. This word occurs again very often in the *Astronomia magna* for elementary beings.

6 *Pennates*: P. may have borrowed this conception of *Penates* from Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, III, 4: "[Varro] does not there make plain who the Penates are. [§] But those who do a more diligent job of unearthing the truth have said that the Penates are the gods who allow us to breathe deeply [*penitus*] and to have both our physical being and our mind's rational capacity. Moreover, they say that Jupiter is fiery air in the middle, Juno the lower atmosphere (along with the earth), and Minerva the ether's very pinnacle" (Macrobius-Kaster 2011, 31).

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in das orth schlahen müste / vnnd nicht in ein anders ? Darauß gutt zunemmen vnnd zuermessen ist / das solches durch verstandt geschicht der obern / *id est, Superorum*. Die *Superi* seindt die *Pennates*.[a] Vnd solches zeige ich darumb an / das wir endtlich vnnd gründtlich verstehen vnd wissen sollen / das solche Creaturen im Firmament seindt / die solche Wissenheit tragen / wie ein Geist : Was in der Welt ist / das auch im Firmament wissenhafft bey jhnen sey. Dann sich soll in dem niemandts verwundern / es ist warhafftig von *Gnomis*, von *Nymphis*, so ist es doch wunderbarlich : Jedoch / ist es schon vber deß Menschen verstandt wie bißher / so ist es doch also / vnd das Werck beweiset es.

Darumb dieweil dem also ist / vnnd die Werck bewerendts : Auff solches sollendt die *Meteorici* wissen / das die wirckung von den Obern zu etlichen zeitten geführt vnnd gewiesen werden / an das oder das orth / nicht allein Ein mahl / sondern mehr mahlen / gleich als Schützen zu einem Ziel. Vnnd wie wol ich hie jhre Geschickligkeit nicht anzeig : So wirdt doch jhr in sondern
201 *Capitulis Meteoricis* angezeigt / was gewaltt | sie haben : Vnnd noch mehr in der Philosophey / in welcher der *Meteoricus* ein gantzen gutten Bericht nemmen mag / vnnd genugsammen Verstandt vnnd Wissenheit. Aber damit ich in denselbigen *Meteoricis Capitulis* dester leichter verstanden werde / von was, *Superis* ich rede : Zeige ich sie hie an / das sie seindt im Firmament / vnnd wohnend im selbigen mit allen Weißheiten vnd Verstanden / vnnd Künsten / vnd dergleichen Wirckungen vber die Natur : Bey vns in der vnsern Globul gleich den Bergmenlein / *Lemuribus, &c*. Also sollen wir wissen / das Wir nicht allein Menschen auff Erden / solchen Verstandt alleine haben / also / als ob sonst nichts wer / als allein der Mensch in dem Verstandt were : Sondern / es seind noch mehr / in denn solcher Verstandt / vnnd mehrer auch ist / dann im Menschen / in allem dem dz die Natur antrifft / im natürlichen Verstandt. Dann Gott ist wunderbarlich in seinen Wercken vnd Geschöpfften / der ohn End wunderbarlich dem Menschen / als der Edlesten Creaturen / selbst alles zu Philosophieren befohlen hatt / vnnd zu erforschen die Natur / damit sie die Wunderwerck Gottes herfür zeig. Dann was haben wir auff Erden / als allein in Göttlichen Wercken wandlen / vnd sie erkennen ? Vnd nicht wandlen in den dingen / die do nicht Göttliche Werck seindt. Dann in zween wege seind die Werck Gottes getheilt : In die Werck der Natur / das die *Philosophia* begreifft : Vnd in die Werck *Christi*, das *Theologia* begreifft. In denen sollen wir verzehren die Zeit / so wir auff Erden zu verzehren haben / damit wir mit Frieden[b] sterbent.

a P. uses the word *Superi* only in this treatise.

b Huser gives the alternate reading *freuden* in the margin.

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of lightning would strike precisely in this place and not another? From this it can be deduced that it is guided by the intelligence of the upper ones, *id est, superorum*.[1] Those *superi* are the *pennates*. I recount and demonstrate this so that we will be aware conclusively that there are in the firmament such spirit-like creatures possessing such a knowledge. What is present in the world is also known to them in the firmament. For no one should be amazed: it is true of the *gnomi* and *nymphi*, yet it is still marvelous. However, it indeed goes beyond previous human understanding. Yet the work proves that it is so.

Now that it is indeed so and the works demonstrate it, from this, the *meteorici* should know that the action of the superior ones[2] can be deduced and demonstrated at certain times in this or that particular place, and not just once but repeatedly, as if a marksman were striking a target. Even though I do not demonstrate such a capacity in this context, particular *capita* of the *meteorica* will demonstrate the power | they possess, and more can be found in the 201
Philosophy, from which the *meteoricus* can receive good instruction as well as understanding and knowledge. But so that my meaning is better understood in the *capitula meteorica*, of which *superi* I speak, I will note here that they are in the firmament, dwelling there with all the powers of wisdom, understanding, and art and with the corresponding actions exerted upon nature. Here in the lower globe we have the same thing with the little mine men, the *lemures*, and so on. From this it should be evident that we human beings on earth are not the only ones to have such understanding. There are those others that likewise possess such an understanding, more of it than there is in humans. All of this is demonstrated by nature in the natural understanding of things. For God is miraculous in his works and in his creatures, having enjoined the human being, that noble creature, to speculate about everything and research nature to reveal the miraculous works of God. For why else are we on earth but to dwell among the divine works and recognize them? We are not here to be among things which are not divine works. For the works of God are divided: those of nature, which the *philosophus* comprehends; and those of *Christus* which *theologia* comprehends. In these we are to pass our time on earth in order to die in peace.[3]

1 *Superi* can mean in Latin the gods of the heavens. Here P. uses it to designate the elementary creatures of the heavens.

2 The word "Obern" seems to be here a German transposition of the Latin "*Superi*".

3 Huser offers an alternate reading in the margin: *Freuden* ("joy") instead of *Frieden*.

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Das sollend jhr aber auch wissen / das Gott den Menschen beschaffen hatt / vnd dem alles vnderworffen was er geschaffen : Vnd durch den Psalmisten bestett / der da sagt : Du hast jhm alles vnderworffen / etc. Vnd meldet aber nicht im selbigen / was / Vieh / Schaf / Rinder / Vogel im Lufft / Fische im Meer / etc. vnnd von den vier Geschlechten der Elementen / so ich im vergangenen *Paragrapho* fürgehalten habe / meldt er gar nichts : Darumb seindt sie auch dem Menschen gar nichts vnderworffen. Darumb so ist auch falsch die vermeinten Künstler / die da wollen solche *Saganas* zwingen in jhren Willen : Als die thunt die sich der Schwartzen Kunst rhümen vnnd dergleichen /
202 vber solche gewaltig zu sein. Ein mahl soll der Mensch wissen / | was jhm Gott nicht geben hatt / vnnd jhm nicht vndter seine Füsse geworffen / das er vber dasselbige sich nichts vnderstehen soll / dann es mag nicht sein / es ist jhm vnmüglich. Was aber Gott dem Menschen vnderworffen hatt / dasselbige ist jhm möglich / vnnd geratt jhm. Nuhn wie ich gemeldet habe / von den *Saganis* der vier Elementen[a] / wie sie in denselbigen wohnen / nicht bey vns Menschen : So ist zwischen denselbigen vnd vns ein solch vndterscheidt : Das wir Menschen seindt durch Gott geschaffen / jnnen vnnd aussen mit der Seele ohn Todt / Welche Seele die andern nicht haben : Wol Menschliche Vernunfft vnnd Kunst / aber Menschliche Seel nicht / sondern Menschvieh seindt sie. Die *Gnomi* habendt alle Künst der Menschen / vnnd beweisens auch / die Nymphen auch / also auch die andern : Da ist aber keine Seel / für die *Christus* gestorben sey / allein für den Menschen : Vnnd für den Menschen / mit deren Blutt vnnd Fleisch er geredt hatt. Wiewol solches alles nuhn mehr Philosophisch ist / dann Meteorisch / so ist doch vonn nöthen diese Philosophey hie zu melden / damit in seinen *Paragraphis* vnnd *Capitibus* die *Operationes* dester gründtlicher ohn Jrrung Declariert mögen werden. Dann viel wirdt der Natur zugelegt / das auß der Natur nicht also ist / sondern durch solche *Saganas* geschehen : Wie sich dann offentlich beweist / in Bergen / Thälern / Erden / im Wasser vnnd andern : Dann Gott ist gar wunderbarlich.

Vnnd vom Menschen sollen wir wissen / das er keines Elements ist / sondern er ist frey / also / das er nicht der Erden / nicht deß Wassers / nicht deß Himmels / nicht deß Luffts allein ist : Sondern auß jhn allen lebt er / vnnd wandlet in jhnen allen / vnnd alle ding seindt von seinet wegen geschaffen / vnnd er ist der / dem sie gehorsam müssen sein. Aber die *Gnomi* bleibent in der Erden / mögen deß Luffts / deß Firmaments / deß Wassers nichts / gleich einer Schermauß. Die *Nymphae* im Wasser allein / gleich einem Hering : Die *Lemures* im

a Specific to this work, the *Saganae* appear to coincide partially or completely with the elemental creatures.

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You should know as well that God created the human being and subjected everything he created to him. Through the mouth of the psalmist, he says: You have subordinated everything to him, etc.[1] Nothing is said of animals, sheep, cattle, birds in the air, fish in the seas, etc. And about the four elemental races which I elucidated in the last *paragraphus*, he reports nothing at all. For this reason, they are not in the least subordinated to the human being. Hence, those pretending artists have it wrong when they think they can subjugate the *saganae*[2] to their will: this is what they do when they boast of their black art and whatever goes with it. Once and for all, the human being should know | what it 202
is that God did not give him and did not cast under his feet, so that he should not presume otherwise. It cannot be. It is not possible for the human being. That which God did subject to the human will is indeed possible. That is indeed within his power. As I have said concerning the *saganae* of the four elements[3] who dwell within them but do not dwell with humankind: between them and us there is this difference, namely, that we human beings were created by God with an immortal soul within and without, which those others do not possess. They indeed have human reason and art but not a human soul. They are humanoid beasts. The *gnomi* possess and practice all the human arts. The nymphs no less. The others as well. But they do not have a soul for which *Christus* died—and died for none but the human being. Christ spoke for humankind with its flesh and blood. All this may be more philosophical than meteorological. Yet this philosophy needs to be stated here so that in the appropriate *paragraphi* and *capita* the *operationes* might be presented without error and all the more thoroughly. For many things are ascribed to nature that do not pertain to it, but which rather happen through the agency of those *saganae*. This can be seen quite clearly in mountains, valleys, in the earth, in water, and in the other elements. For God is nothing less than wondrous.

Moreover, regarding the human being, you should be aware that he does not pertain to any one element. The human being is free in the sense that he is not of earth, not of the water, not of the heavens, nor of the air. From them all he subsists yet goes his way in all. All things were created on account of him; and it is to him that all are subjected. The *gnomi* remain in the earth and, like moles, can't partake of air, heavens, or water. The *nymphi* live in water like herings; the *lemures* in the air like birds. The human being is not within the elements *cor-*

1 See Ps 8:6, cf. Gen 1:28.

2 The Latin word *sagana* ("witch") is only used in this treatise. Otherwise P. uses *saga* (still "witch"), e.g. in *De Sagis et earum Operibus, Neun Tractat* (H 9:241).

3 We should assume that P. uses this unexpected term to designate the elementary beings in order to highlight the aspect of their humanly unattainable knowledge.

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Lufft / gleich einem Vogel. Der Mensch aber ist nicht in Elementen *Corporaliter*, sondern frey auff der Erden / vnnd nicht in der Erden : Auff dem Wasser /
203 vnd nicht im Wasser / vnder | dem Himmel nicht im Himmel / neben dem Lufft nicht im Lufft / vnnd ist doch in allen Vieren / der *Centrum*,[a] in den alle vier *Operationes*, vnnd jhren *Reflexum* auff jhn geben / vnnd jhr *Radios*[b] alle in jhnen. Damit so wissendt die Vnderscheidt auch / die da ist zwischen den Verstandt deß Menschen vnnd den *Saganis*, ein vnderscheidt zwischen jhr beyden Weißheiten / Kunst / Wirckung vnnd Mansionen. Aber alles solches melde ich darumb an / das der Mensch nicht soll vermeinen / es sey kein Ertzmann nicht / als er alleine / so doch die *Gnomi* noch besser seindt / vnnd gar im Ertz wohnen : Oder das er allein wisse / was im Wasser sey / so doch die *Nymphae* im Wasser darinnen gar seindt / viel mehr wissendt : Deßgleichen auch nicht mehr wisse / was im Lufft sey / als die *Lemures*, oder das er allein der *Philosophus* sey deß Luffts / die *Lemures* wissendt noch mehr : Also auch die *Superi* mehr wissen im Firmament dann der Mensch. Der Mensch weiß allein zu Philosophieren / was zu jhm kommt : Als was auff dem Erdtreich ist / als Laub vnnd Graß / vnnd was die *Mineralia* auß dem Wasser herfür treiben / was das Firmament vnnd *Aër* herfür geben / da gehet seine Philosophey an. Aber die *Saganae* wissendt / was in der *Prima Materia* ist / im selbigen zu Philosophieren vnnd Operieren / das mehr ist vnnd höher zu achten / dann die Philosophey der *Vltimae Materiae*. Wiewol der Mensch *Primam Materiam* auch verstehet : So ist jhm doch gleich als einem / der von ferne in einer Schmitten sicht schmiden : Der darinnen ist / ist gewisser dann der / der darfür ist.

Damit ich noch baß euch vnderricht / was in den Sternen mehr sey / das ist / in dem Firmament / dann ich noch biß her gemelt hab : Merckend / das ich euch fürhalt den *Vulcanum*,[c] der dann ist der *Fabricator* vnnd Werckmann

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a The implications of this term treated by P. as a masculine noun are less geometric than generative and dynamic: "Auß dem folget / das sein statt vnd ort der **Centrum** ist / vnnd sich an dem ort gebirt vnd eröffnet" (*Bertheonea*—H C:362b).

b The term "radius" can anchor the schema at the root of such common terms as "influence" or "impression": "Dieweil der Mensch vilerley anfechtung hat / vilerley das jhm gehaß ist / sichtigs vnd vnsichtigs / im Wesen vnd im Geist / in Elementen vnd Firmamenten: So folgt auß den ein Corrosiffische Influentz / von dem obern Gestirn des Firmaments. Zu gleicher weiß wie die Sonne / die etwann in solcher Hitz gewesen ist / das sie hat Wäld vnd Felder angezündet / vnd ein Fewer in sie gebracht / auch in andere weg / etwan die Frücht der Erden verbrennet ohn ein Fewer. Auch zu gleicher weiß wie sie die Haut auffbrennet durch ein Brillen: Also ist auch möglich / vnnd ist an jhm selbs / daß die Gestirn solche Wirckung wider den Menschen haben / daß sie von Oben herab durch die **Influentz** vnnd verordnete **Radios** den Menschen inficieren vnnd auff brennen: Vnnd solche **Impressiones** sind hoch zu betrachten vnnd zu erkenen" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:82c).

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porealiter, but free upon the earth, not within it. Upon the water, and not in it. Beneath | the heavens, and not in them. Touching the air, and not made of it. Yet 203
he is in all four elements the *centrum* toward which all four of their *operationes* and their *reflexum* proceed. He focuses their *radii*. By the same token, note the difference between the mind of the human being and that of the *saganae*, a distinction of their respective wisdom, art, mode of action, and domains. All this is said so that the reader will not suppose that there is no subterranean ore miner but him. The *gnomi* know the ore better than we do, for they actually live in it. Nor should we think that only we know what abides in the water. The *nymphae* are there always and know more about it than we do. Nor should we think that we know more about the air than the *lemures*, or that the human being is the *philosophus* of the airy realm. The *lemures* know more about it, just as the *superi* are more versed in the heavens than we. The human being only knows how to speculate about what is close, what resides upon the face of the earth, about the leaves and grass, about what extracts the *mineralia* from water, or what the firmament and the *aër* relinquish. That is where our philosophy begins. The *saganae*, however, know what lies in the *prima materia*. They know how to speculate and operate with it. Their knowledge transcends the philosophy of the *ultima materia*. For even though the human being knows *prima materia*, he is like someone who observes a smithy at work from a distance. The one involved knows more than he who stands afar.

I will instruct you even better than before what all is in the stars, that is, in the firmament. Take note how I will demonstrate to you the *vulcanus*[1] which is the *fabricator* and artisan of all things. It is not only in the element of the heavens

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c In the word *vulcanus*, it is not archaic myth but rather P.'s conception of labor, industry, and technique that appears at the core of his alchemical medicine: "Alle ding die zur Vngesundtheit dienen / als in den Chirurgicalischen Kranckheiten / die gehn durch Etzen zu : vnnd was durch Etzung zugehet / das ist geschickt Alchimistisch / vnnd durch den Alchimistischen brauch / art / vnnd Operationes, vnnd das alles geschicht in der […] Naturlich Alchimist im Leib Microcosmi, am selbigen ort verfaßt mit allen seinen Bereitschafften / in der Krafft Vulcani […] wie die Natur generirt die Metalla, Fructus, vnd andere ding : Also dergleichen ist es auch mit der Kranckheit ein gleichmässig operation. Dann in denselbigen ist auch der Laborant **Vulcanus**, der die ding schmidt vnnd ordnet / nach dem vnd der Werckzeug ist / nicht auff ein Gattung oder Manier / sondern in viel weg / als sich dann Ausserlich vnnd jnnerlich beweißt" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:139a).

1 The word *vulcanus* immediately evokes both the Roman god and volcanic activity. P. uses it in different context in other treatises, always alluding to the transformative agency of fire. See e.g. the *Grosse Wundarznei*, book 2 (H C:81b). In discussing agency in nature P. is not only anthropomorphic, but also sociomorphic, projecting classes of agents or operators who perform processes of nature, sometimes within elaborate systems of production and distribution. See *De Mineralibus* (H 8:348).

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aller dingen / welcher nicht allein im Element deß Himmels ist / das ist / im Firmament / sondern er ist auch in den andern Elementen gleich so wol. Nuhn muß ich euch den am ersten durch ein Exempel für legen. Jhr sehendt bey vns Menschen / das wir nichts bereitts haben / sondern alle ding erst *in Vltimam*
204 *Materiam* müssen machen. Als / wollendt wir ein Hauß haben / wir | müssen alle *Subiecta* darzu ordnen vnnd selbst machen. Also mit allen dingen ist der Mensch mit Arbeitt beladen / wie der Prophet sagt / die Hände deiner Arbeit mustu essen / auch im Schweiß deines Angesichts soltu dein Brodt essen / etc. Solches ist nuhn dem Menschen auffgelegt / vnnd das thut er. Weither so wissendt / das noch Einer ist / der die dinge machet / die der Mensch anderst macht vnnd sie gebraucht. Als es muß einer sein / der Laub vnnd Graß macht an stadt Gottes : Als wol als ein Mensch / der jhm selbst muß ein Hauß machen / Gott machts jhm nicht : Also ist auch in der Erden einer / der das macht das auß jhr kommt. Ein solcher ist auch im Wasser / der solche *Composita* zusammen tregt : Vnnd dergleichen im Lufft : Vnnd also im Firmament auch. Dann nicht das genug sey / das wir sprechen / Gott hatts also beschaffen / daß alle Jahr wiederkommt : Es ist waar : Er hatt aber Einen drüber gesetzt / der es machen soll / Formieren / Corporieren / vnnd Ordinieren / vnnd dasselbige Werck darnach durch die Natur auff lassen wachsen. Dann als wenig Gott dem Menschen ein Rock macht / sondern hatt den Schneider gesetzt darzu : Also wenig ohne ein Arbeitter wirdt auch das Graß wachsen / vnd in seine Forme gebracht. Derselbige nuhn / der also die ding ordnet von dem Sahmen in sein *Vltimam Materiam*, derselbige ist *Vulcanus*. Vnd ob gleichwol solches ein newe Philosophey ist / ligt nicht macht daran : Dann die Aristotelische Philosophey ist starck mit Lügen vnnd Jrrung angefüllt / vnnd mit viel vnmeisterlichen Bossen gedicht / die sich im Liecht der Natur nimmermehr befinden mögendt.[a] Darumb nicht zu glauben ist Einem allein auff seine Wort : Dieweil der Geist geistet wo er will / das ist / nicht allein in Eim / auch im Andern vnd Dritten / etc.

Darauff wissendt nuhn vom *Vulcano* deß Firmaments / der hatt in jhm seinen Gewalt / *Tres Primas* in der einigen *Prima Materia*, darauß er nuhn macht im Firmament / do er sein wohnung hatt / alles das so Gott jhm befohlen zu

a P. confirms here again his conviction voiced in the early 1530s that Aristotelian meteorology was utterly false and unempirical: "Die Eigensinnig Philosophey / welche die Erfarenheit blendt / vnnd in ein Vnwillen bringt : Als nemlich in den Weg. Der **Aristoteles** hat gemacht ein Buch / heißt Meteororum, darinn er die Himmlischen kräfft beschreibet / vnnd vom ersten biß zum letsten kein Warheit verfaßt" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:79a). Elsewhere he reaffirms that both the metallurgy and meteorology of Aristotle are false (*Praefatio, Ein fragment Paragrani*—H 5:174) because they are not based on practice ("Wo ist ewer Practick? Im **Aristotele** vnd Socrate, am Fensterloch hengets"—H 5:161).

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or the firmament, but in the other elements as well. I must introduce it with an example. You can see how we human beings have nothing in a final form but rather must transform everything into *ultima materia*. When we wish to build a house |, we must order and craft all *subjecta* for it. In all things, the human 204
being is burdened with labors, as the prophet says, the hands of your toil must be fed, and in the sweat of your brow you must devour your bread, etc.[1] This is given to the human being to do. Know as well that there is another who makes the things which the human being makes and uses differently. There must be the one who makes leaves and grass in God's stead. Just as a human being must build himself a house (for God doesn't build it for him); so, too, in the earthly realm there is another who makes that which emerges from it. There is another of the kind in the watery realm who compiles the *composita*, and another in the airy realm, as well as one in the firmament. For it does not suffice that we say, God has set it up so that those things return every year. This is true: God has placed another in charge of it, one who should make those things, forming, incorporating, and ordering them, and thereupon letting his work grow forth through nature. For no more than that does God make a coat for the human being, instead instituting the tailor for this purpose, no more than that does the grass grow and attain its form without a laborer. The one who orders the things from the seed to the *ultima materia* is the *vulcanus*. Even if saying this constitutes a new philosophy, there is no usurpation in this. For the Aristotelian philosophy is furiously packed with lies and errors,[2] composed with many an amateurish claim that cannot be affirmed by the light of nature. For this reason, he is not to be taken credulously at his word. The spirit blows whither it will,[3] that is, it is not only in the one thing, but in a second and a third, and so on.

Now observe that the *vulcanus* of the firmament, having in its power the *tria prima* in the single *prima materia*, is enabled to do everything in its firmamental dwelling place that God has commanded of it: it composes, dispenses,

1 Gen. 3:17 and 19. The prophet is Moses, supposed author of Genesis.

2 P.'s invective against Aristotle is not only a prevalent theme in his work (cf. vis-à-vis); it ties several of his themes to one another and to theological and philosophical controversies of the day, involving such figures as Luther and the critics of Pietro Pomponazzi. See Weeks 2002, esp. 287–288.

3 See Jn 3:8: "the wind blows where it chooses" [Vulgate: "Spiritus ubi vult spirat"—assumed to be the Holy Spirit], "and you hear the sound of it, but you do not know where it comes from or where it goes. So it is with everyone who is born of the spirit". Luther: "Der Wind bleset wo er wil / vnd du horest sein sausen wol / Aber du weist nicht von wannen er kompt / vnd wo hin er feret. Also ist ein jglicher / der aus dem Geist geborn ist." The *Spiritus Creator* of medieval doctrine is the biblical prototype of a *vulcanus* set not in one but all four elements, but not identical with it.

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machen : Er Componiert / Dispensiert vnnd Ordiniert / die Regen / die Schnee / die Reiff / die Hagel / die Strall / vnnd alles was Himmlische *Operationes* seind / in denen ist er der Bildschnitzer / der Schmidt vnd Bereitter. Dieser *Vulcanus*
205 ist kein Geist / | ist auch nicht ein Person : In dem theilet er sich von den *Saganis*. Sondern / es ist ein Arbeiter[a] / der gar nichts mehr thut / dann der Natur warten / vnd das auß jhr zubringen das in jhr ist / vnd das Gott in sie gethan hatt zu bringen in *Vltimam materiam*. Ist gleich ein Werckmann als das Fewr / das wircket auch ein jeglichs ding / das in es gelegt wirt : Es schmeltzet die Metallen / es verzehret das Holtz in Glaß / es bereitt auch mancherley / vnd ist kein Geist / ist kein Seel / kein Person : vnd hatt aber in jhme eine solche krafft anzugreiffen / einzugreiffen vnnd zu bereitten wunderbarliche ding : ist der *Vulcanus* der dem Menschen vnderworffen ist. Dann der *Vulcanus* der Elementen / derselbige mag dem Menschen nit werden jhm gehorsam zu sein / sondern allein in der Natur hatt er sein *Officium*. Dieweil aber der Mensch sein Arbeit gar in *Vltimam materiam* fertigen muß / vnd die recht *Vltimam materiam* durch den Menschen beschehen müssen : Vnd der *Vulcanus Elementorum* macht sein *Vltimam materiam* nichts anderst / dann das so beim Menschen *Media materia*[b] ist / vnd von der *Media materia* macht der Mensch *Vltimam materiam* darauß / darzu muß er ein *Vulcanum* haben / das ist dz Fewr / dasselbige vertritt den *Vulcanum :* vnd ist der *Vulcanus Ignis*, vnd ist ein knecht der natürlichen künsten / die der Mensch kan / ist also an statt deß natürlichen Elementischen *Vulcani*. Also wie das Exempel vom *Vulcano Ignis* deß Fewers außweiset : Also wird auch verstanden der *Vulcanus Elementatus*, der alle ding ohne andere fertiget. Als das Fewr schmeltzt den Metall / der Mensch kans nicht / es thuts allein : verbrennt das Holtz / der Mensch kans nicht verbrennen. Ein solchs wesen muß in der Natur sein / die ein Vulcanische Eigenschafft habe / sonst mag auß der Natur nichts werden / sondern wird alles also ersterben / vnd nicht kommen in sein Ende.

Nuhn merckent weitter was mehr in der Natur sey. Wiewol ich hie allein ein *Meteoricam* hab für mich genommen : so ist von nöhten ander Philosophey hie vnder zu nemmen / von wegen der Exempel / vnnd das also. Es ist noch Eine arth in dem Firmament / die sich erzeigt in jhren *proprietatibus*, vnnd wircket auch gleich dem *Vulcano Igneo*, nemlich also. Jhr sehend / daß der Regen vom Himmel macht das Graß vnd Laub wachsent / ohn welchen Regen solchs nicht

a The laborer as craft artisan working independently yet in fulfillment of divine authorization and within a division of labor and a network of supply and distribution contributes to P.'s paradigm of nature here and in *De Mineralibus* (see H 8:348–349).

b The only other occurrence of *media materia* is found in the *Labyrinthus Medicorum Errantium* (H 2:213–214): "Alß ein Exempel vom Brodt : Die eusser Kunst der Alchimiae im Bachofen /

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and arrays rain, snow, frost, hail, lightning, and all other celestial *operationes*. In these, it acts as the woodcarver, the smith, and the finisher. The *vulcanus* is not a spirit, | nor a person. In this sense, it is distinct from the *saganae*. It is rather a 205
laborer who does nothing but serve nature in order to extract from it what lies within it, that which God has inserted into it to be processed to *ultima materia*. The *vulcanus* is as much a workman as is the fire that effects all things which are placed into it, smelting metals, consuming wood into glass, and finishing many other things besides. Moreover, it is not a spirit, not a soul, not a person, although it bears a power to seize, intervene, and finish marvelous things. There is a *vulcanus* subject to the human being. But the *vulcanus* of the elements may not obey the human being. It exercises its *officium* only in nature.[1] Yet insofar as the human being must transform his labor into *ultima materia*, and since the true *ultima materia* only comes into being through the human being, and the *vulcanus elementorum* crafts its *ultima materia* in no other way than with the *media materia* given to the human being which he then transforms into *ultima*, for which he needs the power of the *vulcanus* of fire, the *vulcanus ignis*, a servant of the natural arts which do lie within human capacity—in view of all this the *vulcanus ignis* takes the place of the natural elemental *vulcanus*. As indicated by this relation to the *vulcanus ignis* of fire, we can understand by analogy the *vulcanus elementatus*, which by itself prepares all things. Fire smelts metals. The human being cannot. Fire does it. Fire burns wood. The human being cannot burn it. A being of the same kind must exist in nature that has a vulcanic capacity. Otherwise, nothing in nature would come about. Everything would be extinguished without arriving at its destined end.

Now observe further what all lies in nature. In this treatise, I only propose to write a *meteorica*. Yet it is necessary to encompass other facets of philosophy for the sake of analogy, and indeed as follows. There is in the firmament yet another nature which manifests itself in its *proprietates*, acting like the *vulcanus igneus*. As you can see, rain from the heavens makes grass and foliage grow. Without it, this would not come about. | In that rain, there is a power and a 206

vermag nit vltimam materiam auß jhr zumachen / finalem, sonder **mediam materiam**. Das ist / die Natur mach die erst / biß zur Ernd / als dann Alchimia schneidts / mülts / bachts / biß zum maul : Jetzt ist prima vnnd **media materia** erfült : Jetzt facht Alchimia Microcosmi an / dieselbig hat primam materiam im mundt / das ist / Brodt kewets / das ist das erst opus : darnach im Magen / ist die ander materia, die däwt an dem / dz es zu Blut vnd Fleisch wirt / da ist jetzt vltima materia."

1 The *vulcanus* is modeled on the human alchemist but transforms and finishes things in nature on its own.

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206 möchte voliendt werden : | Nuhn ist im selbigen Regen ein Krafft vnd ein Natur / die von stund an im Graß / vnd alles was von der Erden wachst / macht vnd fürtreibet : Also / was der *Vulcanus Terrae* schmidet / das hat sein gedeyhen durch den Regen / das für sich gehet vnd mehret sich teglich. Solche mehrende / zunemmende vnd wachsende arth / ist ein ander Natur / nit *Vulcanus Igneus*, sondern es ist der *Iliaster :* Vnd ist auch kein geschaffener Geist / noch Person / noch Seel / sondern ein Krafft / das ist / ein *Virtus* die also wircket. Also ist auch widerumb ein arth in der Natur / die da scheidt oder außzeucht den Blumen oder Krautt von einem andern Blumen / oder Eisens *materiam* von der Bley *materia*. Solche krafft ist *Archeus*,[a] der ordiniert alle ding in sein Wesen / scheidt je eins von dem andern / gibt einem jeglichen Sahmen / dz jhm zustehet : das ist / gibt *Vulcano terrae* sein Instrumenten / sein Zeug zu seiner notturfft. Also wissent auch / das ein *Iliaster* ist im Firmament / auch ein *Archeus*, mit sampt dem Firmamentischen *Vulcano*. Auff das die ding / so der Himmel gebiert / vollkommen geschehen / ist do der *Vulcanus*, ist do der *Iliaster*, dergleichen der *Archeus*, die vollenden jetzt die gantze arbeit biß an jhre statt. Also werden die Regen / Schnee / Donner / etc. alles geschmidet. Vnd so es gefertigt ist an seine statt / so schicken sies zu vns herab. Dann von vnsert wegen seind sie Arbeiter tag vnnd nacht / vnd sorgen für vns durch den Befelch Gottes. Damit vnd wir im Gottlichen wandel dester baß auch fürsichtig seind vnd nicht gesaumpt werden / kommen die ding alle zun vns ohne vnser sorge / mühe vnd arbeit / vnd nit ein Blumen käme zu vns / so es vns Gott nicht gebe / als wenig als ein Sperck / wie *Christvs* im Euangely sagt.

Vnd zu dem allem / so ist darnach / so alle ding gemacht sind / vnd dem Menschen in seine Hand vberantwortet / noch eine nachfolgende krafft / die bleibt im selbigen / so *Archeus, Iliaster, Vulcanus* abziehen / vnd es von jhnen geben : Das ist *Essentia*,[b] das sind die Wunderwerck / so verborgen in der Natur ligend / welches vielerley ist : doch *Essentia* ist sein Namm / dieselbige ist auch in den obristen Früchten vnd *Vltimis materiebus*. Nuh aber / so ist nit minder / nicht alles dient ohne Mittel dem Menschen / sondern durch Mittel : Dann der Regen dient dem Menschen ohne Mittel nicht / sondern durch das Mit-
207 tel / dz ist / Laub | vnd Graß / etc. Nuhn also verstandent von den andern Meteorischen *Impressionibus*[c] allen dergleichen. Aber ein andere arth ist im

a See above, H 8:129.

b As opposed to both the problematized *Quinta Essentia* and the Aristotelian notion of essence, *Essentia*, wondrous here, can appear functional as defined in *Etliche Fragmenta Chirurgica:* "Theorica Curae, ex quibus ducatur **Essentia**, id est, ex Anatomia per similitudinem" (H C:654c).

c See the note on H 8:124 on the traditional and Paracelsian concept of *Impressiones*.

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nature which in grass and all that grows from the earth effects and empowers it from the moment the rain falls. Thus, what the *vulcanus terrae* forges thrives by virtue of the rain, increasing daily. This multiplying, increasing, growing condition is a second nature, not that of the *vulcanus igneus*. It is rather the *yliaster*.[1] The same can be said of it: it is not a created spirit, not a person, not a soul. It is rather a force, a *virtus* that acts thus. There is also a power in nature that separates or draws apart the flowers or herbs from other flowers; or the *materia* of iron from the *materia* of lead. This power is *archeus*[2] which orders all things by their essences, separating the one from the other, giving to each the seed that is appropriate for it, giving to *vulcanus terrae* its instruments, its requisite tools. Moreover, we should know as well that in the heavens there is an *yliaster*, as well as an *archeus*, together with a *vulcanus* of the firmament. In order that that to which the heavens give birth should come about optimally, there is this *vulcanus*, this *yliaster*, and this *archeus*. They complete the entire work as far as they go. In this way are forged all rain, snow, thunder, etc. When it is completed to their competence, they dispatch it all down to us. For it is on our behalf that they are toilers day and night, seeing to our needs upon the command of God. All these things come to us without our doing, our toil or care, so that we will be circumspect in our daily existence, neglecting nothing. No single flower would come to us if it hadn't been granted by God, no more than would a sparrow,[3] as *Christus* testifies in the gospel.

Added to all this and following from it: when all things have been made and turned over to the hands of us human beings, there is yet a subsequent power which remains in that same *archeus, iliaster*, and *vulcanus*, extracted and received from them. It is *essentia*. These are the wondrous works which are concealed in nature and are of many kinds. *Essentia* is their proper name and it abides in the most superior fruits and *materiae ultimae*. Now, however, not everything is ready to serve the human being. Some require an intermediary operation: for example, foliage | and grass, etc. Now take note of this with 207
regard to the other meteoric *impressiones*[4] of every kind. In the heavens, there

1 This is clearly an entirely different use of the word *yliaster* than in the *Philosophy of the Elements*.

2 On archeus, see ETW 99. The definition of *archeus* as a force separating species one from another is, however, distinct in this treatise which attempts to categorize nature's forces, agencies and concepts.

3 See Grimm, Sperk; Luc 12:6 ("Are not five sparrows sold for two pennies? Yet not one of them is forgotten in God's sight").

4 On *impressio*, see ETW 353, n. 5. The term pertains to a field of concepts related to the impact of the celestial realm, an impact construed analogously to image formation which distinguishes *impressio* from *inclinatio*.

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Himmel / dieselbigen dienent dem Menschen / vnnd seind nit früchte / die da greifflich seind / sichtig oder Materialisch : sondern gleich gehend sie in Menschen wie die Sonne mit jrem Schein. Wiewol die Sonne jhr Operation vber alle Sternen am mercklichsten vnd empfindtlichsten vnd augenscheinlichsten beweißt : So seind die andern Sternen solcher arth auch / vnd beweisen / wie die Sonne / durch jhre *Radios* in den Menschen : Aber vnmercklich vnd vnentpfindtlich vnd vnspürlich / aber krefftig / als sie sich dann beweisen / auch in der Astronomey gnugsam gemelt. Nuhn seind dasselbige *Impressiones*, darumb daß der Mensch muß leiden vnd gedulden / vnnd mit gewalt annemmen / als die Hitz im Sommer / die Kälti im Winter / dergleichen *Pestes*, Fiber vnnd anders. Darnach seind *Inclinationes*, die da angreiffen. Darumb aber daß sie nit Imprimiren / seind sie nit *Impressiones*, stand dem Menschen zu / was er thun will. Darnach seind *Generationes*, daß seind nuhn die Meteorischen früchte der Sternen. Vnnd wiewol alles Meteorisch / alles Astronomisch : so ist doch da ein vnterscheid / daß die vnsichtbaren der Astronomey befohlen werden in jhrem theil / vnd die sichtbaren in jhren theil. Also wissent nuhn was in den Sternen ist / vnd nicht. Ein jeglicher wöll erkennen / was er nicht findet in dieser Meteorick / der finds in der Astronomey : damit das also alle ding in sein vollkommen ordnung kommen vnd standen. Was aber weitter von dem Meteorischen theil zu wissen ist / folget hernach in seinen nachfolgenden *Paragraphis* vnd *Capitibus*.

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is a different nature; its forces serve the human being. They are not tangible or material fruits of the heavens. Instead, they proceed into the human being like the sun with its radiance. Though the sun demonstrates its operation most notably, perceptibly, and obviously, the other stars have the same nature as the sun with its *radii* that penetrate the human being. But they do so unnoticeably and imperceptibly. Yet they also demonstrate the same force powerfully, as has been described sufficiently by astronomy. There, too, it is a matter of *impressiones* which the human being must suffer and abide with, receiving them in force, like the heat in summer and cold in winter, like *pestes*, fever, and other things besides. In this action, there are *inclinationes* which have an impact. But since these do not impress themselves; they are not *impressiones* but rather dispose the human being toward what he would do. Next come the *generationes*. These are the meteoric fruits of the stars. All the above are meteoric as well as astronomic; yet there is the difference that the invisible ones are assigned to astronomy for their part and the visible to their own. On the basis of this, you should now know what is or is not in the stars. One should note that what one does not find in this meteoric treatise will be found in the astronomy.[1] With this, all phenomena should be placed in perfect order and appear there. But what remains to be known about the meteoric part will follow below in the successive *paragraphi* and *capita*.

1 P. seems to allude here to his possible work in progress issuing in *Astronomia magna*.

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CAPVT V.
DE GENERATIONE Ventorum.[a]

Nach dem vnnd jhr die anfenge der Meteoricken gnugsam gehört habend / ist nuhn weitter billich von den *Generatis* vnd *Generationibus Meteoricis* zu schreiben : Vnd am ersten von dem Herkommen vnd geberunge der | Windt / von den 208
Prædestinirten Zirckeln der Winden. Darauff wissent am ersten : Deß Kreiß vnd Wind Circkel sind vier theil / gegen Auffgang einer / vnd gegen Nidergang einer / gegen Mittag einer / gegen Mittnacht einer. Nuhn stehet der Circkel in solcher gestalt. Wie im mitten deß Firmaments die zwey Element ligen / Erden vnd Wasser / vnd zwischen dem Element deß Himmels vnd der vnder Globul ligt das Element Lufft. Wie also die Erden in der mitten ligt / vnnd der Himmel darumb gehet / so gehet nach der fleche vberzwerch der Circkel in mitten deß Himmels vnd der Erden vnd Wasser / zu rings weiß darumb. Als ein Exempel : Nemment ein Ey / vnd legens auff ein boden / vnd nicht von oben herab / sondern vberzwerch nemmet die mitten zu rings weiß vmb das Ey / vnd das also in dieselbige Mittel der Dotter auch komme / wie es sich dann selbst an der außtheilung gibt. Nun merckent jetzt / das also der Himmel gleich mit einem Zirckel vmb die Welt auch gehet / im selbigen Circkel stehnd die Windts Mütter vnd Orther / da die Wind auff erstehen / die da Prædestinirt sind : Vnnd wenn sie gehen wöllen / so gehen sie vom selbigen Circkel auff die Globul durch das Element Lufft : Vnnd so sie kommen an die Rotunditet der Welt kugeln vnd anstossen / so mag es wol sein / daß der Wind entweders vnter die Kugeln schlecht / zu denn die vnter vns seind / oder auff die Kugeln zu denn die darauff sind / oder zu beyden theilen / wie er sich außtheilt / der Höhi der Kugeln / oder der Nideri der Kugeln zu. Vnd also gehet der Windt durch den Lufft vber das Meer vnd Erden / so weitt vnnd so lang / so viel sein ist / biß er in langer vbung vnd weiter Reise sich selbst verzehrt / vnnd verjagt vnd vergehet / also / das kein *Materia* mehr da ist.[b]

Nuhn ist nit minder / es seind vier theil / da ein jeglicher theil eine besondere arth an jhm hatt. Nemlich der theil vom Orient ist warm vnd trocken : Nicht das er solches von der Sonnen habe / das er warm vnd trocken sey / oder darumb / das er im Orient stand / Nein : sondern darumb / das sein Natur also in den dreyen Ersten ist / also zu sein / vnd nicht wider sein Natur. Darumb so

a As noted in the Introduction, the concept of generation of winds, puzzling for meteorology, makes perfect sense in the etiology of colic: "Sed ego dico, quod colica sit prima materia **generationis ventorum**" (*Elf Traktat, von colica*—H 5:300).

b Winds are models of the courses of illnesses, the latter configuring the former, so that a wind, like an illness, can burn itself out: "Nun wissen auch weiter hierinn / jr sehend wie der Mon in

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CAPVT V.
DE GENERATIONE Ventorum.[1]
[On the Generation of Winds]

Now that you have heard enough about the foundations of meteorics, it is in order to continue by addressing the *generata* and *generationes meteorici*.[2] First come the origin and birth of | the winds from their predestined circles. Know 208
this first of all: their circumference and wind circles have the four directions: toward Orient or Occident and toward Noon or Midnight. The circle takes this form. Just as in the middle of the firmament there lie two elements, earth and water, and between the element of the heavens and the lower globe lies air; just as the earth lies in the middle surrounded by the heavens, so there is a circuit which passes over the surface across the circle between the heavens, earth, and water, going all around it. Here is an analogy: take an egg and lay it on the ground. Do not follow the line from the top down but rather around the center of the egg. Into that center, the yolk will fit as its distribution will demonstrate. Now note besides that the heavens likewise pass in a circle around the world. In that circle reside the mothers and residences of the winds where they arise as predestined. When they would move, they pass from that circle onto the globe through the element of air. When it happens that they strike the round surface of the globe, it can occur that they strike either beneath the globe, hitting those below us, or those upon it, or rather to both sides of it, as they spread out, striking either the upper or lower part of the globe. So it is that the wind passes through the air across the sea and earth, as far and as long as it has in it, until after long exertion and wide journey it consumes itself, dissipates, and transpires when no *materia* is left.

Now there are no fewer than four divisions of which each has its peculiarities. The one from the Orient is warm and dry. This is not because the sun makes it warm and dry, nor because it lies in the Orient. Not so. It is rather because its nature is constituted as it is by the three principles. It is not the way it is against

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der newen geburt / durch die Ascendenten in ein wässerig Regiment verwandelt wird: sehen auch hingegen / das der Eurus vnd Vulturnus diß wässerig Regiment brechen: Auch sehet jr offt / das der Boreas in seiner Frigiditet vom Mon erwermbt würt / deßgleichen der **Zephyrus** vnd der Auster. Vnd nit also allein Eins Planeten Regiment für sich gehet / sonder etwan eins andern: Wie also dises ist in Abwechßlung hin vnd wider / also in den kranckheiten" (*Von Vrsprung, Herkommen vnd Anfang der Frantzosen Acht Bücher*—H C:224c).

1 In this treatise P. keeps using the same four names of winds as in the *Philosophy of the Elements*. See H 8:73.

2 *Generata*: generated things. *Generationes*: generations.

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wirt im rechten *Euro* vnd seinen Mittgesellen kein andere Natur vnd Operation erfunden / alle warm vnd trocken. Widerumb der *Zephyrus* im Nidergang der Sonnen / ist kalt vnnd feucht : nicht von wegen deß Nidergangs /
209 darumb das er da stand. | Dann der Nidergang ist der Complexion wie der Auffgang : aber die Natur der Windes Materien im Nidergang ist geschaffen kalt vnd feuchte zu sein. Widerumb von Mitternacht sind dieselbigen Windtsgebererin kalt vnd trockner Natur / machen also auch kalte vnnd trockene *Regiones*, da sie seind an selbigen enden : Nit daß die Winde von den *Regionibus* genaturt werden / sondern / die *Regiones* von Winden entpfahen sie solche derselbigen Natur. Dermassen ist auch im Mittentag der *Auster* warm vnd feuchte / widerwertig dem *Septentrioni :* Nicht darumb daß er viel Meers hatt / oder an feuchten orthen stand / sondern darumb / daß sein Natur also ist / vnd also seine *Generationes* gibt. Also verstandent / daß die Windt keine Natur haben an jhnen von aussen an / sondern auß jhnen selbst. Wer der *Auster* trockner Natur wie *Boreas*, es würd jhm kein feuchte zustohn / die jhn würde feucht machen / son[dern] trocken bleiben / vnangesehen das Meer / etc. Also / wer *Boreae* dergleichen ein feuchte arth geben / er wers auch / vnd nicht trocken / es were die Region wie sie wolte. Also sollendt jhr nuhn wissen / daß die geberung der Winde im Windcirckel stand / vnnd in jhrer eigenen Natur / vnd seind in Sternen / vnnd Sterne seind jhr Mütter : Deren seind vil auff der Borealischen seitten / Euroalischen / Zephyrischen / Australischen : nicht einer allein / nicht drey / sondern ettlich tausent / deren kein zahl ist. Die sind die / von denen entspringen alle Wind / die da im Hauptcirckel gesetzt. Wiewol sonst auch Winde werden von andern Sternen der Regen oder Schawern / sie werden aber nicht in Windtcirckel gerechnet / allein die vier theil.

Wie nun gemelt ist von der statt der Winde / vnd jhrem herkommen / vom Eussersten deß Himmels / vber das Meer vnd Erden / durch den Lufft : So wissent nuh / das dieselbigen Sternen in jhnen haben zugeberen die Winde nach jhrer Natur vnd Eigenschafft. Zu gleicher weise / wie jhr verstehen mögent / von einem Baum / der seine Frucht von jhm gibt / auß seiner eigen Natur / auß seinem Holtz / vnd auß seinem Marck : Also ist es auch mit solchen Sternen zu verstehen. Nun ist der Sahm / auß dem die Windt werden / *Prima materia* der dreyen Ersten / nemlich vom *Sulphure, Sale* vnd *Liquore :* die drey seind
210 die Mütter / auß denn die wachsen / die wir Winde heissen / der *Sulphur*, | *Liquor* vnd *Sal*. In Mitternacht Theilen seindts kalter Natur vnd trocken : die gegen Mittag warm vnd feuchte : also auch warm vnd trocken die in *Euro :* vnd kalt vnd feuchte die im *Zephyro*. Wie nuhn die Natur der dreyen Ersten ist / also ist jhre Frucht vnd Obst auch / das ist / also seind dieselbigen Windt. Dar-

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its nature. This is why in the true *Eurus* and its associates no other nature and operation is found: only the warm and the dry. On the other hand, *Zephyrus* in the setting of the sun is cold and damp, not because of its setting or because it is located there. | For the complexion of the setting and rising is the same. 209
Rather, the nature of the wind's materials in the Occident is constituted to be cold and moist. Again, from Midnight the generators of winds are of a cold and dry nature, causing cold and dry *regiones* that lie in that direction. The winds are not constituted thus by the *regiones*; rather, these receive from the winds their nature. The same from Noon with the *Auster*, warm and moist, contrary to the *Septentrio*. It is not because it has much from the sea or has resided in warm places, but rather because this is its nature and it yields its *generationes* that way. What this means is that the winds do not have their nature from outside, but rather they have it of themselves. If the *Auster* were of a dry nature as is the *Boreas*, no moisture would conform to it to make it moist: it would remain dry despite the sea, and so on. Likewise, if *Boreas* were of a moist nature, that is what it would be, not dry, regardless of what the region is like. Thus, you must be aware that the birth of the winds abides in the wind circle and its innate nature, and in the stars, for the stars are their mothers. There are many of them on the sides of Boreas, Eurus, Zephyr, and Auster. Not just one, not three, but several thousands, many beyond count. From them all the winds emerge which are deposited on the chief circle. Moreover, though winds also arise from others stars of rain or hail, those winds are not ascribed to the wind circle, only those of the four directions.[1]

We have now discussed the place of the winds and their emergence from the extremities of the heavens, across sea and earth by way of the air. Now you should also be aware that their stars have it in them to give birth to the winds with their peculiar nature and qualities. In the same way that a tree yields its fruit from its peculiar nature and its peculiar wood and pith, so, too, must these stars be understood. The seed from which the winds arise is *prima materia* of the three principles, *sulphur, sal,* and *liquor*. The three are the mothers from which grow what we call winds: the *sulphur*, | *liquor*, and *sal*. In the Midnight 210
regions, they are of a cold and dry nature; toward Noon warm and moist; likewise, warm and dry in *Eurus;* and cold and moist in *Zephyrus*. As is the nature of the three principles, so is their fruit and their produce. So are the winds. From

1 Note that the preceding account of the generation of winds parallels P.'s rejection of elemental compounding or complexion. It is not the immanent interaction of observable material qualities or forces that generates the virtues and properties of either the winds or *materiae medicae:* causation or generation is rather vertical, from the stars or seeds or distinct natures implanted in things by God.

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auff so wissent / daß sie in denselbigen Sternen jhr gewächs haben / nach jhrer zeit ein gemeinen furgang. Wiewol ettwan minder / ettwan mehr : jedoch aber so regieren sie in jhren zeitten / so [die] Windt zeittig werden / vnnd entpfahen in derselbigen zeit werdung jhr Eigenschafft vnd Natur / wie dann die drey Ersten sind / dieselbigen behalten sie. Aber dieweil sie so ein weitten weg zu gehen habend / so werden sie in jhren kräfften ettwas schwach zu etlichen zeitten. Als nemlich der *Boreas* im Sommer / mag sein Eigenschafft nicht haben / dann die Sommersterne wärmen jhn : Aber im Winter wol / da fellt er in die Wintersterne / ist jhm vnzerbrochen. So nuh aber der Winter scheiden will / so hatt er sein krafft noch so lange / biß er von den Sommersternen Temperirt wirdt. Nun ist er Sulphurisch / darumb hatt er [ein] Sulphurische kranckheit zu machen : er ist Salisch / darumb spält er das Maul auff / vnd wird gleich als Saltztropffen von gesaltzenem Fleisch in seiner Eigenschafft / darumb er vil mehr *Scabies* macht vnd *Alopitias*,[a] *&c*. Der Mittag *Auster* ist auch dergleichen zu seiner zeit / in Glentzen am besten. Also hatt ein jeder seine zeit im Jahr / darinne er sonderlich geboren wirdt / vnd operirt ohne sein eigen zerbrechung.

Nun probierent dise jrrdische Exempel der Winde vrsprung / als nemlich / das jhr sehen / so ein Wasser seüdt im Haffen / daß es einen Windt gibt von jhm : Jhr sehent auch weitter / das ein Wind wirt von allen den dingen die Ebulliren / es sey trocken oder feücht. Ein Wasser, daß da seüdt / gibt ein warmen feüchten Windt / wie dann sich das wercke selbst bezeugt. Ein trocken sieden / wie den Alchimisten im wissen ist / gibt ein trocken Windt. Nun so wissent auff das / dz der *Vulcanus Igneus* in den Sternen seudt die drey Ersten / wie sie dann in jhrer Natur seind / darauß wird der Windt / vnd was sein Eigenschafft ist mit jhm / gleich als der *Igneus Vulcanus* durch das Holtz thut. Vnd der *Igneus Vulcanus* ist selbst der Windt : Dann er ist in dreyen Ersten gesetzt. Wo die drey Ersten
211 nit sind / da ist kein Fewr nit. | Also ist er auch in den Windtsternen. Auff solches ist nun zu wissen / daß der *Vulcanus Igneus* nichts ist dann ein Schweffel / ein Salniter / ein *Mercurius*. Jetzund / wann der Funck Fewr in die Drey fallt / so ist er in der Action / vnd thut dz jhm zustehet / nach dem vnd die Drey geordnet seind. Dann anderst ist der *Sulphur ligni* dann der *Sulphur ventorum :* anderst das *Salnitrum ligni* dann das *Salnitri ventorum :* anderst der *Mercurius ligni* dann der *Mercurius ventorum :* Wie da nuhn ein jegliche arth ist / also ist sein Fewr / also sein Operation. Dann alles das do wachst / das ist auß denen dreyen. Darumb so ist am aller ersten von nöhten / die *tres Primas* wol zu ver-

a These two are much the same ailment for P.: "**Alopicia** ist ein **scabies** / der da wachset in dem theil Jovis / entspringt de spiritibus Jovis / vnnd ligt sein vrsprung vnd materia peccans der dolor vnd die stat bey einander" (*Von Apostemen, Geschweren, Offnen Schäden vnd anderen Gewächsen am Leib*—H C:437c).

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this, it should be evident that their growth arises in those stars. Sometimes less, sometimes more. In any event, they rule in their time. When [the] winds have their times and conceive to give rise in their quality and nature in accordance with the three principles, the latter retain them. But in as much as they must travel so far, they at times lose their strength because of distance. *Boreas* cannot have its quality in the summer. It is warmed by the summer stars. But in winter, it can; for then it comes among the winter stars and is unbroken in force. When winter is ready to depart, it retains its force until tempered by the summer stars. Now it is sulphurous and causes sulphurous diseases. Or it is saline: it thrusts open its maw and becomes in its quality like the drops of salt from salted meat, causing much *scabies* and *alopitiae*,[1] and the like. The Noon *Auster* does the same in the time of year when it is born, operating without any breach of power.

Now consider the earthly instances of the origin of winds: you will see that when water boils in a pot, it stimulates a wind. You will see that a wind results wherever things boil up, whether they are dry or moist. Water that boils yields a warm moist wind as is evident when that is done. A dry seething of the kind alchemists know yields a dry wind.[2] You should be advised as well that the *vulcanus igneus* in the stars causes the three principles to seethe as is their nature. This results in wind and whatever accompanies its quality, just as the *vulcanus igneus* brings about in wood. Indeed, the *vulcanus igneus* is the very wind, for it is constituted by the three principles, and where the three are absent, there is no fire. | So it is in the winter stars, too. From this, it has to be known that the 211
vulcanus igneus is nothing but a sulphur, a salniter, and a *mercurius*. As soon as the spark of fire enters the three, it goes into action and it does what it should, as the three have been set. For the *sulphur ligni* is not the same as the *sulphur ventorum* and the *salnitrum ligni* not as the *salnitri ventorum*, and the *mercurius ligni* not as the *mercurius ventorum*. According to the nature of each, so is its fire and its operation. For everything that grows, comes from the three. Hence, before everything else it is necessary to understand the *tria prima*. For in accor-

1 See OLD, *alopecia:* a bald patch on top of the head apparently caused by mange; cf. ETW 473.
2 P. means dry distillation.

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stehen : dann nach jhrer Natur sind sie aller dingen Mutter. Nuh sehent jhr wol was ein gemein Fewr thut / in dem gemeinen *Sulphure, Sale*, vnd *Mercurio :* Wie viel mehr ist es Gradiert diese *Prima materia* im Firmament / stercker vnd gewaltiger ? Solchs sollend jhr mercken / das kein ander vrsprung der Winde ist / dann so die drey Ersten bewegt werden vom *Vulcano* in jhr Operation / so mouiren sich die *tres Primæ* in jhr Action : Diese Action gibt jetzt den Windt / vnd sein Natur mit jhm / kalt oder warm / trocken oder feucht / wie obgemelt ist : Wie ein Wind außgehet von einem Fewr / den es selbst macht / also da auch zuverstehen. Dann also hatt Gott die geberung deß Firmaments gesetzt zusammen / vnd in solche Eigenschafft / daß die Drey alle ding sollend geben vnd geberen in jhren stetten / dahin sie Gott verordnet hatt / vnd mit jhren *Operationibus* in den *Centrum* der Welt gehen.

Damit vnd jhr diese Vulcanische Operation wol verstanden / so wissent ein jrrdisch Exempel : Jhr wissent daß der *Sulphur* ein Fewr ist / das da brinnet / Auch wissent jhr / daß der Salniter brinnet / dergleichen der *Mercurius*, vnd alle drey ein fewrische arth haben / biß sie kommen in jhr Operation / das ist / in jhre *Vltimam materiam*. Nun der *Sulphur* entpfahet den *Vulcanum Igneum*, vnnd von wegen das jhm die andern eingeleibt seind / auß der vrsachen bewegt sich eins mit dem andern / vnnd gehen alle drey in ein Fewer : Das fewr nun kocht den Windt. Als jr sehent sichtiglich von den jrrdischen deren dreyen Ersten / wie sie jhren *Impetum* machen vnd *motus* vnnd *tempestates*. Auß dem
212 dann folgen / das in der geberung der Windt die Sternen | *Phiolas* vnd *Cucurbitas* sind / vnd die Meteorischen *Sulphur, Mercurius* vnd *Sal* in jhnen / nach Etherischer arth / dieselbigen wircken durch den Etherischen *Vulcanum*, in denselbigen *Phiolis :* auß denen Etherischen wirckungen wachsen nun Etherische *operationes*, als dann die Wind seind / die da außgetrieben werden von solchen *Concauitatibus* selten auff die vnder Globul / nach arth vnnd strengi derselbigen *rerum trium Primarum*. Darumb bey den jrrdischen Exempel verstandent die Firmamentische wirckung : Nicht aber in Einem Grad / sondern / so viel weitt der Himmel von der Erden ist / so viel krefftiger vber die Erden : Vnd so viel er vber die jrrdische Grobheit in der Klarheit staht / so viel hoher ist auch gradiert seine Operation / vnd so vil auch geendert in seinen *tribus Speciebus* oder *Rebus*. Darumb dz jrrdische Exempel gnugsam ist die *Meteoricam* zu verstohn / ist auch gnugsam dadurch bewert : Wie dann alle ding / so vns nicht verstendig vor den augen ligent / durch das verstendig sollendt verstanden werden. Als die jrrdische Operation ist vns verstendig vnnd in gnugsamen verstandt vnd erkenntnuß : Nuhn ist dasselbige ein Exempel vnd Gleichnuß in das jenige / das auch also ist / vnd wirs doch nit sehent. Dann auch *Christvs* in *Parabolis* sein Wort verkündet hatt / durch welche Parabel ein mehrers verstan-

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dance with their nature, they are the mothers of all things. Just consider what a commonplace fire does in its common *sulphur, sal*, and *mercurius*. Of how much higher a grade will this *prima materia* be in the firmament? How much stronger and more powerful must it be? You should be aware that the winds have no other source but the three principles which are stimulated by the *vulcanus* in its operation. Accordingly, the *tria prima* move into action: this yields the wind and its nature, cold or warm, dry or moist, as explained above. It must be understood in the manner of a wind that proceeds from a fire which causes it. This is how God arranged for birth in the firmament, so that the three would yield and give birth to all things in their places arrayed by God, proceeding in their *operationes* into the *centrum* of the world.

To understand this vulcanic operation well, consider this earthly analogy: You are aware that the *sulphur* that burns is fire; you know also that salniter burns as does *mercurius*. All three have a fiery nature which lasts until they reach their operation or *ultima materia*. The *sulphur* receives the *vulcanus igneus*. Since the three are incorporated together, each reacts with the other and all three ignite. The fire boils the wind. You can see visibly with the earthly three principles how they ignite their *impetus, motus*, and *tempestates*. From this it follows that in the generation of winds, the stars | are *phiolae* [flasks] 212
and *cucurbitae*;[1] and the meteoric *sulphur, mercurius*, and *sal* are in them in an ethereal mode, acting through the ethereal *vulcanus* in those ethereal *phiolae*.[2]

From their ethereal reactions, ethereal *operationes* emerge which are the winds, driven out of the *concavitates* occasionally onto the lower globe in accordance with the strength of the *tria prima rerum*. From the earthly analogy, you should understand the effect in the firmament. This occurs not in just one degree, but rather for as far as the heavens extend from the earth: it acts that much more forcefully above the earth. To the same degree that the clarity of the heavens surpasses the coarseness of the earth, to that degree higher is its operation and that much modified in its *tria species* or *res*. For this very reason, it is evident that the earthly analogy suffices to understand the *meteorica*. By this measure, all things which are not comprehensible before our eyes should be understood by those that are comprehensible. The earthly operation is intelligible for our sufficient understanding and knowledge. It is an analogy and likeness of that which is like it that we do not see. *Christus* also proclaimed his word *in parabolis* by means of which more was and had to be comprehen-

1 *Cucurbita* : cucurbit, the inferior part of an alembic.

2 Note that in shifting to an alchemical paradigm, P. may favor experimental knowledge, alchemy conserves his openness to the invisible causes of visible effects, since the transforming art of alchemy seemed to conjure things from the invisible to the visible state.

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den soll vnnd muß werden.[a] Dann ich do das jrrdische auff das Firmamentische gib / das auch zurgenglich ist / wie das Jrrdische.

Nun wissent / daß die zeit vnnd stunde solcher Winde aufferstehung ettlichs theils wol mag erkennet werden durch die Astronomey / vnd jhre *Species*, gar mit grunde : So ist doch dasselbige nicht Meteorisch / sondern Astronomisch / dahin ichs befilch. Nuh aber so sie gehend / so wissent / daß sie nach jren theilen vnd zustimmung fürfahren. Als viel Concordantz macht viel starckes Windts : offte Concordiren vnd generiren macht offte Wind : vil *Species* vnd starcker *Vulcanus* machen grosse krefftige Winde / darumb sie auch Heuser vnd Beume vmbwerffen. Dann der Wind ist gleich so wol in seiner arth Corporalisch vnd Substantialisch / als ein *Materia* oder ein Stein / der da von der höhe herab falt. Wiewol ein ander *Corpus* hatt der Stein / ein anders der Wind : so ist sich doch am selbigen nichts zu verwundern. Dann der Wind ist auch
213 ein *Corpus*, das ein ander | *Corpus* wol mag vmbstossen / als ein sichtig *Corpus*. Dann nicht allein daß das sichtig ein *Corpus* sey / sondern das sichtig vnd vnsichtig / was Gott geschaffen hatt / ist alles Corporalisch : Doch in beyder gestalt / vnsichtig vnnd sichtig / aber mit gleicher Macht. Dann ein Wasser tregt ein groß gewicht Holtz / wie weich es ist / es rucket grosse Stein in Bächen hinweg / wiewol es dünne vnd weich ist : Also wissendt auch / das der Wind dergleichen Krafft vnd Macht hatt. Also verstandent nuhn von den Vrsprüngen der Winden / dz sie sich alleine erheben in den Windsternen / vnd also sich Vulcanisch zu jhren zeitten zeittig werden / vnd außbrechen in den *Centrum* der Globul / vnd damit jhr Natur vnd Eigenschafft was sie berüren / dasselbige angreiffen / nach dem vnd sie in jhrem Wesen seindt : Als der *Boreas* Coaguliert / der *Auster* Resoluiert / der *Eurus* Conseruirt / der *Zephyrus* Putrificiert. Wie sie nuhn jhr Operation verbringen mögen / am selbigen erzeigen sie [es][b] nach dem vnd jhr Arth ist. Ist es dann zu den Zeitten / das jhn jhr *Malitia* genommen mag, werden / als dann so mögen sie auch nichts handlen.

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a The cryptic meaning of Jesus's mysterious parables is paradigmatic for P.'s theoretical discourse which poses riddles and directs us from the visible to the invisible, as indicated in P.'s *Von Oeffnung der Hautt vnnd Jhrer Natürlichen verletzung:* "Also in **Parabels** weiß lernt vns die Philosophey / in Figuren / in Form / in Tungenden / in Gleichnuß etc. auff das wir durch dieselbigen dz jenig lernen / so wir lernen die Notturfft erfordert. Dan also hat auch Christus gered / nit allen verstendig / son geben dern denn es geben ist / vnd war. Also ist auch die Artzney ein Kunst / nit eim jedlichen / allein dem / der sie versteth / wie obstecht" (H C:404b).

b This word in square brackets is supplied by Huser without further explanation, as he often does.

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ded.[1] I therefore give the earthly example for that of the firmament which is as transient as the earthly.

Now let us consider that the time and hour in which the winds arise can sometimes be known to astronomy, as well as their *species* and indeed for this very reason. When such is the case, that knowledge is not meteorological but astronomical, to which field I consign its discussion. But when the winds blow, let it be known that they proceed in accordance with their own directions and concordance. Powerful concordance makes for very strong winds. The frequent process of conjunction and generation makes for frequent winds. Many *species* and a powerful *vulcanus* cause great and mighty winds which in consequence cast down houses and trees. For winds are in their nature corporeal and substantial, as much so as a stone that drops from high up. Though the stone has a different kind of *corpus* than the wind, nonetheless the effect they share is not surprising. For the wind is no less a *corpus* which can | knock over any 213
other *corpus*, just as a visible *corpus* can. Not only is the visible a *corpus* but the invisible as well. Everything that God created is corporeal. But it comes in two kinds: invisible and visible, indeed with the same force. For water, yielding though it is, bears a great weight of wood and displaces great stones in creeks, thin and yielding as it is. Be aware then that the wind can have a comparable force and power. As to the origins of the winds, they arise only in the wind stars and become vulcanic in their proper time. They erupt into the *centrum* of the globe and whatever they touch with their nature and property they attack with their essence. Thus, *Boreas* coagulates. *Auster* resolves.[2] *Eurus* conserves. *Zephyrus* putrifies. However they produce their operation, they manifest it in accordance with their nature. When their *malitia* [malice] is sapped, they no longer have an effect.

1 Strictly speaking P.'s examples are unlike Christ's parables, though the latter offer the most authoritative support if acceptable. P.'s argument more plausibly evokes the *locus classicus* of Rom 1:20 (God's "invisible power and his divine nature, invisible though they are, have been understood and seen through the things he has made"). P. posits that the forces at work in the heavens behave as in a celestial laboratory.

2 "Resolve" is an archaic term for "dissolve." In many instances, the latter seems to describe what P. has in mind. Nonetheless, "resolve" comes closer to his sense of a directed process, while "dissolve" is a senseless occurrence.

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Also wie nuhn die Winde außgehnd von jhren *Emunctoriis*[a] im Windcirckel / wie das Assellieren vom Menschen / so ist der erste Gang vber das Meer. Nuhn ist nicht minder / der Circkel stehet so gar nicht auff dem Meer / das er gleich vber das Meer gang : Sondern / er ist so breidt / das er biß auff den vndern Circkel der vndern Globul auch gehet / das ist / auff den dritten *Peroledum*,[b] vnden vnd oben. Dieweil nuhn der ober dritt *Peroledus*, vnnd der vndter dritt *Peroledus* den mittlen auch geben : So wissendt im selbigen / das es den mittlern *Peroledum* trifft gleich so wol in sein *Corpus*, als das es neben abgang / es sey dann vbersich oder vndersich / auff welche seitten / es sey in die Region *Arcticam* oder *Antarcticam*. So nuhn der dritte *Peroledus* getroffen wirdt / so kommt der Windt in dz Wasser / vnd Mouiert das Wasser / also das es vbersich oder vndersich / wie sein *Impetus* gericht ist / durch das Wasser dringt / der ander theil auff dem Wasser. Nuhn bleibt der theil *Venti* nicht im Wasser / sondern er gehet herauß auß dem Wasser in den Lufft. Mit solchem durchgehen macht [er]
214 *Tempestates* im Meer vnnd im Wasser : Dann er soll nicht dergleichen gangen | sein / sondern auff dem Wasser : Aber wie er im Lufft sein *Impetum* braucht / also braucht er jhn auch im Wasser / daruon er dem Meer / Meerwellen vnnd Flutten macht / grewlicher vnnd erschröcklicher / als auff dem Wasser. Dann er wirfft das Wasser auff / stosts in die höhe / vnnd niemandts mags wissen wie starck er im Wasser lige : Dann seine grösse vberwindt das Wasser / vnnd das Wasser muß jhm Cataracten lassen vnnd *Cauernam*, damit er auß möge gohn in sein *Corpus* der Elementen. Vnnd nicht allein das er alle mahl so gar auß dem Wasser gang / vnd jhm seine *Cauernas* mach : Sondern so subtil ist er / das er auch gehet durch die *Poros* der Erden / dann durch die Mauren / durch alle Wände gehet er / als man sichtig weiß : Also auch durch die Berg / durch Felsen / so er vber dem Wasser geht.

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a See above, H 8:200. The term *emunctorium* that informs the syphilis writings of the late 1520s suggests a pattern of disease resulting from blockage of the natural exits of the body (a pattern here extended to "all things"): "Solches ist allein darumb angezeigt / das jr in dem Venerischen Luxu dermassen auch handlen sollen / das die Artzney gemeß sey dem Hertzen / vnd fürder das natürlich **Emunctorium**. Dann zweyerley seind Emunctoria in allen dingen / Natürlich vnd vnnatürlich. Die Natürlichen werden selten zun kranckheiten gebraucht / sonder allein zu der täglichen Reinigung des Egests / so sich im Leib natürlich samlet: Dieselbigen geben die lange gesundheit / vnd so derselbigen eins verstopfft oder gehindert wirdt / als dann volgt hernach / das du demselbigen Emunctorio zu hilff kommest. Aber in den kranckheiten ist es nicht also / dieselbigen haben vnnatürliche Emunctoria, vnd werden doch natürlich erfunden im Baum der Kranckheiten. Dann wie die kranckheiten vnnatürlich seind / Also vnnatürlich machen sie auch jre Emunctoria" (*De Hulceribus in genere*—H C:418a).

b The term ***peroledus*** occurs nowhere else in the extant writings of P.

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In the way the winds proceed from their *emunctoria* in the wind circle like expulsions from the human being, their first path is over the sea. And so it is now. The circle is not upon the sea so that the wind would pass right over it. The circle is so broad that it reaches up to the lower circle of the inferior globe, that is, to the third *peroledus*[1] below and above. Now the upper third *peroledus* and the lower third one yield to the middle one as well. Be aware in this context that it touches the middle one in its *corpus*, too, being deflected alongside it, whether above or below it or to whichever side, into the Arctic or Antarctic regions. When the third *peroledus* is affected, the wind comes into the water and it is moved so that it passes as an *impetus* above and below, partly through the water and partly above it. But the part of the *ventus* does not remain in the water but rather passes out of it into the air. With this passage, it causes *tempestates* in sea and water. For it should not have passed this way | but rather 214
upon the water. But just as it uses its *impetus* in the air, it does so in the water, so that in the process it causes oceanic waves and floods, more horrid and terrifying than upon the water. For it casts up the water, pushes it high upwards, and no one can know how deep one lies in the water. Its height overpowers the water, which results in cataracts and *cavernae* so that it rises up into its *corpus* of the elements. It is not simply that it rises up out of the water in this way, making *cavernae* in it. It is rather so subtle that it even passes through the *pori* of the earth, through stone walls and all house walls, as one realizes upon seeing it. Moreover, it passes through mountains and rocky formations when it passes above the water.

1 This word seems to hint at meridians. In Latin *peroleo* means to spread a bad odour. Although the context of the *emunctorium* seems to conform, we do not know how this can explain the meaning of "the third *peroledus*." J.-B. Van Helmont, however, had his own interpretation: "Not unlike the earth, the air has its own depths, which the *Adepti* call *Peroledi*. This is why the invisible gas is hosted in various layers of the air. If they are the abysses and gulfs of water, its gates are in the *Peroledi*, which the knowledgeable have called the waterfalls and gates of the sky" (J.-B. Van Helmont, "*Gas aquae*," § 24–25, in his *Ortus medicinae* (1648), 77b; quoted by Fransen 2014, 70: "Habet ergo aer suos, non minus quam terra, fundos, quos Adepti vocant Peroledos. Invisibile itaque Gas, variis aeris stratis hospitatur, si aquae sua sint barathra, suae voragines, suae portae sunt in Peroledis, quas periti Cataractas Cœli, et valvas dixere.").

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Vnd merckendt hierauff weither. Was im Wasser bleibt / vnnd kommt nicht durch das Wasser herauß / so kommt es in die Erden / vnnd gehet durch die Erden so lange / biß es sein *Exitum* findt oder in jhm selbst Consumiert wirdt / daruon Erdbidmen werden. (Wiewol das nicht allein der Erdbidem vrsachen seindt / sondern auch andere noch mehr.) Dann in solcher gestalt macht der Windt Erdbidmen / wie im Wasser die Wellen / wann ettwas darauff stehet / Schiff oder Galee / sie zitterent auch / vnnd mögendt nicht gleich stehendt : drumb so sie nicht gleich mügen stehnd / so ist es ein Wasser Erdbidmen. Also mag der Windt durch die *Poros* der Erden / die grossen vnd kleinen / die Cataractisch oder dergleichen seindt / die Erden auch bewegen : Doch nicht so leichtlich als das Wasser / das jhm viel mehr willig ist vnnd nachgibt. Dann alles was geboren wirdt / das muß verzehrt werden / vnnd hatt ein Ende : Also ist auch im Winde / der hatt seinen *Terminum*, den er nicht vbergehen mag / sondern muß am selbigen sterben vnnd sein Todt nemmen. Darumb so wissendt / das die Erden an jhr selbst *Ventos* nicht gibt / allein was die Windt hinein treiben. Wiewol der *Vulcanus* auch in der Erden ist / im Wasser / aber er ist nicht Fulgurisch in denselbigen : Allein im Firmament ist er Fulgurisch /
215 vnnd hatt ein Tempestatischen *Impetum*. Das ist die Arth deß Windes / | der da Gewalt hatt alle Stein vnnd Metallen durch zu gehen / die Erden vnnd alles / vnnd nichts außgenommen : Vnnd was jhm wiederstehet / von einander zuzerschnellen vnnd vmbwerffen. Durch das Exempel sollendt jhr endtlich wol verstehen / wie ein Büxenpuluer / das der Büxen vnnd dem Bodem ein Zittern macht / vnnd niemandts mags styrmen : Also ist das auch wie ein Büxenpuluer *Sulphur, Sal* vnnd *Mercurius*, dem niemandts nichts wiederstehen mag. Vnd wiewol es nicht Fewer ist / nicht reucht / nicht schnellt : So ist es doch ein Etherisch Büxenpuluer / das da kommt auß den *Cauernis* vnnd *Emunctoriis* der Cataracten / der Vulcanischen Windtsternen. Vnnd ist also ein Windischer Salpeter / *Sulphur* vnnd *Mercurius*, die Alle ding vollbringen wunderbarlich : Vnnd ohne die drey *Species* ist vnmüglich daß geschehen möge : Alleine mit der vnderscheidt / daß das eine ist nach Jrrdischer Natur / das ander nach Etherischer Arth vnnd Eigenschafft.

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Note further in this regard: Whatever remains in the water and does not exit through it, enters the earth and passes on within it until it takes its *exitum* or is consumed in itself with earthquakes resulting. (Nonetheless, this is not the only cause of those earthquakes; there are others besides.) For in this form, the wind causes earthquakes, as do waves in water, whenever something passes above it. A ship or galley trembles too and they cannot sail upright. For this reason, they cannot maintain themselves when there is an aqueous earthquake. This is how the wind passes through the *pori* of the earth, the large and the small ones which are cataract-like and cause the earth to move. But this does not happen as readily as in the water which is more yielding and compliant. For everything that is born must be consumed and come to an end. So it is, too, with the wind. It has its *terminus* which cannot be surpassed but must rather die and meet its death. So, know from this, that the earth does not yield *venti* of itself. Only that which drives them in can cause them. Though the *vulcanus* is also in the earth and in the water, it is not fulgurous in these. Only in the firmament is it fulgurous where it has a tempestuous *impetus*. This is the nature of the wind | which 215
has the power to pass through all stones and metals, the earth, and everything else without exception. Whatever faces it is shattered and cast asunder. By analogy, you should at last understand the gunpowder that causes the musket and the earth to tremble, and which no one can storm: *sulphur, sal*, and *mercurius* are like gunpowder which no one can resist. Even if it is not fiery and does not smoke or shoot, it is nonetheless an ethereal gunpowder which emerges from the *cavernae* and *emunctoria* of the cataracts of the vulcanic wind stars. It is a windy saltpeter, *sulphur*, and *mercurius* which effects all these things miraculously. Without the three this could not possibly happen. The only distinction is that gunpowder does this in earthly nature while the other is of an ethereal nature and property.

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CAPVT VI.
DE GENERATIONIBVS Vndarum.

Also verstandent nuhn weither / das auch mit dem Regen dergleichen ein Vrsprung ist : Also / das etliche Sternen seindt / in denen die Arth Regny ist / vnnd was dem Regen zugehört : Seindt auch in aller Weiß vnnd Forme wie die Windtsterne / vnnd dermassen mit den dreyen Ersten / als *Prima Materia* genaturt / auff Regen versorgt vnnd Ordiniert : Wie ein Baum auff seine Frucht inn alle Weg ein vollkommen / gewiß / vnnd waarhafftigs Exempel fürtragt / daß / das sichtbar so bey vns ist / [vnnd] das Vnsichtbar so ob vns ist / gleich zu verstehen. Dann das also solle sein / wie gesagt wirdt / ein Auffzug von dem Vndern Wasser / also auff vnnd ab Ascendieren vnnd Distillieren / mag nicht sein : Dann vrsach ist inn den vorbemeltten genungsam angezeigt :
216 Sondern / das sollen | wir wissen / das ein jedlich Regen kommt von seinem eigen Vrsprung / vnd wirdt newe geboren / der vor nicht gewesen ist / als ein Birn diß Jahrs gewachsen ist / vnd ferndt vnd forder Jahr nie mehr gewesen. Also seindt auch Sahmen / da einer dem andern nachgehet / vnd seine Frucht gibt zu seiner zeit / wie es Gott geschaffen hatt. Nuhn ist die Zahl der Regen Sternen nicht zu schreiben / denn das gantze Firmament ist jhr voll / auß getheilt in alle Landt / so weith die Globul. Vnnd wiewol sich begibet / dz in etlichen *Regionibus* der Regensternen *Effectus* nicht alle mahl für sich gehet / sondern selten oder gar nichts regnet : Dasselbige ist nicht der gebresten / das die Sternen nicht da seindt / sondern sie werden außgedörret auß demselbigen Landts vnnd Regions Winden vnnd Constellationen. Wie ein Baum der außgedörret wirdt / oder ein Frucht / die dürre halben nicht mag zeittig werden : Also begibt sich auch ein solchs in Regensternen / in denselbigen enden vnd örtern da sie dann stohnd. Deßgleichen auch / so sie in Feuchten *Constellationibus* vnd Windtsternen stehend / geben sie dester mehr Regen / das ist / sie legendt wol zu / vnd wird nichts an jhnen verloren. Dergleichen auch so wissend / das sie etwannspatt oder früe / oder viel kommen oder wenig : Das nicht schuldt ist / darumb das sie außdörren / sondern das sie etwann auff ein Jahr mehr fruchtbar seind dann in andern Jahren : Wie wir dann auch sehent in allen gewächsen / do im Firmament dergleichen auch also.

Nuhn wissendt der Regen anfang also. So sein Etherischer *Paroxysmus*[a] kommt / also / das der *Autumnus* da ist / vnnd soll zeittig sein / so hebt der *Vulcanus* vnd *Yliaster* vnd *Archeus* an zu bereitten in denselbigen Sternen /

a This term is equally applicable to meteorology and medicine, as in *Vom Vrsprung, Herkommen vnd Anfang der Frantzosen Acht Bücher:* "Vnd also auch in Caduco vnd allen kranckheiten / die da dermassen Paroxismiern" (H C:221a).

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CAPVT VI.
DE GENERATIONIBUS Vndarum.
[Chap. VI. On the Generation of Rains]

Now let it be noted further that the rain has the same sort of origin. There are a number of stars in which there reside the nature of rain and what pertains to it. These are in every respect and form like the wind stars; and their nature is constituted by the three principles as their *prima materia* to provide and distribute the rain. A tree with its fruit always offers a complete, certain and true analogy, indicating that what is visible here and is invisible above us can be understood in the same way. For this should be in accord with what was said before: there can be no ascent of the lower water: an up-and-down ascending and distilling cannot happen. The reason for this is quite evident in the afore mentioned. It is rather | that we must recognize that rain always has 216
its own peculiar source. It is born anew which was not there before, the same way that a pear grows this year which did not exist last year. So, too, there are seeds that succeed one another, yielding their fruit in its time, as God created it. The number of the rain stars is beyond count. The entire firmament is full of them. They are distributed among all countries across the entire globe. To be sure, it can happen that in some *regiones* the *effectus* of a rain star is not actuated, so that it rains rarely or never; but this does not fail because of the absence of the stars; rather, they are dried out by the winds and constellations of the particular land. It is as with a tree which dries up, or a fruit that does not ripen due to drought. The same happens with the rain stars where they abide. When they abide with moist *constellationes* and wind stars, they yield even more rain. They augment it, and nothing in them is lost. Know in this regard that they might yield late or early, much or little. The cause of this is not that they dry up, but rather that they are simply more fertile in one year than in another. What we can see in all vegetation, we can also recognize in the firmament.

This must be known regarding the origin of rains. When an ethereal *paroxysmus* arrives bringing with it the *autumnus* and its season arrives, *vulcanus* and *yliaster* and *archeus* begin their work of preparation in those stars as if in

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wie in einem Hafen / vnd Operieren zum Regen / Dispensieren vnd Præpariren. So sie nuhn die zeit der Digestion haben erwartet / als dann so gehendt die *Flores* herfür / wie an einem Baum : Am ersten ein Gewülck / das mehret sich nach jnnhalt desselbigen Sternen / vieli oder grössi / langsam / schnell oder behendt / wie es sich dann begeben mag / vnd der *Materia* da ist. Dann am ersten gehet der Etherische Rauch herfür : Vnd darumb das er sich scheidt von gemeinem Jrrdischen Rauch / wird er Wolcken geheissen. Nun derselbige Wolck / so er herauß von Sternen kommt / so setzt er sich vndersich gegen der
217 Erden / in Lufft / da schwebt er. Nuhn | ist er an jhm selbst ein Wasser / aber nicht gar bereitt. Vnd seine *Materia* ist *Sal, Sulphur, Mercurius*, welche alle drey ausserhalben der Sternen in die Resolution gehend / wie ein Weinstein im Keller oder in einem Wasser. Also ist der Lufft dieser Calcination vnnd Digestion Keller / in dem sie sich Soluieren vnd auffledigen. So nuhn also der Wolcke im Lufft stehet als im Keller : Ist er wol bereitt zum Resoluieren / er gehet dester eher : Wo nicht / so bleibt er dester lenger im Lufft. Etwann so seinen wenig ist / vergehet er gar / oder gibt ein Regen oder Feuchte / die die Erden nicht berühren mag : Aber so er bleibt vnd zum Regen geordnet / als dann so Resoluiert er sich in Wasser. Vnd nach dem vnd der Regen ist / nach dem ist die Resolution / vnnd der Regen von Wolcken / vnd der Wolcken auß den Sternen. Also begibt sich offt / das ein solcher Regen für vnd für weret / darumb daß dz Gewülck täglich von Regensternen herauß gehet / vnd mit zunemmen nicht auffhört / oder ein Stern dem andern nach / oder viel miteinander / wie es dann die Concordantz trifft. Dann etliche geben Ein Stundt / etliche mehr / etliche [Ein] Tag / etliche viel Tage / etliche [Ein] Wochen / etliche viel Wochen / etliche gar vnbestendig durch einander / zu vngleichen Stunden / etc. Wie aber dem allem / am ersten so wirdt die Præparation in Sternen von den dreyen Ersten / auff solche Natur : Darnach wirdt das Gewülcke : Darnach wird die Resolution im Lufft / durch den Lufft : Von derselbigen der Regen auff die Erden.

Nuhn wirdt das Resoluieren also. So baldt das Regengewülck in den Lufft kommt / als in sein Keller / so seine zeit der Resolution da ist / als danne so Resoluiert es sich Tropffenweise von einander / vnd nicht an eim Hauffen / sondern nur gleich als Distillierte es sich vndersich. Solches ist von der *Diuina Prouidentia*[a] auff Alchimistisch zugericht / das ein Tropffen dem andern nach sich herab Viltriere / Distilliere annd Guttier in Tropffensweise / wie sie dann herab zu vns kommen. So begibt sich offte / das die Resolution langsam geschicht / darumb auch langsam Tropffen fallen : Etwann schneller /

a Divine providence may contrast with or give rise to the light of nature; thus in *Astronomia Magna:* "Darumb ist diese Kunst [*scientia signata*] auß dem Liecht der Natur geben / durch **diuinam Prouidentiam**" (H 10:158).

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a vessel; they activate, dispense, and process the rain. When they have completed their period of digestion, their *flores* emerge as if upon a tree. First, there are cloud formations which increase in accordance with what is in the stars, be it much or little, whether gradual or quick or precipitous, whatever the case might be and whatever *materia* is on hand. First the ethereal vapor appears. Since it is distinct from common earthly smoke, they are called clouds. When this cloud formation emerges from the stars, it is deposited down toward earth, hovering in the air. Now | it becomes a mass of water on its own yet it is not yet 217
fully processed. Its *materia* is *sal, sulphur, mercurius:* all three enter their state of resolution outside the rain stars, like a wine stone in a cellar or in water. The air is the cellar for this calcination and digestion where they resolve and get processed further. Given that the cloud is present in the air as in a cellar, it is ready for a resolution which happens all the sooner. If this does not occur, it remains all the longer in the air. It can happen that when little is left, it disappears altogether, or yields rain or moisture that does not reach the earth. But if it remains and is constituted for rain, it resolves itself into water. As is the rain, so is the resolution and with it the rain from the clouds and the clouds from the stars. Thus, it often happens that such rain continues on and on, because the clouds proceed daily from the rain stars and increase with them without cessation, or one star might follow another, or they might act together as disposed by their concordance. Some yield an hour, others more. Some [for one] day, others for many. Some [for one] week, others for many. Some are quite inconstant, mixed up for unpredictable intervals, etc. Whatever the case may be, the first thing is the preparation of the three principles in the stars of this nature. After that, the cloud formation arises. After that comes the resolution in the air, through the air; and from the latter the rain onto the earth.

The resolution happens this way. As soon as the rain cloud formation comes into the air, as if into a cellar, when its time for resolution arrives, it resolves itself by separating into drops, not a single mass but as if distilled, and then it falls. This process is arrayed by the *divina providentia* alchemically, so that drop after drop filters down, distilling itself and precipitating disparately, the way it does fall down to us. Thus, it can often happen that the resolution proceeds gradually so that drops fall slowly. Sometimes it is faster, and they are quicker. As

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behender : Wie dann die Verfügung vnd Schickung ist / viel oder wenig / groß oder kleine Tropffen / nach dem vnd dz Jahr vnd die Zeit ist. Also ist ein jedli-
218 cher Regen nichts als ein Resoluierets *Sal*, | *Sulphur* vnd *Mercurius*, in Regens Arth gescheiden / in der ersten Extraction vnd Separation. In den sechs Tagen da Gott alle ding schuff / da hatt er auch alle ding verordnet inn seine stadt / mit seiner Eigenschafft : Dieselbige Præpariert sich weither in dem *Igneo Vulcano* zum Regen / wie der *Tartarus* zu Wasser / vnd ander ding mehr / die der letzten Materien in der ersten nimmer gleich sehendt. Darauff nuhn so wissendt auch / das solcher Regen / von dem ich da sage / die miltesten Regen seindt vnnd die besten / so am aller basten die Erden erkülen / befeuchten vnd antrencken / vnd auch am gesundesten. Dann sie entspringen auß den miltisten dreyen Ersten der *Primæ Materiæ*. Wann es seindt andere die noch strenger seindt / darumb seindt sie auch auß strengerer arth / dann die seindt. Es seindt auch die Regen / die gemeiniglich vber vnd vber gohndt / so sie ein Concordantz treffen / also / das jhr viel zusammen kommen / vnd mit einander bereitt werden. Wo dann auch solche Concordantz zusammen fellt / am selbigen orth geschehen mancherley Regen durch einander / die an Tropffen mögen erkennet werden : Etlich gar Subtil wie *Alcool*,[a] etliche noch ein wenig grösser / vnnd also biß auff die grössesten / wie dann der gemeine Brauch selbst beweist.

Nuhn aber so seindt ander Sternen / von denen auch Regen außgehendt : Aber dieselbigen haben die Eigenschafft / das sie Windt mit jhnen geben. Das ist die vrsache / daß das Saltz in selbigen Regensternen / vnd der *Mercurius* auch etwas nicht gar wol bereitt seindt / das ist / das jhn der *Impetus* nicht

a "**Alco(h)ol**" must not be confused with "Alcola" in the works of P. The latter word is defined as a mouth ulcer in Guy de Chauliac's *Surgery*, one of the most popular medieval surgical textbooks, often referred to as "Guido," even by P. himself. In P.'s words: "Alcola ist ein Modern von Fleisch […] in emunctorio Martis, das ist / in der Lefftzen deß Munds" (*Von Apostemen* […] *vnd anderen Gewächsen am Leib*, H C:438b). The word "**alco(h)ol**," however, is entirely different. Up to P. it usually referred to a matter reduced to a subtle powder, as in *De Urinarum et Pulsuum Iudiciis Libellus*: "**alcool**, id est, tartarus resolutus in minutas partes" (H 5A:108; see also e.g. *Das Ander Buch der grossen Wundartzney*, H C:103a–b or 104c). P. sometimes extends its meaning to the subtlest parts of every possible matter, including rain drops (see vis-à-vis). According to Pagel, *Paracelsus* (1982), 155–156 n. 82, P. himself popularized the modern meaning with the phrase "**alco(h)ol** vini"—a statement that deserves further study. It is true, however, that P. defined "**alcool** vini exsiccati" exactly as told by Pagel, namely, as a spirit of wine so much deprived of any superfluity that it burns without leaving feces behind: "**Alcool** vini exsiccati ist / wann superfluitas vini daruon kommt / vnd ist vinum ardens der trucken außbrennt ohn allen schmutz / laßt kein faeces in dem geschir" (*Quatuordecim Libri Paragraphorum*, H 3:408). See other occurrences e.g. in *De Vita Longa* (H 6:166), *De Praeparationibus* (H 6:213, 214, 217, 230, etc.), *Von den Blatern, Lähme, Beulen* […] *der Frantzosen* (H C:306b), *Zwey Bücher von der Pestilentz vnnd jhren Zufellen* (H 3:142), or *Das Ander Buch der grossen Wundartzney* (H C:102c).

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the dispensation has it, there is much or little, larger or smaller drops, depending on the year and the time. For all rain is nothing but a resolved *sal*, | *sulphur*, 218
and *mercurius*, separated in the mode of rain in its first extraction and separation. In the six days in which God created all things, he disposed them all to their proper places with their properties. They process themselves further in the *igneus vulcanus* to rain, as the *tartarus* does to water, and other things besides, whereby the final material never looks like the first. Note further that the rains of which I speak are the mildest and best ones that fill, moisten, and saturate the earth. They are also the healthiest ones, arising from the mildest three principles of the *prima materia*. For there are other, harsher ones, from a harsher nature than these. There are also the rains which often pass over us when they enter into a concordance where many of them merge and are processed together.

Now, however, there are other stars from which rain also proceeds; but these have a character of being accompanied by wind. The reason for this is that the salt in those rain stars, as well as the *mercurius*, are somewhat less than fully processed. This means that their *impetus* has not been taken from them com-

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genommen ist worden von dem *Vulcano :* Vnnd das ist eine sondere Arth. Wo nuhn solche Arth ist / da werden auß denselbigen Sternen Wind ohne Regen / etlich Stund oder Tag / etc. Darnach / so die Winde geligen / so ist es ein Zeichen / das *Mercurius* vnd *Sal,* sich mit dem *Sulphure* Vniert haben / als dann so gehens in die Gewülcke / vnnd schickents herauß in Lufft / etwann mit dem Wind / Wolcken vnd Wind mit einander. Vnd solche Regenwolcken mit den eigen Winden werden selten / dieweil der Wind werdt am selbigen orth Resoluiert da sie gefallen / sondern in frembde Nation. So nuhn also dieselbigen Wolcken / im Keller der Etherischen Resolution Resoluiert werden / so
219 fallen die Regen auch in massen herab / wie vorgemeldt | ist. Darbey ist auch zu mercken / so der Wind im Regen ist / das ist / in der Resolution / als dann so zerstrewet der Wind die Resolution / vnnd bricht jhr Resoluierte *Guttas,* einen in zwey oder drey theil : Treibt sie auch inn die schnelle zu fallen / mehr dann sie sonst fielen : Wirfft also die Tropffen hin vnd her / dz sie nicht mögen nach jhrer Arth sich Distillieren / wie es sich dann gebieret. Darzu ist auch zu wissen / wo solche Gewülcke / auch ander Regengewülcke auff den Birgen stehet / das mehr Krafft hatt zu fürderung / dann auff ebenen Landen : Auß vrsachen / die Birge haben ein Küle / dieselbige Küle kommt von dem Gebirge : Wo diese Wolcken kommen in diese Küle / da Resoluieren sie sich schneller / so sie in andern ebenen Landen verzert würden. Dann viel Regenwolcken seindt / die durch andere Constellation verzehrt werden / welche an dem orth in Bürgen nicht mag für sich gehen. Also / so nuhn der Haffen / dz ist / der Stern sein *Autumnum, Messem,* außgeschütt hatt / als dann hatt er aber sein zeit / biß seine drey Ersten der *Primæ Materiæ* wiederumb erwachsen / nach jhrer Zeit : Als dann so gehendt jhre Wirckung aber an / wie hie mit diesen Regen gemeldt ist.

So gibt sich auch mehrmahl / das die Erden vnd das Wasser / in jhnen selbst / durch jhr eingeleibten Brunnen vnd Wasser vnd Arth in jhren Eigenschafften ein Küle von jhnen geben / also / das der Lufft auch dester küler wirdt : Als dann viel mahl beschicht. Wo nuhn solche Küle in Lufft kommt / so ist der Lufft auch dester küler / so Resoluieren sich viel Gewülck / die sonst Consumiert würden : Sonderlich in Gebirgen / da mag solche Kältte in die höhe kommen. Dann der Lufft / ist ein Keller / vnnd ist Kaltt vnd Feuchte in der Höhe / nimmer Warm / als allein wo der Reflex ist / vnnd so hoch er gehet. Also kommen zwo Kältte zusammen / da jhe eine die ander erfrischet / vnd einem Keller gleich machen : Wiewol jhe höher der Lufft / jhe kältter. Auch so wirdt das Gewülcke offtmahls so schwer / das es gar weith herab fallt / gar nahent in die Wärme / darauß dann folgendt warme Regen / das allein der Schwere schuldt ist. Wo sie aber wenig seindt / da Resoluieren sie sich hoch / vnnd fallen hoch herab. So ist auch nicht minder / derselbige Wind / so auß denselbigen Sternen gehet / derselbige ist | auch an im
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pletely by the *vulcanus*, for these are of a particular kind. Where there is this kind, wind without rain results from the stars for hours or days, etc. If after this the wind settles, it is a sign that the *mercurius* and *sal* have united with the *sulphur* to proceed into the clouds and emit air as with the wind; clouds and wind are mixed together. Such rain clouds with their own winds are rare since the wind is [not] resolved in the place where it falls but rather in foreign lands. When these clouds are resolved in the cellar of the ethereal resolution, the rain likewise falls massively, as previously | indicated. In this regard, it is to be noted 219
that when wind is in rain, that is, in its resolution, the wind has dispersed the latter, breaking up its resolved *guttae* into two or three parts, causing them to fall with the wrong velocity, faster than otherwise. They are cast hither and yonder so that they are not distilled in their nature, as would be proper. Moreover, when such cloud formations and rain clouds hover upon the mountains, they have more force for their advancement than on the plains. The reason for this is that the mountains have a coolness proceeding from them. Whenever such clouds enter into the coolness, they are resolved quicker as long as they are not thrust into other plains. Many rain clouds are displaced by other constellations, which cannot happen in mountainous places. As soon as the vessel, that is, the star, has poured out its *autumnus*, its *messis* [harvest], its season has then come, until such time as its three principles of the *prima materia* grow back to fulness in their turn. Then their effect will be at hand as has been said here concerning rains.

Thus, it can happen not infrequently that the earth and water in it give birth to a coolness through inborn springs and waterways and through the nature of its properties, causing the air to become that much cooler, as is often the case. Whenever this coolness enters the air, it becomes cooler still. Many clouds are resolved that would otherwise be depleted, especially in mountain ranges where the coolness can rise. For the air acts like a cellar when it is cool and moist up high, and it is never warm except where there is a reflection, and only for as far up as it reaches. Thus, two instances of cold merge, whereby each refreshes the other to act like a cellar. The higher the air, the cooler. Often the cloud formation becomes so heavy that it descends far, to the vicinity of the warm region which causes warm rain, owing simply to the weight. But if there are few of them, they resolve themselves high up and descend from there. It is nothing less than the very wind that proceeds from the stars, which is | damp 220

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selbst feuchte / gleich den Zephyrischen. Darumb / so der Zephyrische Wind gehet / auß dem Windcirckel / vnd die Stern seindt in der Operation / so werden balde Regen das Dann er durchgehet mit sampt dem Regenwind den Lufft / vnd machent jhn Kühl / vnnd Feucht / so das Gewülcke darein kommt / das es baldt sich Resoluiert vnnd zerschmeltzt *in Guttas*. So aber gleichwol Sternen stünden der Regen Arth / vnnd es gienge ein Dürrer Wind / als dann so der Regen nicht gar gewaltig ist in seiner Operation / er wirdt vom Dürren vertrieben vnnd verzehrt. Darumb auch auff dasselbige sonderlich acht zu haben ist : Dann wo sich solche Concordantz begibt in Feuchte deß Kellers / das ist / im Lufft / am selbigen orth werden viel Zeichen / darbey mans erkennen mag. Als die Fändtlein vnnd *Cardines* die kyrren : Es werden die Leuth schwermütig vnnd vnlustig / wirdt ein dempfiger Lufft / ein schwerer / feuchtet die Schwämm / äschen / Sand in (Röschinen) vnnd sonst / vnnd dergleichen viel solcher dingen mehr / nicht noth zuerzehlen : Aber dester grösser seindt die Regen.

Nuhn weither so wissent / das [sich] auch offtmahls begibt / in solchem Gewülcke vnnd in solchen *Coniunctionibus :* So Mond / vnnd Zeit / vnd Windsternen Concordieren vnd Confluieren : Vnd so die Windsternen schneller Operation seind / vnnd viel Operieren : Vnnd dasselbige das nuhn geboren ist wol bereitt an die stadt / vnnd gar zu fast / also / das sie [in] der Resolution zu schnelle angehendt / so werden die grossen Platzregen darauß / deren dann viel erscheinen. Wo es sich aber begebe / das solche Resolution gleich im Puncten / so sie auß dem *Athanar* kommt in den Keller / vorhin Resoluiert were / als sich offt begibt / das im *Aludel*[a] die Resolution angehet / vnnd in der Feuchte schnell vollendt : Wo solchs inn solchen geberungen / auch geschehe / da wirdt der gantz Wolcke vndereinest nur Ein Tropffen / alles zusammen Ein Wasser / hatt nicht so viel erwehren / das *Guttatim* herab möge gohn / so fallt es also auff Ein mahl alles herab / vnd bleibt Ein Tropffen allein : Was sich im schütten vnnd fallen / durch Wind vnnd Fall begeben mag / das es zerstrewet wirdt : Doch so
221 fallts auff Ein mahl herab / einander nach / in einer schnellen Resolution. | Mag sich auch wol begeben / das ein gutte zeit wird / ehe es auffhört : Vnd wol auch zustehen / das darfür vnnd darnach Regen kommen vnd gewesen sind / dieselbigen sind rechter Distillation. Diese aber / was Wolckenbrüch seind / haben ein andern Stern / vnd ein andere Materia. Damit mag auch wol kommen vnd sich begeben / Windt vnd anders mehr / wie dann der *Sulphur, Sal* vnd *Mer-*

a Contrary to the word *athanar / athanor*, the word *aludel*, another specific term for the alchemical laboratory apparatus, only appears in *De Meteoris* (here and below, H 8:227, 233), and in the disputed *De natura rerum* (book 5—H 6:289).

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in itself, like the zephyrus winds. So, when one of these blows from out of the wind circle and the stars are in action, rains will follow soon. For the wind passes through the air together with the rainy wind and makes it cool and moist so that the cloud formation enters into it and it is soon resolved to precipitate into *guttae*. If, however, the stars were to stand in the mode of rain and a dry wind were to blow, so that the rain would not become very forceful in its operation, then it would be dispersed by the dry one and consumed. Hence, one must observe the following closely. Wherever there is this sort of concordance in the dampness of the cellar, that is, in the air, there will be many signs by which one can recognize it. The little flags and *cardines* [weather vanes] will flap and rattle. People become melancholy and listless. The air becomes damp and heavy. It will dampen mushrooms, ashes, and sand in hollows[1] and elsewhere, and more such things that it is unnecessary to recount. But all the greater are the rains.

Let it further be noted what often happens in cloud formations such as this and in those kinds of *conjunctiones* in which the moon, time, and wind stars are in concordance and confluence, and the wind stars are in precipitous large-scale operation: the same thing emerges, conditioned to location all too forcefully so that they begin [with] their resolution too precipitously, and great drenching rains result, of which there are many. Where, conversely, it happens that resolution of this sort is at the point of passing from the *athanar*[2] into the cellar, having taken place as is often the case beforehand, the resolution begins in the *aludel*[3] and its moisture is soon complete. When this happens in these generations, the whole cloud in its entirety becomes a single drop and body of water, losing its resistance that would let it to come down *guttatim* [drop by drop]. It descends all at once as a single drop. Though some of it could be scattered by wind and descent so that it is dispersed, the main part nonetheless falls all at once in a precipitous resolution. | Should it happen that the 221
weather gets clear before it ends, which could be the case before or after rains happen, they are of a pure distillation. However, the cloud bursts have another star and *materia* of their own. It might also happen in this context that there is a wind and other things besides, depending on the nature of the *sulphur, sal,*

1 The German word "Röschinen" is a conjecture by Huser. See Grimm, "Rösch" (1), an adjective suggesting forceful or precipitous action and the associated sound, and (6) a mining term suggesting something crude or raw; Rösche (2), a noun implying a precipitous incline, slope, or ditch.

2 The athanor is a dome-shaped furnace for supplying constant low heat, often used to heat amalgams. See Newman 1983, 90.

3 The aludel is a cone-shaped vessel made of thick glass used for sublimation. See Newman 1983, 88.

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curius in jhnen die arth haben / die vngleich ist / in einem also / im andern anderst. Also verstandent den vrsprung der natürlichen nützen Regen / der Erden vnnd den Menschen / daß sie / wie gemelt ist / natürlich jhren vrsprung nemmen / vnnd also ordiniert vnd geschaffen in jhrer Prædestination / die Erden zu befeuchten. Nun seind andere Wind mehr / vnd andere Gewülcke / die nicht vom Regen seind / sondern trockener Natur. Wie dieselbigen sollen verstanden werden / folgt hernach. Was weitter mehr noht ist zu wissen von den Sternen / lehrnet die Astronomey / darumb ich sie hie in der *Meteorica* vnderlassen hab.

Nuh von dem trockenen Gewülcke wissent / das etliche Sternen auch seind / die nicht zum Regen vnnd Regenwindt geneigt seind / vnnd nicht seind von den Windtsternen / wol derselbigen Natur gleich : Aber es seind Particularische Windtsternen nit Vniuersalische / wie dann die Windsterne von den *Peroledis*. Dieselbigen Windtsternen sind schöne an der Farben / lautter / klar vnd hoch / vnd der Etherische Keller mag sie nit soluieren : dann vrsache / sie seind trocken wie ein dörre Holtz / das nimmer kein Wasser mag werden / vnd jhr arth seind schön / ring / leicht vnd lustig. Sie kommen von einem *sicco Sulphure, Sale* vnd *Mercurio*, in denn keine feuchte ist / darumb sie auch zur Feuchte nicht mögen gebracht werden. Auch dieselbigen Winde seind milte / lustig / angenehme / gesund / leicht dem Menschen : Dann sie werden wol temperiert / seind von guten dreyen Ersten der *Primæ materiæ*, erfrewen den Menschen vnd sein Blutt / vnnd was von jhnen kompt / das ist / was auß denn Sternen kompt / dasselbige ist wol digerirt vnd klar subtiliert. Wo aber grobe *Species* ligent der dreyen Ersten / als in den Regensternen vnd dergleichen / am selbigen orth werden auch grobe Wolcken / schwartz / finster / trübe vnd vngeschickt. Solchs ligt alles an der *Materia prima*. Darzu wissent auch / daß die Windtsternen auch
222 solche | arth in jhnen haben / aber kein Regen tragen sie nicht : wol die Complex vnd Eigenschafft / aber kein Gewülck geben sie nicht / darumb auch keinen Regen : Aber fürderung vnd hinderung wol / wie es dann genugsam erzehlt ist. So ist auch ein vortheil in den schönen Sternen / daß dieselbigen jhr Gewülcke schöne behalten : Dann die Sonne ist am selbigen orth durchscheinigt / scheint dardurch vnd subtilierts noch mehr : in den groben Regen Wolcken da mag sie nichts außrichten. Dann es ist ein gemein Sprichwort / das auß einem Rapp kein Falck werden mag[a] : Also der Sonnen auch nit möglich / auß solchem groben Gewächs ettwas reines zu bleichen. Also ist nuh die geburt deß schönen

a See also *Von den Blatern, Lähme, Beulen, Löcheren vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen* (H C:300b): "so ist es alles Ein Cur / die allein im Proceß vnd Administrierung / nach geschicklichkeit fürgesehen soll werden. Dann die Handt / oder dein Ingenium, mag durch Schreiben nicht dahin gebracht werden / das auß dir / so du ein **Rapp** werest / zu eim **Falcken** gebracht."

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and *mercurius* which is in them and not always the same, rather now of one kind, now of another. With this we can understand the origin of the natural rains useful to earth and human beings and arrayed and created in their predestination to moisten the earth. There are other winds in addition and other cloud formations which are not for rain but of a dry nature. How they are to be understood will follow here. The other things to be understood regarding the stars are taught by astronomy, for which reason I have omitted them here in the *Meteorica*.

Now you should know concerning the dry cloud formations that there are also stars that are not inclined to rain and rainstorm winds and are not from among the wind stars but have the same nature: but these are particular wind stars, not universal ones like those of the *peroledi*. These wind stars are beautiful, pure in color, clear and high up. The ethereal cellar cannot resolve them. For they are as dry as a dry piece of wood that can never again give off water. Their appearance is lovely, slight, light, and pleasant. They stem from a desiccated *sulphur, sal*, and *mercurius* in which there is nothing moist, which means that they cannot be induced to become moist. The attendant winds are mild, pleasant, healthy, and easy on the human being. For they are well-tempered from a good three principles of the *prima materia*. They refresh us and our blood, and what results from them, that is, from the stars, is finely digested and sublimated to the point of clarity. Where, however, there reside coarse *species* of the three principles as in the rain stars and the like, there arise coarse clouds, black, dark, dismal, and malformed. All this is a matter of the *materia prima*. You should be aware, too, that the wind stars also possess | a character of this 222
sort; but they do not bear rain; indeed, the complexion and property, but they do not yield any cloud formation and for that reason no rain. They may indeed further or hinder it, as has been sufficiently explained. There is also an advantage in the beautiful stars: they retain their cloud formations wonderfully. For when the sun shines through where they are, it shines through them and sublimates them all the more. In the coarse rain clouds, it cannot have this effect. There is the proverb: a raven cannot turn into a falcon. The sun cannot do this either. It cannot bleach such a coarse formation into something pure. That is

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Gewülcks vnd Windts / vom subtilen wolbereitten *Sulphure, Sale* vnd *Mercurio* mit hülff desselbigen *Vulcani*, der dergleichen ein *Præparator* ist zu solchen dingen / gantz vollkommen vnd gutt.

Nuhn weitter / wie jhr gehört habt / von dem Regenwetter : So wissent auch / das noch ettliche Zugäng seind / die auch den Regen vnnd solche Wetter verkünden / von welchem gesagt ist : Vnd dz nemlich in der gestalt. Man sagt / Morgenrötti / Abendtkötti / ist nun recht : dann vrsach / so ein Regenstern will angehen / vnd hatt in jhm ein *Sulphur* der zu grob ist / ein *Sal* das zu grob ist / deßgleichen ein *Mercurium*, vnnd solche gröbi ist allein ein Schaum : als dann so wirffts den Schaum auff in die höhi / der wird gleich wie ein Gewülck / vnd ist aber nit ein Gewulch / sondern ein Schaum vnd ein Dunst mit vielerley farben. Das Rotte kompt vom *Sulphure* vnd *Mercurio*, dz Blawe / Braun / Gelbe / vom Saltz / vnd dz Gelb ettlichs auch vom *Mercurio :* Vnd erzeigen sich nuhn in dem Morgen / auß vrsachen / daß sie die Sonne in der höhe nicht erleiden mögend / sondern sie zergehent an der Sonnen grad dahin / vnd jhre farben mögen vor der Sonnen schein nicht gesehen werden / wie dann der Mond auch / vnd andere Sternen mehr / die solche Farben noch baß haben. Nun so solche Sternen angehend / vnd es trifft sich also in ein Euaporation jhren Schaum der also gestalt wirdt / so gehend darnach die andern zubereittung hernach : Als das Gewülck / der Windt / der Regen / nach dem vnd derselbig Stern genaturt ist / ettwan schnell denselbigen tag / doch aber bald darnach : es sey dann ein Con-
223 cordantz da / von widerwertigen Planeten / | Mond vnd Windsternen / die es zerstörent : Aber selten erzeigen sie sich / es werd ettwas darauß / vnd lange Regen / dann da ist eine Viele der Sternen. Also sollent jhr nun wissen / das diß *Caput* der Regen vrsprung vnnd wesen gnugsam erklärt hatt mit sampt den andern *Capitibus* vnd *Paragraphis*. Vnd merckent / das da nichts ist als allein / daß die Sternen *Arbores* seind / die jre früchte geben / in solcher gestalt wie die auff Erden. Darumb / so sie zu beiden seitten Einer *Massa*, Einer *Prima materia* sind / darumb so fügent sie zusammen vnd nutzen einander. Wie der Mensch ist von der Erden / darumb so hangt er der Erden an / vnd muß von jhr die nahrung nemmen vnnd entpfahen. Also auch soll man mercken / das offtmals viel zeit nichts Regnet / darumb soll man nichts anders gedencken / dann das dieselbigen Sternen außgossen haben / vnd samlent ein anders : Vnd so die zeit kompt / so wirts alles erfüllt vnd erstatt auff Ein mal / dann da versaumpt sich nichts von oben herab : was auff die zeit nit kompt / das kompt auff ein andere zeit.

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how the emergence of the beautiful cloud formations and winds results from the subtle, well-processed *sulphur, sal*, and *mercurius* with the aid of the same *vulcanus* which is a *praeparator* of such things, quite perfect and good.

Now to continue with what you have just heard regarding rainy weather. Be aware, too, that there are some approaches that announce rain and such kinds of weather, about which people speak. Here is what is said: Red dawn, muddy evening.[1] This is true. If a rain star is about to go into action bearing a coarse *sulphur* in it, a *sal* that is too coarse, and the same kind of *mercurius*, where the coarseness is but a sort of foam, the latter is thrust up into the altitude to become like a cloud formation, but it is no such thing but rather a foam and haze with many colors. The red comes from *sulphur* and *mercurius;* the blue, brown, and yellow from salt; and the yellow often from *mercurius*. These can become manifest at dawn because they do not suffer the sunlight at its height but rather disappear in it straight away. Their colors cannot be seen because of the sunshine. So, too, with the moon and other stars that have these colors to an even greater degree. When the stars come into action and it also causes their foam to evaporate as it is emerging, then the other processes follow. Hence, the cloud formation, the wind, the rain, in accordance with the nature of the star, whether precipitously on the same day or soon thereafter. This will happen unless there is a concordance of opposing planets, | and of the moon 223
and the wind stars to disperse it. But this seldom happens. Something comes of it, and the rain lasts a long time, for there are a great many stars. Hence, you may be assured that this *caput*, together with the other *capita* and *paragraphi*, has sufficiently clarified the source and essence of rain. Do not fail to notice that all this results from the fact that the stars are *arbores* [trees] which yield their fruits in the same manner as those on the ground. For this reason, since they constitute the two components of a single *massa*, a single *prima materia*, they fit together and serve one another.[2] The human being is of the earth and therefore must adhere to it and take and receive nourishment from it. It often happens that it does not rain for a longer time. One can only conclude from this that those stars have poured out everything and are now accumulating more. When the time comes, it will all be fulfilled and carried out at once; for nothing is withheld from us from above. Whatever does not come at one time comes at another.

1 See Grimm, "köthen, bair": "1) kothig machen, mit koth, schlamm bedecken, auch überschwemmen [...] morgenröten thuet den tag köthen, macht kothig wetter."

2 Beyond the persistent mention of the stars as trees or fruits growing from the heavens, there is here an implicit correspondence between the rain stars as trees "yielding their fruits" upon earth and the trees growing and bearing fruits on earth thanks to the rain: another instance of the microcosm-macrocosm relationship.

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CAPVT VII.
DE CONGELATIONE.

Nuh sollend jhr wissen von den Congelaten / das ist / von dem Gefrornen / Schneewasser vnd was Schnees arth ist / das ist / von den dingen die den Winter machen. Vnnd am ersten merckend in der gemeine / daß auch nuhr *Arbores* seind / das ist / nur Sterne / auß denen sie kommen / dahin von Gott also geordnet : Darumb ist von nöhten / das dieselbigen Wintersternen / in jhren Wesen wol verstanden werden in jhren *Speciebus*, dann sie seind auch von der *Prima materia trium Primarum*, wie ich dann von den andern *Speciebus* geschrieben hab. So wissendt am ersten von dem anfang solcher Generation / das ettliche Sternen seind / dieselbigen sind widersinns der Sonnen : vnd darumb daß sie widersinns seind der Sonnen / so die Sonne von jrer Exaltation kompt / als im Winter / so abundieren die Wintersternen : deren ist ein *Species*, deren Natur ist / alles das die Sonne Resoluiert / das Coagulieren sie / das ist / sie machen
224 das Wasser alles in Eyß. | Nuhn ist jhre Krafft also : jhr secht wie Gott gescheiden hat von einander die Heittere vnd die Finsternuß / dz ist / Tag vnd Nacht : Jhr sehent auch wie Gott gescheiden hatt dz Heiß auff ein orth / das ist / die Sonne / darnach die Kälte auff ein ander orth / das ist nuhn der Winter Zirckel Also hatt die Hitze gewalt zu resoluieren / vnd die Kälte gewalt zu Coaguliren. Da sie nun bey einander gewesen seind Hitz vnnd Kelte / da ists weder heiß noch kalt gewesen : Aber die Göttliche Alchimisterey[a] hatts gescheiden / da seind die eigenschafft herfür gangen. Vnd wie die Hitze ist in der Sonnen vnnd jhren Sternen / also ist die Kälti auch in die Sternen beschlossen. Vnd da ist ein freyer Gang geben der Hitze jhrer Regierung / nach der zeit / der Kälte jhr Regiment auch nach der zeit / vnd beyden jhr *Terminus* gesetzt : Darauß dann folget / das ein jeglichs krefftig ist in seiner Krafft / sein *Officium*[b] zu vollbringen. Vnd wiewol ettwan zun zeiten die Kältin nit mag fürkommen / auß vrsachen / daß sie mit der Wärmi zufast angetast wirdt / ettwan nach dem Land vnd Constellation : Jedoch aber / so ist jhr gewalt nicht genommen : Dergleichen auch die Sonnen mag nit allen Schnee schmeltzen. Darumb ist von nöhten zu mercken / das auch der Kälte widerumb ein widerstand geschicht.

So wissent auch hierauff von der Kälti ein weittere vrsach : Beim Fewr ist gnugsam Exempel / daß der Sonnen Hitz erkennt mag werden / vnd was jhre wirckung ist. Aber der Kältin ist kein offentlich Exempel als das Fewr / als allein im Element Wasser / bey den Crystallen / vnnd andern Gesteinen / also in der

a The word occurs only once elsewhere, in a subtitle from *Von den natürlichen Dingen*: "Von dem Sulphur der Metallen / in die **Alchimisterey** zu brauchen" (H 7:181). The derogatory overtone of the word, noticed by Grimm as most frequent, is absent from these two occurrences.

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CAPVT VII.
DE CONGELATIONE.

Now you should be informed about the congelations, that is, about the frozen things, about snow water and whatever has the nature of snow, about the things made by winter. Here, too, note first of all in general that it is a matter of *arbores* [trees], that is, of stars from which such things come and to which end they have been directed by God. For this reason, we need to understand the winter stars in their essences and *species;* for they arise no less from the *prima materia trium primarum* [from the prime matter of the three principles], as I have written about other *species*. Make note first of all, as to the origin of their generation, that some of the stars in question are in opposition to the sun. Because of this opposition, when the sun returns from its exaltation, as is the case in the winter, they are abundant. There is a *species* of them that has it as its nature that everything the sun resolves is coagulated by them: they turn all water into ice. | 224
Now their force is such that you can see how it is that God separated the bright from the dark, that is, day from night. You can see furthermore how God separated off the heat into one place, namely the sun, and the cold to another place, namely the circle of winter. This is why the hot has the power to resolve and the cold to coagulate. When they were joined together, heat and cold, there existed neither hot nor cold. However, the divine alchemy separated them, whereupon such properties emerged.[1] Moreover, just as heat abides in the sun and its stars, cold was allocated to its own stars. Free reign was granted the heat in accordance with its time and to the cold in its time. Limits to both were set. It follows that either is powerful in its force to fulfill its *officium*. There are indeed times when cold cannot emerge because it is too close to warmth, depending on the land and constellation. Nevertheless, its power is not diminished. By the same token, the sun cannot melt all the snow. It must be noted that the cold likewise meets resistance.

Take note of an additional cause of cold. Fire offers a sufficient example for how we recognize the heat of the sun and its effect. Cold has no other manifest analog of fire except in the element of water in crystals and other stone formations. Here is how this shapes up. Crystals grow out of water. Their mate-

b On *Officium*, see above, note on H 8:186.

1 P.'s regression to a topic introduced at the beginning of the treatise suggests the importance of the elucidation of the creation, which he consistently interprets in alchemical terms.

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gestalt. Die Crystallen wachsen auß dem Wasser : Nuhn ist jhr *Materia* also / daß sie in jhnen selbst den Geist der Coagulation haben / darumb so werden sie Coaguliert : Wie von den Frigorischen vnd Glacieischen Sternen das Wasser. Darauff wissent nun / das zu gleicher weise / wie ein *Spiritus coagulationis* ist an dem orthe in den früchten deß Wassers : Also ist er auch in den Glacieischen Sternen. Vnnd so derselbige *Spiritus* kompt zu seiner zeit in dz Wasser / so Eiseters / Coagulierts. Vnd aber daß (es) kein bestand hat / ist die vrsache / das dasselbige Wasser nicht ein *Corpus* ist / das da soll Coaguliert sein / sondern soll Resoluiert sein / vnd sein Tinctur soll an dem orte nichts. Wo aber die *materia*
225 *Gemmarum* da were / vnd noch nit Coagulirt / | am selbigen orth würde es bald Coaguliert / mit vester vnnd bestendiger Coagulatz. Dz ist aber wol wahr / solte sein Exaltation[a] für vnd für *in Esse* bleiben / so würde das Eyß nit auffgethan / aber doch nit bestendig in der Tinctur der Crystallinischen arth. Diese Sternen der Glacieischen arth / die Regieren den Winter / es sey in dem Wasser / in Früchten / Erdtreich wo etwas ist / da ein Feuchte sein mag / da ist es der Congelation vnderworffen. Die andern Stern / Schnee vnd anders / ist nichts an dem orthe zum Winter so streng zu rechnen : Dann der Schnee ist deß Winters Regen / vnd zu der zeit bequemlich vnd nützlicher dann der Regen / darumb es Gott auch dermassen geschaffen hatt. Also verstandent nuhn von den Glacieischen Sternen / die den rechten Winter machen / daß sie den *Spiritum* haben *coagulationis* in allen *humiditatibus vndosis :* Vnd daß sie seind dermassen in *Sulphur* vnd *Sal*, vnd *Mercurium* gestellt / das nichts kälters sein mag dann sie seind. Also ist die heisseste *Prima materia* in die Sonne kommen / vnnd die kältiste *in Saturnum :* Wann der *Saturnus* ist der Kälti Sohn / vnd sampt den andern Windtsternen.

Nun merckent aber vom Jrrgang der Sternen / dz sich offtmals begibt / das ein Disconcordantz in jhnen sich zutregt / also / das offte die Wintersternen im Sommer auffsteigent / das ist / sie werden im Sommer zeittig vnd nit im Winter / versaumen sich in jhrem Gang der Arbeit / nit im Circkel Lauff / das ist / in *Cursu*. So nuhn im Sommer die zeit Zephyrisch / Borealisch ist / vnd der Mond mitstimpt auff die arth / vnnd die Sternen werden in der zeit fruchtbar : so fahren sie für / vnd erzeigen jhren Schnee im Sommer. So aber die zeit nicht also ist / das ist / der Mond wer nicht jhnen geneigt / es werend auch die Winde nit mithülfflich darzu / auch die Region wer zu nider / vnd die Constellation zu warm / so würde auß demselbigen Schnee ein Regen : dann die wärme vnter dem Stern im Lufft resoluierts in ein Wasser / vnd Distillirt sich in tropffs weiß herab / das ist / ein jeglicher Schneefunck gibt ein Tropffen. Dergleichen so gibt

a The alchemical terms *exaltation* and *tincture* are applicable both to the generation of disease and of weather: "Weiter aber wie die **Tinctur** fürfart / das ist / wie sie weiter fert / vnd kompt

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rial is such that they have within them the spirit of coagulation that causes this to take place, in the same way this is caused in the water of the frigorous and glacial stars. So, be advised that just as there is a *spiritus coagulationis* in a particular place in the fruits of water, so, too, in glacial stars. If in its time the spirit enters into the water, it ices over, coagulates. But there is no permanence in this because that water is not a *corpus* which should be coagulated; it should instead be resolved and its tincture should be ineffective in such a place. If, however, the *materia gemmarum* were present but not yet coagulated | in that place, it would soon develop in a firm and permanent way. It is 225
true, however, that if its exaltation should remain *in esse*, the ice would not be dissolved, yet it would still not be permanently in the tincture of the crystallized state. The stars of the glacial kind rule the winter, whether in the water, in fruit, in the earth, or what have you. Wherever moisture occurs it is subject to congelation. The other stars, snow and what have you, need not be taken so strictly into account for winter. Snow is the rain of winter; and in that season it is convenient and more useful than rain which is why God made it that way. It must be understood regarding the glacial stars that make the true winter, that they have within them the *spiritus coagulationis* in all their *humiditates undoses* [in all their conditions of agitated humidity]; and that they are arrayed in their *sulphur, sal*, and *mercurius* in such a way that nothing could be colder than they are. Thus the hottest *prima materia* went into the sun and the coldest into *Saturnus;* for the latter is the son of coldness along with the other winter stars.

Now note regarding the errant path of stars that it often comes about that a discordance occurs among them, so that not infrequently the winter stars ascend in summer: that is, their time comes in summer instead of winter. They are absent in their course of labor and are not in their circular path or *cursus*. Whenever in summer the weather becomes Zephyral or Borealic, modulating the moon likewise so that the stars become fruitful in this mode, these come to the fore and manifest their snow in the summer. If, however, the time is not in that mode and the moon is not inclined towards them and the winds do not assist in this and the altitude is too low and the constellation too warm, the snow transforms into rain. The warmth beneath the star resolves it in the air into water and it is distilled down in drops, whereby each snowflake yields one drop. In this regard, it often happens that it congeals in the height and cannot

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in jhr **Exaltation** / vnnd zu der Ultima Materia / wissent / daß sie Drey weg für sich nimpt : Den ersten in den Actum Venereum, also daß der Actus das Fewreisen sey vnd außschlecht / das ist nun das erste Fewr. Von dem Fewr / vnd von der Tinctur kommen noch zwo Proiection" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:143c).

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es sich offt / daß in der höhe ansetzen / do es so bald nit mag resoluiert werden / von wegen deß kalten Kellers : Aber so es der Erden nahet in die Nidere / so resoluiert es sich in Wasser. Also begibt sich auch / das Sommerstern / das
226 ist / Sommer Regenstern | im Winter zeittig werden vnnd herfür brechen : dieselbigen lassent sich nicht herauß / es sey dann / daß die Wintersternen im schwächisten seind / so fallen sie herab vnnd geben Sommer regen. Vnnd ob gleichwol die Glacieischen Sterne infallen / so mögen sie doch nichts Coaguliren im Fallen / allein im gefriren auff Erden. Dann das ist nicht an jhm selbst / das man sagt / daß der Regen von dem Winter in ein Schnee gestellt werde vnd geformiert : Dann vrsache / die Schneesterne habend jhren besonderen Baum / auß dem sie gehend / darumb so ist es nichts. Auch ob schon gleichwol ein gefröst do geschäch / so wirdt doch nichts darauß / dann ein gefroren Wasser / das dann der Schnee nicht ist : Er ist ein Schnee auß seiner Mutter kommen / vnd ist nie kein Wasser gewesen. Also verstandent nuhn von dem herkommen deß Jrregangs im gewächse der Sternen / beyder seitten / im Sommer vnd im Winter. Wo aber solche Jrregäng nicht seind noch geschehen / am selbigen orth werden die Winter beim keltisten / vnd der Sommer beim heissesten : Das ich auff diß mal fallen lasse / vnd befilchs den *Astronomis*.

Nuhn ist noch ein andere arth / von den Wintersternen / also / daß sie *Grandines*[a] geben vnd *Gemmas*, vnd seind nit Schnee / sondern Coagulierte Wasser / vnd seind doch auch nie Wasser gewesen in jhr ersten *Materia* also geboren. So habend dieselbigen Sterne ein sonderen Zirckel zu gohn / vnd seind dermassen Sternen / daß sie Sommer vnd Winter in allen vier zeitten deß Jahrs / vnangesehn Landts Arth / Natur / Constellation / Mond / Windsterne / jhr *Grandines* vnd *Gemmas* geben. Zu den zeiten deß Schnees im Winter kommen sie nicht / noch in keinem gemelten Regen / wie obgemelt seind im vorgehenden *Caput* / sondern / sie kommen nuhr Sommers vnnd Winters zeitten / so sie Kälte vnnd Wind haben von jhnen selbst / vnnd das jhn sonst kein ander *Contrarium* nicht zustandt : Dann jhr Generation mag nit geschehen in lindem / senfftem / miltem Wetter / sondern / allein im rauhen Wetter / vnd zu rauhen zeitten / es sey dann im Sommer oder Winther. Wiewol die *Gemmæ* vnd *Grandines* mit dem Fallen ein vnderscheid haben / nemlich / daß die *Grandines* am meristen fallen / im Aprillen / Mertzen / im außgang der Schnee / oder in der zeit / daß die Schneesterne nicht milt standen / oder zu andern zeitten im Jahr / bedorff-
227 fen | nicht einer härten zeitt / sondern mögens wol außrichten zu den zeitten der milten Wetter. Aber die *Gemmæ* die kommen nit / als allein mit vnstümmigkeit / vnnd verderben die zeit / die sonst gut were / vnnd vberbochens alles

a The meteorological hail stones and their pathological equivalent embody the same celestial influences: "Vnd ob andere vnzeitige impressiones anfilend / die beflecken das Corpus nit /

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quickly be resolved in the cold cellar, but as it approaches the earth, it is resolved to water. A summer star or summer rain is present | which has its day and 226
emerges in the winter. These do not emerge unless the winter stars are at their weakest. Then the precipitation yields summer rain. And even if the glacial stars interfere, there can be no coagulation in the precipitation, only a freezing on the surface of the earth. For it is not strictly accurate when people assert that winter transforms rain into snow. The snow stars sprout from their particular tree so that what they say is not correct. Even if a frost should occur, nothing comes of it but a frozen water which is not snow. It is a snow that comes from its mother and has never been water. This is how it is with the errant paths in the growth of the stars both in summer and winter. Wherever such errant paths do not prevail or happen, the summers are hottest and the winters coldest. I will leave this topic, commending it to the *astronomi*.

But now there is another nature with the winter stars. It is such that they yield *grandines* [hail stones] and *gemmae*. These are not snow but rather coagulated water; and they likewise were never just water, having come into being as such in their first *materia*. Such stars are bound to a particular orbit; they are stars of a kind that yield their *grandines* and *gemmae* in summer or winter, in all four seasons of the year, in any land, any nature, constellation, moon, or under any winter stars. They do not come in time of winter snow, nor in any rain of the kind described in the previous *caput* [chapter]; rather they come only in times of summer and winter in which they have cold and wind of their own, and in which no other *contrarium* opposes them. For their generation cannot occur in gentle, soft, mild weather but only in the raw kind, in times likewise harsh, whether in summer or winter. There is, however, a difference in the descent of *gemmae* and *grandines:* the latter fall more often in April, March, at the start of snow, or when snow stars are arrayed for mildness, or in other times of the year. They don't require | a harsher time; but rather can raise it up in the times 227
of mild weather. But the *gemmae* do not come unless it is with violence. They spoil a time which is otherwise good and roughen everything that is mild. And

als so **Grandines**, Ros, Pruina, angiengen / das gehet wider hin / wie es kommen ist. Wo aber auß dem Astrischen Element ein Generation gleich den Crystallen oder Berillen beschehe / die würd fix / vnd würd nicht vertriben / es werde dann die Coagulatio zerbrochen in ein solche Resolvierung / das sie nicht weiter zu einer Coagulation zu bringen wer" (*Von den Blatern* [...] *vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen*—H C:270b).

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was milte ist. Vnd wiewol die *Gemmæ* minder dann die *Grandines* für Wintersternen geacht werden / auß der vrsachen / daß sie mehr im Sommer kommen dann im Winter : So ist doch jhre *generatio* von der Winterischen Natur / darumb sie in die Glacieische arth gerechnet werden. Darumb so folget hernach jhre geberung vnd *prima materia* auß den sie werden / vnd in was wege sie also geordnet seind / worzu auch sie gutt seind : Dann jhr ansehen ist gar wider der Elementen begeren.

Nuhn ist der Gemmischen arth also gleich wie vormals / ein eingeleibte Natur vnnd Eigenschafft auß dem *Sulphure, Sale* vnd *Mercurio*, die dann in jhrer arth gescheiden seind von aller Hitze : vnnd da ist alleine die Kälti / wie in einer Kolen allein die Schwertze / die andern farben seind alle hinweg. So sie nun dermassen seind in jhrer zeittigung / wie dann von andern Sternen Wesen vnd Arth angezeigt ist : So sie nuhn also in der Decoction sind / so seind sie Contrary gegen einander. Dann der *Vulcanus* kan den *Sulphur*, vnd *Nitrum*, vnd *Mercurium* nicht in Eins vergleichen ohne einen grossen *impetum*, vnd groß brodlen vnd Windt. Dann biß sie zusammen Vniert werden in jhrem *Aludel*, vnd werden in jhr Perfection geordnet / verzeucht sich ein zeit / vnd in der zeit fallen kalte vnd böse Wetter an / dann sie geben von Erden[a] ein Kälti von jnen / daß sie bey solcher Kälte wol erkennet mögen werden / wiewol sie auch lenger vnd behender geboren werden. So nemment euch ein Exempel bey dem : So ein kalter *Sulphur* der Naß ist / ein kalter Salpeter der Feist ist / vnnd ein *Mercurius* der Milt ist / zusammen in Ein Mixtur genommen wirdt / vnnd die drey sollen zusammen in Ein *Corpus* gehen / also / daß da nichts anderst sey dann *Vnitas :* So seind sie im anfang so Contrary / daß lang bedarff biß sie in einander kommen / mit Sausen / Brodlen / Donnern vnnd dergleichen Vnstümmigkeit. Also ist auch im Himmel in solchen Sternen / das dieselbigen noch mehr vnnd höher an der Arth seindt / dann das Jrrdische : Darumb auch vngestümmiger
228 jhr wesen vnnd erzeigen. So sie nuhn inn die | Perfection gehend / so scheidt sich do zwo arth von einander / die [ein] in *Coagulatum*, darauß werden *Gemmae :* Das ander in das *Resolutum*, darauß wirdt ein Regen. Vnd zu dem bey beyden ein eigner Windt / Kälti / vnnd Vngestümmigkeit. Also wirffts der Stern auß in den Keller deß Luffts / im selbigen resoluiert sich der eine theil / vnd gehet in Regensweiß auff die Erden / der ander theil Coaguliert sich / dann er hatt *Vulcanum coagulationis* in jhm / vnd macht dasselbige *Corpus*, das nicht in die Resolution gehet / in Kuglen / groß vnd noch grösser / darnach die *Materia* groß ist / darauß wird nun ein Hagel.

a Huser added a variant reading in the margin: "von Ersten."

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even though the *gemmae* are thought of less than the *grandines* as products of the winter stars because they occur more often in summer than in winter, nonetheless their *generatio* is of wintry nature, for which reason they are attributed to the glacial kind. Hence, their emergence and *prima materia* will follow here, as to what they come from and how they are arrayed and what they are good for, for their appearance runs contrary to the inclination of the elements.

The gemlike kind is like the afore described kind: an embodied nature and property from *sulphur, sal,* and *mercurius* which in its kind is separated from everything pertaining to warmth. What remains is nothing but cold, just as in coal there is only black, all other colors having been removed. Now, since they proceed in their ripening as has been shown by the essence and nature of other stars, when they are in the process of decoction, their contraries act against one another. For the *vulcanus* cannot harmonize the *sulphur, nitrum*, and *mercurius* without a great *impetus*, a great turbulence and wind. For it takes time before they are united in their *aludel* and brought to perfection. In that interval, cold and malicious weather may come about, for they give off from the earth[1] a cold. This coldness is their distinguishing mark, whether they are formed slowly or rapidly. Take note of this instance. If an admixture contains a cold *sulphur* which is moist, a cold saltpeter which is fat, and a *mercurius* which is mild—if these three are to pass into a single *corpus* becoming a pure *unitas*, they will nonetheless at first be so contrary that this process will take quite a while and entail hissing, stewing, thunder, and violence. So it is, too, in the heavens with stars of this kind: they are more numerous and higher than on earth and for this reason more violent in essence and manifestation. When they reach a | state of perfection, the two different natures 228
part ways, one going into *coagulation*, resulting in *gemmae*, the other into *resolutum*, resulting in rain. Both are accompanied by wind, cold, and violence. Thus, the star is cast out into the cellar of the air in which a part is resolved and falls as rain onto the earth. The other part coagulates. It bears *vulcanus coagulationis* within it and it constitutes that which is not resolved into balls, large and still larger, depending on the size of the *materia*, thereby resulting in hail.

1 Although Huser offers a variant reading: "von Ersten" instead of "von Erden," the latter seems to fit much better.

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Also auch wissent von dem Rißlen / dz ist / von *Grandinibus*, die werden auch also : Ettwan mit einem Regen / ettwan nicht. Ist es mit eim Regen / so gehet es gleich zu / wie oben gesagt ist : geht es aber in *Grandines*, so ist es gleich den gemelten *Gemmis :* als allein das nit solcher *impetus* da ist. Dann derselbige kalte *Sulphur, Mercurius*, vnnd *Sal*, seind dermassen nicht so grob vnd so hoch in *impetu* gradiert. Wiewol sie Wind geben vnd Kälti / jedoch aber nicht mit solcher arth als die *Gemmæ*. Nuhn seind sonst in solchen Sternen alle mal zwo arth / Regen vnd Steinli / wie gemeldt ist : das ist so viel / sie haben ein Zwilling arth an jhn / eine den Winter / die ander den Sommer : Das ist / von wegen deß Regens seind sie Sommersterne / von wegen der Coagulation Wintersternen. Vnnd haben auch jhren besondern Gang für andern Sternen / im Winter oder im Sommer sich zu erzeigen. Vnd wiewol dz ist / daß sie sich in dem auch scheiden. Was Coaguliert ist / das hatt ein Sommerlichen *impetum*, dann Sommer *tempestates* seind Wüterich : Was im Winter ist / sind milte vnd süsse / als der Schnee / darumb so haben sie einen *Spiritum* vnd ein *Materiam primam* von der Sommer arth / vnd einen von der Winter arth / in arbeiten durch jren *Vulcanum*, jhr sachen : Seind als *Hermaphroditae*,[a] schlahen in beyde arth / jetzt mögents Winterisch sein / dann Sommerisch. Vnnd da stehent zwey Contrarii bey einander in Einem Corpus / das nicht sonst in keim wege sein mag / als allein in *Hermaphroditis*. Dann ein jeglicher Hermaphrodit der Perfect geboren wird / der ist zu beyden seitten geschickt. Also seind auch die obern Generationen / Hagel vnd Schawer / dergleichen / von beyden Wettern geboren / vnd
229 also beyde arth an jhn. Auch wie ein | Maulesel / der weder Esel noch Roß ist / sondern sein selbst. Dann was Kalt ist / dz soll keinen Donner in jhm haben / auch kein *Impetum :* Was aber in der Hitze stehet / das hatts. Also sind zwen Contrarii / vnd arbeitten einhelliglich mit einander verbunden.

Die Geburt deß Schnees / ist allein ein geordnet Geschöpfft von Gott / der also will in seinen Wercken mancherley vnd vielfaltig gesehen werden. Vnnd ist nichts mehr vom selbigen zuschreiben / als allein / das Gott auch solche *Arbores*, die Sterne seind / in das Firmament geschaffen hatt / das sie zu jhren zeitten den Schnee geben. Nuhn seindt sie auß der *Prima Materia* der drey Ersten / von Kaltten dreyen Ersten / auff die Winter Arth gericht / in der gestalt / das sie in jhnen selbst auch bereitt werden in jhr Decoction durch den Etherischen *Vulcanum :* Als wol als die zeit da muß sein in dem Jrrdischen *Vulcano*, zu geben seine Frücht gegen dem Herbst. Dann alle ding seind vnderscheidt-

a P. is certainly aware of hermaphroditic births: "Aber / als dann selten geschicht / so mercken / daß sich begibt die Geburt **Hermaphroditorum**, die Fraw vnd Mann sind" (*Das Buch von der Geberung der Empfindlichen dingen in der Vernunfft*—H 1:352); however, more pervasive is his notion of gendered maladies and medicines: "Wirdt sie dem Mann braucht / so

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Be aware also of sleet, that is, *grandines*. These result as follows. Sometimes there is rain, sometimes not. If the former case, it comes about as with the afore mentioned. But if it passes into *grandines*, this happens as with the afore described *gemmae*, the only difference being that the *impetus* is not forthcoming. For in this case, the *sulphur, mercurius*, and *sal* are not as coarse nor as highly calibrated in *impetus*. They yield wind and cold, but not in the same way as the *gemmae*. Now, in such stars there are indeed two natures, rain and stones, as has been described. This means in effect that they have a twin nature, one winter, the other summer. In terms of the rain they are summer stars; in terms of coagulation winter stars. They have their special course before other stars, manifesting themselves in the winter or summer. However, here, too, there is a distinction. What becomes coagulated still bears a summery *impetus*. For summer *tempestates* are fierce. What is wintry is mild and sweet like the snow, for which reason they bear a *spiritus* and *prima materia* of a summery kind as well as of a wintry kind when they are processing their things through their *vulcanus*. Thus, they are *hermaphrodites*, acting in accordance with either nature, now wintry, now summery. Hence, two contraries are united in a single corpus which cannot otherwise come about, only in the *hermaphrodites*. Every hermaphrodite which is born with such a complete nature is adept in both directions. So it is that the upper generations, hail, showers, and things of the kind, emerge from both kinds of weather and bear both within them. It is like | 229
a mule which is neither a donkey nor a horse but rather its own kind. For whatever is cold should have no thunder in it and no *impetus;* what abides in heat does. Thus, there are two contraries working in harmony and bound together.

The generation of snow is an ordered creation of God who intends that his works should be revealed as manifold and varied. Nothing more needs to be written about it except that God placed the *arbores* which are the stars into the firmament so that in their time they would yield snow. Now they are of the *prima materia* of the three principles, those of a cold nature that is directed toward the winters. They are this in such a way that internally they are processed into their decoction by the ethereal *vulcanus*. The time must also be ripe in the earthly *vulcanus* to yield its fruits toward fall. For all things are in their different ways directed toward a single order. The action of the three is such that

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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" (*De Matrice*—H 1:213). In the same work, this line of reasoning leads to speculation about whether the *Prima Materia* was hermaphroditic (H 1:218); and in the pseudo-Paracelsian *Aurora Philosophorum* to the suggestive term for the "warhafftige **Hermaphroditische** Adam" (H CA:89a).

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lich in ein Ordnung gesetzt. Nuhn ist die Wirckung also / das die drey Ersten in eins Regen gestalt außwerffen jhr Schneegewülcke : Aber so sie kommen / so mag der Keller deß Luffts sie nicht Corrumpieren / sondern er ist zu kaltt vnd drucken / lest sie in jhrem Wesen bleiben : Darumb / so bald sie für den Stern herauß kommen / im selbigen so Granulieren vnd Guttieren sie sich in Funcken / das ist / in Schneefuncken / vnnd fliegen auff die Erden / denn sie haben eine milte Arth vnnd ein senffti an jhnen. So begibt sich offte auch / das Regen vnd Schnee mit einander fallen : Doch nicht von Regensternen / sondern / das der Schnee so mildt ist / vnnd subtil / das sich etlicher theil Resoluiert in Wasser / etlicher bleibt / vnnd also durcheinander herab fallen. Dermassen begibt es sich auch / das offtemahls ein Wind vorgehet : Auß vrsachen / das etwann *Grandinis* Sternen da seindt / die nicht gar auff Grandinische Arth seindt / sondern etwann Schnee Arth an jhnen auch / also. So dieselbigen angehendt / so geben sie ein Wind vnnd ein vnfletigen Vorzug / demnach Rißlen vnd Schnee hernach : Ist ein besondere Arth / die nicht Grandinisch oder Gemmisch seindt noch Schnee / sondern von beyder Arth ein sonderliche vermischung. Darumb sollen wir wissen / so offt ein besondere Arth sich erzeigt /
230 das so offte ein besondere Natur vnd andere Stern | dasselbige thut vnnd gibet : Dann der *Species* seindt viel / die Gott also verordnet hatt.

Nuhn weither so wissendt auch / das sich offtmahls begibt im Sommer / auch im Winter ein solch gewaltig *Contrarium*,[a] dz im Winter solche *Operationes* offtmahls so streng angehendt nach Sommerischer arth / das sie Himmlitzen vnd Donnern / vnd Haglen / vnnd nichts dester minder Schnee vnnd Regen mitlauffen. Darinne wissend / das solche Sternen auch eine besonder arth ist / die nicht anderst mögen sein / als wie sie sich erzeigen / haben mehr Hermaphroditische arth vom Sommer dann vom Winter / vnnd vom Winter den mindern theil : Seindt gleich wie im Sommer / himmlitzen sie auch / vnd nichts dester minder werffen sie Steine / das eine Schnee arth ist. Solches *Compositum* ist von einem kaltten vnd heissen *Sulphure, Sale*, vnd *Mercurio*, beyde da vnder einander vermischet / vnnd müssen do durch den *Vulcanum* vniert werden. Nuhn ist es dem Menschen nicht möglich / dz er in solchem auff den Grund kommen möge / also / das er solche *Contraria* auch möchte machen : Dann er ist mit seinen *Naturalibus* Jrrdisch / Wasserisch versorget / nicht von den obern *Speciebus* deß Firmaments / sonst würde ers auch mögen thun. Darumb ist keim müglich ein ding zu thun / ohn denselbigen Werckzeug / der das gibt vnd geben mag / das es werden soll. Also arbeitt der Himmel do ein besonders / vnnd macht eine ander arth / dann in den andern Elementen müglich ist. Wann Gott hatt einem

a *Contrarium* for P. can mean simply contrary or systematically contrary, as male and female; or it can mean contrary in that a unification produces an unnatural disease such as syphi-

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they emit in rain their snowy cloud formation. But upon their arrival, the cellar of the air cannot corrupt them. It is too cold and dry and lets them remain in their essence. Hence, as soon as they emerge before the star, they granulate and make themselves into drops in sparks or in snowflakes, floating onto the earth. For they are of a mild nature and have a gentleness to them. Thus, it also often happens that rain and snow fall together. Yet this does not result from rain stars. The snow is so mild and subtle that a part of it resolves itself to water while another part remains, and they precipitate mixed together. It also often occurs that this is preceded by wind. This happens perchance because a *grandines* star is present which is not inclined solely to that nature but has a snowy nature as well. When these come into action, they yield a wind and a disruptive advance storm followed by sleet and snow. There is a particular nature which is neither grandinous nor gemlike nor snowy but rather a mixture. We should therefore bear in mind that whenever a peculiar kind occurs, there may well be a peculiar nature and different star | which effects and yields these things. For 230
God has prescribed many *species* of things.

Let it be noted, too, that it often happens in summer as well as winter that such a powerful *contrarium* arises that such operations in winter begin as violently as is their wont in summer, so that they are accompanied by lightning, thunder, and hail as well as snow and rain. Know in this context that these stars are of a particular kind which can act no differently than they do. They have more of their hermaphroditic nature from summer than from winter, from the latter less. Likewise, in summer they cause lightning yet cast stones which are in the nature of snow. This *compositum* is from a cold as well as a hot *sulphur, sal*, and *mercurius*, both present and mixed, to be united by the *vulcanus*. The human being is not able to get to the bottom of this; nor can one constitute such *contraria*. For the human being is in his *naturales* earthly and aqueously equipped and not with the upper *species* of the firmament. If he were, perhaps he could make such things. For this reason, no one can do anything without the tool for yielding and making it come into being. The heavens work toward an end and make a distinct nature other than what is possible in the other

lis: "so werden sie vereinigt durch den Frantzösischen Vulcanum in ein solche vereinigung / daß Ein kranckheit darauß wirdt / die männiglichen zuschaffen genug gibt / vnd geben hat. Vnd ob es nicht wirdt ein natürlich Wesen / so wirds noch ein **Contrarium** der Natur / das ist ein Wesen / in das sich eigentlich niemandt verrichten kan / noch grundtlich außzunemmen. Also ist sein Wesen [...] alles Contrarium, die Kranckheit jhr selbst / dem Krancken auch / dem Artzt auch / der Artzney auch / in allen Contrarijs : Vnd ist gleich als wenn man Zucker vnd Entian mit einander praeparirt / da wird nichts als ein Contrarium" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:140a).

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jedlichen Element sein Affliction geben : Also / das ein jedlichs für sich selbst sorge / vnnd nicht für das ander. Also werden die Wunderwerck Gottes gesehen / die er wunderbarlich eröffnet vnd anzeigt / die sich auch täglich in allen Elementen / Sommer vnnd Winter / vnd in allen Stunden beweisen. Darauff merckent / das die Beschreibung / warumb vnd wie ein Schnee / warumb vnd wie ein Hagel / nicht noth ist zuwissen / dann wie geschrieben ist : Also hatts Gott geschaffen / daß das darauß werden / dem Menschen nicht zuwissen / allein was der Mensch macht / das mag er wissen / wie vnd wanne.

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elements. God provided every element with its own affliction, so that each would take care of itself and not of the other. So do the wondrous works of God become visible that he has revealed and made manifest to occur daily in all the elements, demonstrated summer and winter and at all hours. Take note that the account of how and why snow or hail comes about need not be known. For as is written: God has created it all so that the human being cannot comprehend it. Man can only understand the how and when of what he himself has made.

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CAP. VIII.
DE FVLGVRE.

Nuhn merckendt weither von dieser Action deß Firmaments : Als nemlich vom Strall / welches dz grössest vnd stärckeste Werck ist deß Firmaments / vnder allen andern *Actionibus Meteoricis*. Dann so sich das Firmament in dem Puncten nicht ließ mercken sichtiglich vnd wesentlich / es were nicht müglich zuglauben / das in der Natur deß Firmaments ein solche Krafft zu sein vermeint möcht werden : So gar wunderbarlich vber allen verstand / doch nicht vber die Natur / sondern in der Natur : Aber dem Menschen groß zu betrachten. Dann Probiert sich Augenscheinlich / das Gott *Sulphur, Sal, Mercurium*, ins Firmament gestalt hatt / darauß alle ding *Materialiter* geboren werden. Nuhn / wiewol solche arth auch ist von den Meteorischen *Actionibus*, jedoch so ists gescheiden von den andern allen. Vnd seindt besondere Sternen / die in die arth geneigt seindt : Allein Fewrsternen / vnd in der Zahl der Sommersternen : Aber so viel stärcker / so viel vnd sie sich erzeigen. Dann etliche Sternen seindt im Ersten Grad / andere im andern / im dritten / etc. biß hin auff 32. Grad[a] : In diesen 32. Graden stahndt die Strallsternen / so hoch gradiert in jhren *Primis tribus Prima Materia*. Darbey ist aber auch zu mercken / dz sie vnder jhn auch haben / die da jrre werden vnnd verzogen in jhrer Operation / oder zu frue zeittig / das sie etwann auch im Winter kommen. Jedoch wann sie kommen / so ist ein solcher *Impetus* da / also / dz sie weder vmb Zeit / Mond / Windsternen / etc. nichts fragen / es bricht durch. Vnd jhr Zeichen jhres Eingangs seind grosse Hitz / die Vorbotten seindt : Welche Hitz allein kommt auß jhrer Decoction vnd bereittung / schnelle oder langsam : Wie es sich *in Materia Prima* durch den *Vulcanum* bereitt vnnd gefunden wirdt. In diesen Stralischen Sternen ist der *Sulphur* im höchsten Grade / der Salpeter in der höhesten Feiste / der *Mercurius* inn der höchsten Contrarietet : Dann der *Sulphur* ist das *Corpus, Nitrum*
232 ist der *Spiritus*, vnnd *Mercurius* ist *Contrarium* in sie beyde / also / scherpffer | dann der *Nitrum*, vnnd gewaltiger dann *Sulphur :* Von den Dreyen wird der Donner / Strall / Wetter / daß dz aller grössest ist deß gantzen Firmaments.

a The 32nd degree is an especially high degree of potency achieved in the *Herbarius* by adding certain herbs to water; however, elsewhere, the 24th degree seems to embody perfection (following the standard model of carats used for gold and silver). The method of calibration is not made clear: "Dann also hoch bringt sich das Wasser / mit solchen *Additionibus*, das mehr domit geheilt wirdt / dann alle Syrupen / Purgatzen / vnnd Artzney auß der Apotecken nimmermehr vergleichen / noch hinzu kommen mögen. Dann sie alle bleiben nur im vierten **Gradt** / höher mögens nicht auffsteigen : Da aber biß in den 24. vnd **32. Grad** wirdts hinauff bracht : Das mag die kranckheiten vbertreffen / vnd mit gewalt nötigen zur gesundtheit" (H 7:86).

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CAP. VIII.
DE FVLGVRE.
[Chap. VIII. On Lightning Bolt][1]

231

Now, proceeding on, take note of this action of the firmament, that of the lightning bolt, the greatest and most powerful work of the firmament among all the *actiones meteorices*.[2] For if the firmament were not to announce itself in this point so visibly and so substantially, one could not possibly believe that it had such power in its nature, so marvelous beyond all understanding, and yet not beyond nature, but rather in nature, for the deep contemplation of the human being. For it is manifestly shown that God has fashioned *sulphur, sal*, and *mercurius* into the shape of the firmament, out of which all things are born *materialiter*. Such an effect results also from the meteoric *actiones*, but it stands apart from all other such phenomena. There are peculiar stars inclined to it: only the fire stars. Although their number is equal to that of the summer stars; yet so much more powerfully do they manifest themselves. Some stars are of the first degree, others of the second or the third, and so on to the thirty-second degree. In these thirty-two degrees the lightning stars are arrayed; they are highly potent in the *prima materia* of the *tria prima*. It should be noted, however, that among them are some that go astray and fail in their operation or reach fruition too soon, arriving perchance in winter. In any event, when they do arrive, there is such an *impetus* that they are not affected by time, moon phase, winter stars, or the like. None of that matters: they break through. The symptom of their arrival is a great heat as their herald. This heat is only caused by their decoction and processing, whether it is fast or slow in the way in which the *vulcanus* finds and prepares it. In these lightning stars, the *sulphur* is of the highest degree; the saltpeter is the fattiest; and the *mercurius* of greatest contrariety.[3] The *sulphur* is their *corpus, nitrum* the *spiritus;* and *mercurius* is *contrarius* to the two, | stronger than the *nitrum*, more powerful than the 232
sulphur. From the three, result thunder, lightning, and bad weather, the greatest in the entire firmament.

1 This chapter may be compared with its counterparts in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:80–83). See its possible origin below, H 8:428.

2 On this chapter see our introduction, on 33.

3 The idea that mercury has a nature adverse to the other principles is specific to *De Meteoris*. It is found again only in one of *De Thermis Fünff Fragmenta* (H 7:437): "Also nemmen ein Exempel an Büchsenpuluer das do knalt / auß gewalt der Contrarietet *Mercurij* vnd *Sulphuris*, oder *Nitri* vnnd *s.s.*"

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So nuhn die zeit dieser Generation sich Autumniert / vnnd will zeittig werden / so ist das *Compositum, Sulphur, Sal*, vnnd *Mercurius*, wie gesagt ist / in aller jhrer höchsten Särcke vnnd Krafft. So sie nuhn bey einander seindt / so greiffts der *Vulcanus* an zu Præparieren *in Vltimam Materiam*, das ist / in den Stral : Vnnd im selbigen anfahen so gehet das Werck in sein Augment / vnd mehrent sich die *Gradus* deß Fewrs auff dz höchste einander nach. Die mehrung dieser Fewrischen *Gradus*, mehret die Hitze deß Sommers / also das der Sommer mehr Heiß wirdt / dann er an jhm selbst natürlich sein soll / steigt hinauff auff das höchste / so lang biß die Præparation durch den *Vulcanum* geschicht. Etwann gibt es sich / dz die *Materia Prima* nicht zum endt kommt / vnnd zergehet : Also lest darnach die vbrige Hitze auch nach : Etwann wirdt ein klein Wetter darauß / das ist wie ein gemeiner Regen / lest aber also nach. Etwann verzeucht es sich / dz mit der langen zeitt allemahl ein wenig daruon kommt / vnd nicht zusammen in Ein kluppen kommt. Etwann zergehet auß den *tribus Primis* das Eine / das nicht Perfect ist / wirdt aber nichts darauß. Etwann stoßt es sich an ein Birg / oder fallt zu früe ein Windsternen ein / der es erkält / daß aber im Lufftkeller nicht mag vollendt werden. Etwann gehet es in ein Gewülcke / vnnd thut dergleichen / vnd mag nicht : Vrsache / der *Nitrum* vnnd *Mercurius* seindt nicht genugsam in jhrer Tyrannitet / wirdt aber nichts darauß. Wo aber solche Hindernuß nicht sein / sondern der Fürgang ist da / da erzeiget die Natur jhre *Species* vnnd *Materias Firmamenti*, was *Subiecta* sie habe / was da sey das sie gewaltigt : Also ist da die zusammen setzung dieser Stralischen geberung / die höchsten Grad der Dreyen / wie gemeldt / ein jedlichs auff das Tyrannischste vnnd Gewaltigist. So ist der Salniter am gewaltigsten / so er lebt in der Feiste / dann seine Feiste ist sein Tyrannitet. Also der *Mercurius* in seiner Contrarietet / also das er wider alles ist / vnd in allen böser dann anderst widerwertig : Vnd der *Sulphur* ist das zeheste / subtileste *Corpus*, vermischet mit den andern in ein vollkommene Substantz.

233 Wie nuhn gemelt ist von den dingen deß Stralls / darauß er wirdt : So merckend jetzund / wie er wirdt. So nemmen euch ein Jrrdisch Exempel / das euch nicht betreugt / sondern billich ist zuverstehen durch das Jrrdisch dz Obriste im Himmel / nemlich also. Nemment ein Jrrdischen *Sulphur*, ein Jrrdisch *Salnitrum*, ein Jrrdischen *Mercurium*, vnnd die drey bringendt durch Kunst in ein *Corpus*, so werden jhr nach Jrrdischer Arth ein wunderbarlichen *Impetum* finden / in der Jrrdischen Natur / die nuhn nichts ist gegen dem Firmamentischen : Als dann beweisen die Büxen vnd Büxenpuluer / ein gnugsammes Exempel / das euch nicht zuverwerffen ist. Also wissend nuhn / das oben im Himmel dergleichen genommen wirdt von den *Superis, id est, Magistris*, der Etherisch *Sulphur*, der Etherisch Salniter / der Etherisch *Mercurius*, vnnd zusammen *in Aludel*, das ist / in seinen Sternen / vnnd da bereitten sie die stücke durch ein-

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When the time of this generation reaches its autumnal harvest and is about to become ripe, the *compositum, sulphur, sal*, and *mercurius*, is, as has been said, at its highest potency and strength. Now that they are together, the *vulcanus* has at them to process them to their *ultima materia*, into lightning. When this begins, the work of processing goes into augmenting mode and the *gradus* of the fire are heightened in succession to the ultimate degree. The magnification of these fiery *gradus* increases the heat of the summer so that it gets hotter than it is naturally, reaching the maximum as long as the process is actuated by the *vulcanus*. Sometimes it happens that the *materia prima* does not come to an end and passes away so that the remaining heat dissipates. Sometimes a minor storm results, like a common rain that then lets up. Sometimes it shifts so that over the long interval only a little bit results, instead of acting as in one solid mass. Sometimes one of the *tria prima* departs because it is not perfect; and nothing comes of it all. Sometimes it collides with a mountain; or a wind star enters into it too early, cooling it down, so that the process cannot be completed in the aerial cellar. Sometimes it passes into a cloud to this purpose, but it cannot come about because the *nitrum* and *mercurius* are insufficient in their tyranny and nothing comes of it. But whenever none of these obstacles gets in the way, and instead the process progresses, nature manifests its *species* and *materiae firmamenti*, revealing what sort of *subjecta* it possesses and what makes it powerful. This is how the composition and emergence of lightning come about: it is in the highest degree of the three, as has been indicated, whereby each acts in its most tyrannical and violent form. When the salniter is at its most violent, it thrives in its fatness for its very fatness is its tyranny. So it is, too, with *mercurius* in its contrariety: it is against everything and in all things it is more malevolent than anything else. And the *sulphur* is the most hardened, subtlest *corpus*, mixed with the others to form a perfected substance. | 233

Now that we have reported on the things that make up the flash when it comes into being, let us discuss now how it comes into being. Consider an earthly example which will not lead us astray but rather allow us to understand through the earthly thing the highest heavenly thing, and indeed this: Take an earthly *sulphur*, an earthly *salnitrum*, and an earthly *mercurius*, and bring the three together into a single *corpus* by means of art. You will discover in an earthly mode a marvelous *impetus* in terrestrial nature which is nothing compared to its firmamental counterpart. Demonstrated by muskets and gunpowder, you will discover an adequate analogy which cannot be denied. Be aware that in the heavens likewise the *superi, id est, magistri*, take up the ethereal *sulphur*, the ethereal salniter and *mercurius* together in an *aludel*,[1] that is, in

1 See above, 451, n. 3.

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ander / wie gemeldt ist. Am ersten / sie zerlassen den *Sulphur*, darnach den Salniter darinnen mit kleiner Wärmi : Zum letzten den *Mercurium :* So vereinigt es sich zusammen / doch ohne bewegung vnd *Impetu*, vnd nichts gehet von jhnen / als alleine der vbrige *Gradus* der Hitze / wie vor gemelt ist. Demnach / so solche Bereitschafft geschehen ist / so geust es der Stern auß in die eussern *Regiones*, das ist / in Lufft / vnd gibt ein Gewülcke : Das erstlich von wegen der Höhe nicht wol gesehen mag werden / auch von wegen der subtile der bereittung / so sichtbar nicht ist / biß herab kommt. Als dann so fallt eins auff dz ander / zusammen in ein Gewülck / groß oder klein / nach dem vnd der Stern in jhm der *Materiae Primae* hatt / etwann mehr dann Einer / die zusammen kommen / oder einander nach : Auch wol in Einem allein etliche Strall auff einander kommen mögen / wie sich dann die Concordantz gibt vnd Natur der Sternen. Dann sie seindt auch etwann der Arth wie die Zwilling / das sie zweymahl schlahen / etwann dreymahl / etc. Dann sie vergleichen sich mit der Geburt / wie in der Natur etwann mehr dann die rechte Zahl ist / geboren werden.

So sie nuhn also in einem Gewülcke seindt bey einander / so bereitten sie sich gar zum ende. Dann im Lufft ist jhre Lust vnd jhr Küche zum ende genaturt / also / das im Lufft geschehen mag / das im *Alludel* nicht geschehen mag :
234 Heben an vnder jhnen | die drey zu Contrarieren / also / dz sich der *Nitrum* auffbaumpt im *Sulphure*, will im selbigen nicht sein / dann es seindt Fewri Massen / sie drey in einander. Vnd da im Lufft gehend die *Gradus* deß Fewers an / also / das [sie] jhe lenger jhe Perhennischer werden / vnd der Salpeter jhe lenger jhe mehr auffsteiget : So offt er ein auffbleen thut / so erschütt er die *Massam* in ein Erdbidmen / also / daß das Gewülcke sich auffthut / vnd schlecht von jhm ein Wetterleucht / das ist / ein Fewrstrimen von der *Massa* auff die Erden. Solch wiederstreitten geschicht etlich mahl / so strenge vnd so lange / biß am letzten die Hitze so groß ist / das der *Mercurius* auch in die *Massam* kommt / das ist / in die Action : So baldt er angriffen wirdt / von stundt an so gibt es ein auffstossen / vnnd ein Fewrinen strimen von der *Massa* mit gewalt / durch alle Gewülcke hindurch : (Welchs Gewülck doch allein jhr Rauch ist / Schwartz vnnd von viel Farben / wie dann allerley Farben seindt im *Sulphure, Sale*, vnnd *Mercurio*.) Vnnd so baldt derselbige Wetterleuch / so vom *Mercurio* außgangen ist / Plitzt hatt / so kommt ein Donner hernach : Der wirdt also : Das sie ein Zerstossen vnd Wiederwertigkeit gegen einander haben / vnnd sich nicht mögen vergleichen : Ist ein Stoß / als der ein Quecksilber in ein Silber

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their stars to process the components as described above. First, they will melt the *sulphur*, and then the salniter at a lower warmth; then the *mercurius*, whereupon they compound, though still without movement and *impetus* so that nothing departs from them except the residual *gradus* of warmth, as mentioned previously. After this, when all has been prepared, the star pours it out into the outer *regiones*, that is into the air, where a cloud formation results which initially cannot be seen because of the altitude and subtlety of the preparation that remains invisible until it descends. At that point, one collides with another, merging together in a large or small cloud formation in accordance with how much of the *prima materia* the star contains within itself, sometimes more than one, coming together or following one another. In one single cloud formation several flashes can occur together, depending on the concordance and nature of the stars. They sometimes have the character of twins striking twice, sometimes thrice, or more times. It is as with any birth. In nature more than the proper number may be born.

When they have come together in a cloud formation, they are processed to their completion, for in the air their inclination and preparation[1] are brought to their natural end in such a way that what happens in the air cannot happen in the *aludel*. | The three come to such an opposition one to the others that the 234
nitrum rises up in the *sulphur*, refusing to be contained in it;[2] for these three things are interspersed fiery masses. Moreover, in the air the *gradus* of the fire rise so that the longer it continues the more persistent[3] it becomes; and all the more does the saltpeter rise in potency. As often as it inflates, it shatters the *massa* in an earthquake such that the cloud opens up and hurls a lightning flash or fiery bolt from the *massa* to the earth. This clash takes place several times, so fiercely and for so long that finally the heat is such that the *mercurius* also causes the *massa* to come into action. As soon as it is incited, from then on there is a thrusting and a succession of fiery bolts with violence from the *massa* through all the clouds (which are nothing but their smoke, black and of many colors, since all colors are found in the *sulphur, sal*, and *mercurius*). As soon as the lightning has proceeded from the *mercurius* causing a flash, a roll of thunder then follows. This happens in such a way that they cause a clash and opposition one against the other and cannot come to terms. It causes a thrust as when

1 The word used by P. is "Küche," literally "kitchen."

2 The sulphur has previously been described as the body, and the nitre as the spirit (H 8:231).

3 The word "perhennisch" is modelled on the medieval Latin spelling *perhennis*, as in liturgical occurrences such as "[…] defendat ab igne perhenni." Our translation seems, however, more fitting in this context. An alternate reading might derive the word from *perhorrescere*, to tremble or recoil in dread: "the more dreadful it becomes."

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güsse / vnnd das knallt. Das knallen wiederschallet im gantzen Firmament : Wie eine Büchß die abgehet in einem Gewelbe ein Donnern machet / also ist der Himmel sein Gewelb / in dem es den Widerknall gibt. Also ist das Himmelisch ein Fewr vonn den dreyen Ersten. Vnnd der Donner / der ist ein Schnaltz von der Contrarietet / das *Sulphur, Mercurius*, vnnd Salniter nicht mögen bey einander stehen. Als sich dann beweist in dem Jrrdischen / wie sie in der Bereittung *Aquae Salis Nitri* am ersten der Himmlitzen gehet / darnach der Donner hernach : Also gibt es seine Geburt auch im Himmel / als allein mit höherm vnnd starckerem Grad / vnnd mit grossem erschrecken vnnd erzittern : Dann es ist ein gewaltige *Massa*, vnnd eine hohe Gradation / die höher nicht sein mag. Dann bey jhr schnelle vnnd stärcke hatt *Christus* die Zukunfft seines kommens bedeuttet.[a]

235 Nuhn weither / so nuhn solche anzeigung kommen / so mag |es wol sein / das es zergang / vnd nichts darauß werde / als ein Regen / oder von dem Wind durch sich selbst geboren / vertragen an ein ander orth. Dann es begiebet sich / das die *Massa*, ehe das sie sich gar bereitt / selbst schupfft hin vnd wieder / gleich als ein jnngeschlossen Büchsenpuluer / das angezündt wirdt / hin vnnd her gumpt. Hinauff gehet es nicht / was im Firmament ist. Dann was auff der Erd vbersich gehet / das gehet alles im Firmament vndersich : Vnnd das vndersich gehen ist deß Firmaments vbersich gehen : Vnnd der Erden vbersich gehen ist deß Firmaments vndersich gehen. Darumb neiget es sich jhe lenger jhe mehr der Erden zu / vnnd jhe lenger jhe mehr mit einem Rauch : Wie dann dieser Materien Arth ist. So aber da die Perfection angehet / also / das an dem orth die *Massa* in ein Strall gehet / in der Gestalt / das sie sich Vniert vnnd Perficiert in sein *Massam :* So wissendt / das dieselbige *Massa* nichts anderst ist / sondern als eine Büxe wol vermacht vnnd beheb / vnnd jhe neher der Geburt zu / jhe fester die Hautt / vnd ligt gleich an letzten / so es gar zeittig ist / in einer Schalen / wie ein Ey in seiner Schalen. So es nuhn also bereitt ist / vnnd in solcher Schalen ligt / so folget nuhn herauß / das die andern Gewülcke / so neben diesem seindt / allein zum Regen geboren seindt / die Resoluieren sich in ein Wasser. Vnnd so nuhn diese Resolution angehet / so gehet auch an der Wind

a There are frequent references in P. to the cataclysmic process that entails the technique of making gunpowder and causing explosions, thunder and lightning. This occurrence, however, involving the *tria prima* and the symbolism of Christ's Second Coming as well, is somehow echoed in the *Liber de Inventione Artium:* "Dann also sollen jhr wissen / das **Büchsenpuluer** nicht allein ein Kunst ist : Sondern zu dem daß ein Kunst ist / auch ein Weissagung darzu / do sich der Mensch auch rüst vnd herfür bricht / als ob sie sprech : Es wird die Stund kommen / das man meiner bedarff / drumb so vben vnd lernen mich jetzt. Dann die ding bedeutten nichts anderst / dann ettwas Zukünfftigs / das Gott außrichten vnd anschaffen

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quicksilver is poured into silver with a bang.[1] The banging echoes throughout the firmament: like a musket which has been fired in a vaulted room creates a thundering, likewise the heavens are the vault where the bang occurs. The lightning bolt is thus a fire from the three principles. The thunder is a whip crack from the contrariety that occurs because the *sulphur, mercurius*, and salniter cannot coexist. This is proven by earthly analogy in the processing of *aqua salis nitri*:[2] first comes the flash, followed by the thunder. Likewise its birth occurs in the heavens, only in a higher and more potent degree and with great terror and trembling. For it is a powerful *massa* with such an exalted gradation that it is unsurpassable. For by its rapidity and potency *Christus* alluded to his future coming.[3]

Now to continue with this topic, despite these warning signs, it | can happen 235
that it all blows over and nothing comes of it but rain; or it is carried by the wind born of it on to another place. Then the *massa* which is not yet ripe glides around like an enclosed gun powder that has been ignited and jumps back and forth, for what is in the firmament does not rise up. What rises above the surface of the earth descends from the firmament and vice versa. The longer it lasts then, the lower it extends toward earth and the more it manifests itself with smoke, as is the wont of such a material. But when completion is in progress and the mass gives rise in a particular place to the lighting flash in a way that unites and completes it in its *massa*, you should recognize that the latter is nothing but a well loaded musket and the closer it comes to its birth, the firmer the skin until at last it is ripe in its container, like an egg in its shell. When it is prepared and its shell is of this kind, it follows that the other adjacent clouds that are there only for rain resolve themselves to water. When this process sets in, there begin, as well, wind and *impetus* in everything passing through the

will" (H 9:176).—While few are likely to embrace his eschatological perspective today, one can perhaps grant P. a certain prescience regarding the threat inherent in technological advances.

1 Mercury poured into molten silver evaporates explosively (we thank Lawrence M. Principe for this information).

2 In the words of Lawrence M. Principe, whom we thank again, this might be "a reference to making *aqua nitri* (aquafort) not by the usual method of heating vitriol and saltpeter (which is quiet and gentle) but by detonation, that is, throwing spoonfuls of niter (and other materials) into a redhot retort. There would certainly be a flash of deflagration, and possibly grumbling or thunder as the liquid product distills."

3 This may refer to Mt 24:27 ("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"); cf. Luke 17:24; and Rev 4:5 ("Coming from the throne [of Christ in the end time] are flashes of lightning and rumblings and peals of thunder …").

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vnnd *Impetus* in allem durch die *Massam*, vnnd sein Gewülcke seindt alle zur Tempestat geboren / vnnd die mit vngestümmigkeit zu vollenden. So nuhn die *Massa*, die in der Schalen ligt / von dem Gewülcke die Nässi empfindt / also / das die Nässi zur *Massa* kommt / so ist es gleich / als der ein Wasser in ein Glockenspeise güsse / oder dergleichen. So baldt nuhn das Wasser die *Massam* berührt / so brichts entzwey von einander in alle *Partes* der Welt / vnnd gibt im selbigen knall ein Himmlitzen schnell vnnd behendt : Vnnd von stundt an / so viel stücke brechen / so viel Donner / ein jedlicher knall ein Donner : Im selbigen Donner do kommt der rechte knall / also / das vorhin ein Donner gehet vom knall / vnnd darumb er schlecht / gehet der knall mit im Donner.

So nuhn solches beschehen ist / so schlecht dieselbige *Massa* Fewri auß
236 gegen jhr höhe / das ist / gegen der Erden / wie zu | einem Ziel : Wie sie dann zum ersten das offene Loch empfunden hatt / dahin gehets / für sich / vnd nicht hindersich / dann für sich bricht sie auff / nicht hindersich. Darauff so wissend nuhn / so sie herauß kommt / so wird sie erkannt wo sie ist : Nemlich / ein *Corpus* das nichts ist dann ein Fewr in ein kleine *Massam* gebracht / grösser oder kleiner / nach derselbigen arth : welches *Corpus* zusammen Compact ist / vnd also Spiritualisch / Aerisch / vnd Etherisch / dz von solcher Arth ein solche Generation kommt / dz niemandts widerreden kan / dz vberall durchgang / wie ein Geist / der weder Leib / Blutt noch Fleisch hatt : Vnd niemandts kan sein durchgehen genugsam beschreiben noch sagen. Darzu auch ein solchen schnellen strich mit solchem *Impetu*, dz alles was da ist / zu boden gehn muß / vnnd jhm weichen. Vnd ist ein solch Fewr so hoch Perhennisch / dz in einem Augenblick alle Eisen was es berührt in Fluß bringt : Darbey der *Gradus Olympi*[a] wol zu ermessen ist / wie hoch sein Operation seindt / vnnd wie starck gegen den andern Elementen / das alles nichts ist : Mit solcher Stercki vnnd Schnelli / nicht anderst dann das nechst Jrrdische ding : Darbey ein Geist soll verstanden werden / vnnd die Zukunfft *Christi* dadurch bedeut. Dann was ist so mechtig / vnd so gewaltig / vnd auch so wunderbarlich in seiner wirckung / als der Strall ? So sich nuhn *Christus* selbst dermassen anzeigt / das er kommen wirdt wie ein Strall der von Himmel herab fellt : So ist jetzt billich / das wir deß Stralls

a The usage *Gradus Olympi* occurs only in this passage. In the Middle Ages *Olympus* was the name given to the lower region of the heavens, from the height supposed to be that of Mount Olympus. See Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, Ia, qu. 68, art. 4 ("*Utrum sit unum cælum tantum*"), who summarized the views of Rabanus Maurus on the heavens: "Ideo istud cælum Rabanus distinguit in quatuor, supremam regionem ignis nominans cælum igneum, inferiorem vero regionem cælum Olympium, ab altitudine cujusdam montis qui vocatur Olympus [...]" (we thank Jean-Marc Mandosio for this reference). The effects of *Olympus* may be expressed by P. in natural precipitation, as in "den impressionibus **Olympi**, durch Regen / Thaw / etc. welches die Erden oberhalb feuchtet" (*Von den Tartarischen kranckheiten*—

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massa; its clouds are all born for a tempest which will result in a convulsion. When the *massa* in its shell receives the moisture of the clouds and the latter comes to the former, it is as if one were to pour water into melted bronze,[1] or a similar matter. As soon as the water touches the *massa*, there is a splitting detonation in all *partes* of the world, yielding in that very burst a lightning bolt fast and loose. From that point on, the number of thunder rolls equals the number of parts that break off, every explosion being a thunder roll. This thunder is the true blast, so that the thunder precedes the blast; when it strikes, the blast accompanies the thunder.

When this has taken place, that *massa* flashes out fire toward its height, that is, toward the earth,[2] as if | that were its object. When the open gap has first made 236
itself felt and there is nothing behind it, it breaks out forward rather than back. When this happens, it is manifest in its nature as a *corpus* which is nothing but fire injected into a small *massa*, of greater or lesser size depending on its character; that *corpus* has been compacted and is spirit-like, aerial, and ethereal. From its character there arises a generation which no one can gainsay, which penetrates everywhere like a spirit without body, blood, or flesh. No one can adequately describe or tell its penetration. It occurs in such a flash with such an *impetus* that everything must be destroyed by it and yield to it. A fire like that is so frightful[3] that in a flash any iron that it touches is rendered fluid. Its *gradus Olympi*[4] is assumedly as high as its action, and it overpowers the other elements as if they were nothing at all. With this power and this rapidity, it is no different from the next earthly thing, yet a spiritual sense is evident and the return of *Christus* is announced. For what else could be as mighty and powerful and wondrous in its action as the lightning bolt? Thus, Christus himself announces that he will descend like a lightning bolt from heaven. It is therefore proper that we should know the character of the lightning bolt. For it strikes hard and heavy,

H 2:334); or in invisible, supernatural effects that adumbrate the body: "Die ding thut der Olimpisch Geist / der von allen wercken des leibs den schatten reißt. In dem Olimpischen Geist ligt die kunst / Gabalistica mit jhren Annexis / welche kunst bewert […] Dann zu gleicher weiß / wie die sichtbaren Corpora können zusammen kommen / das können auch die Olimpischen Geister der schöpffung / welche das Gestirn sindt in dem Menschen" (*De Causis Morborum Invisibilium*—H 1:282).

1 See Grimm, Glockenspeise. In this instance, the customary term presumably refers to the molten mixture.

2 We can see here again the relativity of up and down for P. See above, 397, n. 1 and 3.

3 See above our note on "perhennisch."

4 Presumably one of the highest grades of fire, if not the highest, in P.'s scale of celestial actions.

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arth wol wissendt. Dann er trifft hart vnnd schwer / kläglich vnnd jämerlich / vnnd so wunderbarliche Arth an jhm / das nicht genugsam zubedencken ist / noch einem Menschen zu wissen. Also wirdt auch *Christus* kommen mit solcher Gestalt vnnd in solchem Wege. Der solches betracht / das der Strall soll ein Exempel sein / der solte nimmer sünden / noch auß dem wege Gottes weichen. Vnd jhr kommen jhe lenger jhe mehr / welches ohne bedeuttung nicht sein mag.

Dann merckendt eben auff von der seltzammen Arth der Strall. Etliche seindt Kalt / die werden wie diese Fewrinen / als allein in dem nicht / dz sie der Hitz manglen : Im Beschluß / fallendts in die Coagulation / vnnd jhr Coagulation ist Fix / vnd anderer *Gemmarum* nicht Fix / dieser aber Fix vnd
237 bestendig : Vnd empfacht diese Fixation von jhrem eigenen *Spiritu*, der | sich selbest in der Frigiditet Coaguliert in ein *fixum Corpus*. Nun aber so wissent / daß sie offte Metallen brechen vnd schmeltzen / vnd dem Leder nichts thund : Daß sie offte den Menschen erschlahen / vnd niemandts sicht nichts : Daß sie offt das Bley an Fenstern schmeltzen / vnd thund dem Glaß nichts : Daß sie offte die Hirnschalen verbrennen / vnd thunt dem Haar nichts. Daß sie Bettzichen verbrennen vnd besengen gar hinweg / vnd den Federn geschicht nichts. Daß sie durch ein Sattel ein Roß zu todt schlahen / vnd dem Sattel geschicht nichts. Das sie offte ein Rock verbrennen / vnd dem Leibe geschicht nichts : Daß sie offte in einem beschlossenen Kasten Gelt schmeltzen / vnd dem Holtze geschicht nichts. Niemandts ist es möglich / daß der Stral wunderbarliche arth vnnd werck genugsam möge beschrieben werden. Ich für mein theil / kan solche vrsach natürlich zu sein nit achten : entweders / daß so wunderbarlich wircken / müß kommen auß dem / das vns ein Exempel sey / das *Christvs* auch so wunderbarlich kommen wirdt / das zerbrochen Rohr nit verletzen / den Funcken am Docht nicht leschen / aber das ander wol / das vmb dasselbige ist. Oder es müssen die *Superi* solche Kunst brauchen : Oder der Teuffel muß solchs thun. Jedoch aber / so bleib ich bey dem ersten / dieweil *Christvs* sich selbst in das Exempel gestelt hatt / also nider zukommen / vnd zu richten die Lebendigen vnd Todten / dz er sonderlich vber alle Menschliche vernunfft / hie sonderliche Zeichen thue / so wunderbarlich / daß sie am Jüngsten Tage so schnelle vnd behende vnnd wunderbarlich seine Vrtheil auch ergehen werde.[a]

a *Astronomia Magna* grants a role to the "celestial astrologer" in recognizing the approaching eschatology: "Vnnd zum letsten / so erkennt der Coelestis Astrologus, die Näherung deß **Jüngsten** tags / in den vergangenen Zeichen / wieuiel abzogen vnd genommen seindt von den **Tagen** deß Endes der Welt / also / wann der newe Himmel regiern wirdt. Solchs alles ist ein Coelestis Astrologia, die allein dem Menschen auß Gott geben wirdt / vnd allein Gott ist derselbig / der sie gibt vnd lernt / ohne jhn weiß niemandt nichts / sondern alle blind vnnd verstopfft / in den dingen allen" (H 10:304).

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woefully and awfully, and with such a marvelous character about it that one can hardly countenance it and cannot understand it at all. So, too, will *Christus* come in that form and by that path. Whoever reflects that the lightning bolt is an example for us should never again sin or deviate from the path of God. And their arrival, the longer we wait, the more certain it is, can never be without significance.

Now observe the strange character of lightning. Some of them are cold; they become fiery like these except that in them there is no heat. In the end, they enter into coagulation but of a kind that is fixed. Whereas others of the *gemmae* are not so,[1] they become fixed and permanent. They receive their fixation from their own *spiritus* which | in its frigidity coagulates to a *fixum corpus*. Now 237
you should be aware that they likewise often shatter and melt metals and yet do nothing to leather.[2] They often strike people dead without anyone noticing anything. Often, they melt the lead on windows yet do not harm the glass; they often burn the skull but do nothing to the hair. They often burn and singe off the bedding[3] while nothing happens to the feathers. They might strike a horse dead through the saddle without damaging the latter. They often burn one's coat while leaving one's body untouched. They often melt coins in a locked chest while doing nothing to its wood. No one can give full due to the miraculous character and works of the lightning bolt. For my part, I cannot acknowledge that such a miraculous causality is natural. Either such miraculous works must result from an allegory that *Christus* will come just as miraculously so that no broken reed will be damaged, no candle flame put out, but whatever else is around it will be. Or it must be that the *superi* practice such arts. Or indeed, they must be the work of the devil. However, I will stick to the first option, since *Christus* cast himself into this example, promising to descend in such a manner to judge the living and the dead that he would give miraculous signs wonderously transcending all human reason, so marvelous that on the Final Day his judgment will be passed just as quick and handily.

1 Here P. seems to include lightning in the category of celestial "gem stones" along with hail stones (see H 8:226–227). Assuming this, he could have in mind the analogy of the flash of the lightning and the glint of the gem stone. Another possibility is that the category of gem stones occurs here because of the coagulated state of this "strange character of lightning." Previously P. has contrasted the *coagulatum* which yields gem stones with the *resolutum* which yields rains (H 8:228).

2 Here P. mentions all the phenomena already noticed in countless accounts of lightning since the Middle Ages (see e.g. Sestier 1866), only to interpret them as a Christian *exemplum*. See another example below in *Ein Anders Opusculum de Meteoris*, H 8:275.

3 See Grimm, Bettzieche, which is glossed as *indumentum lodicis*. This should signify the bed covers as opposed to the feather stuffing.

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Nun aber / im anfang dieser Meteorischen beschreibung melde ich die *Pennates*, das ist / die *Superos* im Firmament : dieselbigen sind nun die jenigen / die in solcher arbeit Meister sind / sie zu bereitten vnd beyhendig zu sein / vnd sind die / die den Stral führen vnd weisen / das ist / sie sind Büchsenmeister / vnd richten das Geschütz / nemlich dahin da *Christvs* will : nemlich in das / daß nicht ist im wege Gottes / nemlich in die Feinde Gottes vnd nicht in die Freunde. Dann das beweist sich im Exempel / das *Christvs* niemandts wirdt vnrecht thun / allein sagen / gehet hin jhr Verdampten in das ewige Fewr. Darumb so seind solchs *Præsagia*, nicht allein der Straal / sondern ein jeglichs
238 Wetter / das so vngestümm gehet / mit Tyrannischem | *Impetu*, Donner / Wind / Hagel / Schawer / alles wirdt hie begriffen. Darumb so sehent do auff / die es trifft / *Sodoma* vnnd *Gomorrha* worden auch troffen / etc. Es seind sorgliche *Præsagia*, das machts / daß ein Exempel ist / wie *Christvs* kommen wirdt. So ist nicht minder auch / dieweil der Teuffel den Menschen besitzt / vnd macht jhn so vngestümm / wie dann offentlich ist / vnd hatt Macht auch zubesitzen das Viech / als die Sew. Wann ist jhm dz erlaubt / so ist jhm auch erlaubt / Hunde / Katzen / Rosse vnd alles das der Mensch hatt / vnd ist : Also auch ist jhm auch erlaubt das Gewitter vnd Straal / Schawer / Hagel auch zubesitzen / vnd solche vngestümmgkeit zu machen / vnnd mit fleiß auch zu schiessen wohin jhn lustet / vnd Gott verhengts. Wie jhm aber allem sey / so geschicht es auß der verhengnuß Gottes. Darinnen wol zugedencken ist / er wirdt also den Teuffel auch auff die Erden schicken / damit er die seinen nemmen / mit seiner vngestümmigkeit in das ewige Fewr. Es ist in die Weißheit vnnd Vrtheil Gottes nichts einem Menschen zu schreiben / sondern zu gedencken : darzu mich vrsachet / das er sich selbst da fürgebildet hatt / vnd will ein zerknirscht Rohr nit zerbrechen / ein glüenden Butzen nit außlöschen : Aber wol das ander / das gantz ist / vnnd hochbrinnend. Das danne bey dem Donnern / Wettern wol zu verstehen ist. Also ist der vrsprung deß Straals / vnd der Gewülchen / Wettern / im Firmament / gegen der Erden / ein wunderbarlich gewächs / vnd noch viel wunderbarlicher in seinen wercken. *Nota. Erunt signa in Sole, &c.* Item / die Posaune wird blasen werden / etc. *id est, Tonitru fulguris Christi, Tonitru cœleste*, Posaunen.

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Now then, at the beginning of this meteoric account,[1] I mention the *pennates* or *superi* in the firmament. They are the masters of such operations, preparing and assisting in them. They are the ones that lead and direct the lightning bolt: the gunsmithes, and they aim the shot where *Christus* would have it strike, toward that which is not on God's path, at his enemies, not at his friends. For it is shown by this example that *Christus* would be unjust to no one, except to say, go thence into eternal fire, you damned! This is what these *praesagia* are designed to, not only the lightning bolt, but any storm which is that violent with a tyrannical | *impetus*, thunder, winds, hail, downpours: all of it is included here. Thus, 238
take heed, whoever is struck by it. *Sodom* and *Gomorrha* were thus struck. These are warning *praesagia*, making them exemplary of how *Christus* is to come. It is no less evident that, while the devil holds the human being captive and renders him as unruly as one can see and he has the power to possess cattle and swine; so if he is allowed to possess dogs, cats, horses, and everything that the human being owns and is, then he is also allowed to possess the storm and lightning, downpour and hail, and to cause such violence, and to fire at whatever he will; and God ordains this. Whatever the case may be with him, it occurs upon God's dispensation. In the same vein, it must be remembered that he will dispatch the devil to earth to carry his own with violence into the eternal fire. There is nothing on the wisdom and judgment of God for a human being to write, but rather to reflect: I am motivated by his having made himself a model, he who does not want to break a bent reed nor put out a glowing wick,[2] but rather wants that other one who is whole and burning brightly, by which we should understand the thunder and lightning. Thus the source of the lightning, clouds, storms in the firmament directed toward the earth is a miraculous outgrowth, and even more so in its effects. *Nota. Erunt signa in sole,* etc.[3] Item, the trumpet will resound, etc.[4] *id est, tonitru fulguris Christi, tonitru celeste*,[5] trumpets.

1 Does that mean that the present chapter was initially supposed to be the opening chapter of *De Meteoris*, or that P. considers the *pennates* as the "Anfang"—*principium* in Latin: the most important feature—of the treatise? The latter meaning might be that of Palthen's Latin translation: "In principio autem Meteoricæ hujus descriptionis appello *pennates* […]," although this translation can equally convey the former signification.

2 See Matth. 12, 20 (quoting Is. 42, 3): "A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench, till he send forth judgment unto victory" (King James Version).

3 Luc. 21, 25: "And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars" (KJV).

4 Probably 1Cor. 15, 52 (Luther Bible): "und dasselbe plötzlich, in einem Augenblick, zur Zeit der letzten Posaune. Denn es wird die Posaune schallen, und die Toten werden auferstehen unverweslich, und wir werden verwandelt werden" (KJV: "In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.").

5 "Trumpets, that is, the thunder of Christ's lightning, the celestial thunder."

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CAPVT IX.
DE EXTRANEIS.

Weitter so ist auch von der geberung zu wissen / das ettwann Frösche[a] / Würme / oder andere lebendige Thier / von oben herab geboren vnd gefunden werden. Darauff wissend / das ich im Anfang der Thieren im Himmel gemeldt hab / wie kein Element sey / es habe in jhm ein lebendig Thier / dz ist / vielerley.
239 Als in der Erden seind / vilerley Würm / | im Wasser vielerley / dergleichen auch im Lufft : also auch im Firmament. Dann solches soll sich niemandts verwundern / die Natur ist ein Mutter in Elementen / bey den Obern vnd Vndern. Auß dem folget nun / so man sagt / es habe Frösche geregnet / das solche Frösch vom Firmament sind / vnnd im Firmament dergleichen von solchen Fröschen jhres gleichen geboren : Auß vrsachen / seind sie auff die Erden kommen / wie das Exempel außweiset / das offtmals die Schermeuse auß der Erden auch kommen vnd lauffen / das doch jhre arth nit ist : Ettlicher Würmen arth dergleichen auch ist. Also ist nit minder / es werden solche im Himmel auch gefunden / die auß jhr Region kommen. Wiewol nicht möglich ist / das ettwas von oben herab möge fallen auff vns / dann es ist vbersich / wer gleich als wann wir hinauff in Himmel fielen : Das ist aber wol wahr / daß sie herab fallen / es ist aber jhnen hinauff / wie dann deß Himmels arth ist. So mag es doch nit beschehen / allein es sey dann / das ein Wetter solche Destruction macht an denselbigen örtern / vnd im selbigen *impetu* herab fallen / also / daß in die Regen oder dergleichen arth kommen. So ist das auch also / das *Sperma*[b] herab fallt zu Meyens zeitten / auß welchem Laubfröschen werden : Dann alle Laubfrösche seind auß dem Firmament / fallen in *Spermatis* weise herab / vnd wachsen hernider volls in jhr Ernd. Vnnd nicht allein die Fröschen / sondern allerley solcher gestallt mehr / wz nit Leiblich herab fallt / dasselbig fallt doch Sahmens weiß herab. Darumb offte an einem orth ein Thier gefunden wird / da seine Eltern nie hinkommen seind. Das ist allein deß Firmaments schuldt in ettlichen : In ettlichen ist der Lufft ein vrsach / der dann auch solche *generata* in vielerley gestallt in jhm

a Frog rain is firmly acknowledged by P. on the basis of what "is said": "Es wirt gesprochen / Es regnet **Froschen**: wie aber dasselbig zugang / das mercket. Die ding die den Regen machen / sind die vnsichtigen Cörper des Menschen. 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 Regen: daß sie aber vom Regen kommen / das ist / daß sie auß dem vnsichtbarn Leib kommen / der neben der Erden in gleicher Generation stehet" (*De Causis Morborum Invisibilium*—H 1:275–276).

b *Die grosse Wundartzney* lauds "die Astronomi" with their knowledge of conjunctions affecting *sperma* for recognizing "die Geburt der Pestilentz / auß den Sternen / durch ein solche widerwertige Coniunction / so sie zusammen kompt : Also solt jhr auch verstehen ein wider-

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CAPVT IX.
DE EXTRANEIS.
[Chap. IX. On Extraneous Things]

Next we need to know about the generation by which frogs, worms, or other living creatures are found born above and descending. Remember in this regard what I have initially reported concerning animals in the heavens, how there was no element (which did not bear within itself living animals of all kinds) bearing within itself only one living animal, but many of all kinds.[1] Just as in the earth there are many kinds of worms, | in the water many kinds, and likewise in the air, so, too, in the firmament. For no one should be amazed by that: nature is a mother in the elements, both the ones above and the ones below. From this it follows, that when they say that it rained frogs, the latter are from the firmament, and indeed many frogs of the kind are hatched up there. The reason why they descend to earth is suggested by a case in point, namely, that often the moles emerge from the earth and walk around, which is not in their usual nature; the same for certain worms. By the same token, such creatures are found in heaven which come from their own region. Yet it is not possible for them to fall down on us from above; for that would be to rise above itself, the same as if we were to fall upwards into the heavens. Yet it is true that they do fall, but to them it is upward in accordance with the nature of the heavens. It indeed cannot happen unless a storm causes such destruction in those places that they fall down by its *impetus* and descend in rain or what have you. Then, it also happens that in May days, *sperma* falls which turns into tree-frogs. For all tree-frogs come from the firmament. They fall as *sperma* and grow here below until they arrive at maturity. Not only the frogs but all sorts of other creatures besides that, and those which do not fall as bodies yet descend in seeds. This is why often in a particular place an animal is found where its parents were never present. This can be attributed to the firmament in this and other respects. In some, the air is the cause which has many kinds of such *generata* within it, as do

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wertige Natur in den Elementen [...] Vnd wie die Pestilentz jhren Vrsprung nimpt : Also auch der Basiliscus. Auch so zweyerley **Sperma** zusammen kommen / die nit Einer arth seind von Würmen / oder dergleich / werden auch Basiliscken darauß gezogen. Dann es seind nicht einerley arth der Basiliscken / sondern vilerley / in Gestalt / Form / Gifftung / Wesen vnd Erfindung: Aber der Gifftigster ist / darvon ich gesagt hab" (H C:133c).

1 Is this supposed to be a reference to the passage above, H 8:200–201?

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hatt / als wol als die Erden oder Wasser. Also ist der Basilißken[a] geburt / vnnd viel newer vngehörter Thier / deren vrsprung ohne Jrrdische Mütter seind / wider alle andere Thier der Erden vnd Wasser.

Es ist auch nit minder / es geschicht offt / das man sagt / es regnet Blutt : Solchs ist in dem weg. Die Morgenrötti / so ein Schaum vom Sulphur seind / vnnd den dreyen Ersten / begibt sich offte / daß sie in ein Tenacitet decoquiret wirt / vnd kompt auß der arth eins Schaums : Wie dann von der Morgenrötte
240 gesagt ist / daß ein leichter Schaum sey. So nuhn derselbige Schaum in | ein *Mucilaginem* oder Bituminisch[b] Natur kompt / als dann so ist das (*Astrum,*)[c] vnd das (seüdets) daß Rott wirdt : Dann sein farben ist Rott / vnd die Substantz gleich in der dünne vnd dicke eines Blutts / ein wenig minder oder mehr. So es also Præpariert wirdt vnd Transmutiert / so lests der Himmel fallen : Dann er tregt kein greifflich *Corpus*, das ist / das ein vngreifflichs greifflich wirdt / es muß alles von jhm gescheiden werden. Also Distilliert es sich auch herab / ettwan für sich selbest / ettwan in eim Regen / wie es sich dann begibt. Die Frösche im Firmament seind nicht Substantz / aber sie werden Substantz / als dann so fallen sie auch herab. Also begibt sich auch viel von den Schaumen / vnnd dergleichen Exhalationen / daß sie in solcher gestalt wie sie in Farben seind / in Farben incorporiert werden / vnd also dieselbige Farben herab fallt / Weiß / Blaw / Schwartz / etc. Dann das Wasser so vom Himmel regnet / ist nit Einer farben / sondern hatt ein vnderscheid von einander. Sich begibt in ettlichen Byrgen / daß Milch regnet / in solcher gestalt / wie das Blutt. Was auff die Stein kompt / das macht ein weiß Bituminosische *vsneam*,[d] das sich mit der zeit Coaguliert / vnnd Indurirt / gleich einem Stein / der auß dem andern gewachsen wer. Vnd solche *vsneæ cœlestes* seind mancherley in allen farben / Rott / das ist / von Blutt / Grün / Blaw / Schwartz / Gelb / etc. Was in die Erden

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a *Die grosse Wundartzney* informs: "Zum andern mercket weiter ein Exempel / vnd dasselbig von **Basilisco** / desselbigen Geburt vnd herkommen ist gar wider die ordnung der Natur / als kein Geburt keines Thiers nicht ist: Auch kompt grössers Gifft nicht zusammen / ergers / sterckers / dann in disem Thier. Vnd ist ein Generatio gar wider die Natur / vnd die gröst Mördererey auff den Menschen / dergleichen nie keine erstanden ist / noch je vnd je gewesen. Das ander Gifft nach der Pestilentz: So kompt das Gifft der Pestilentz von oben herab / das Gifft der Basiliscken von den Elementen" (H C:133b).

b On *mucilago*, see our note above, H 8:62. The terms and processes are of equal import in the alchemical theory of the *tartarus* diseases: "Wo aber im kochen dasselbige genommen wirt / so wirt es gebrochen in dem / das solche materia in anderen Excrementen außgehet / die sich sonst anhengte. Also ist dieser Bitumen, Viscus, **Mucilago**, Gluten der leguminum nichts anders / dann materia stercorum, die sich im Leibe / wie obsteht / zu Stein macht vnd Sand / so sie gehet in jhr vltimam materiam" (*De Causa et Origine Morborum*—H 1:148).

c Whether original or inserted by Huser, the term *astrum* is destined to become the key common denominator of the astral bodies and the vital forces they embody, as stated in the

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earth and water. Of this kind is the birth of the basilisk[1] and of many new and un-heard of animals that do not originate in any earthly mother, as opposed to all other animals of earth and water.

It is also quite common for people to say that it is raining blood. This is how it happens. The dawn which is a spume of sulphur and of the three principles often comes to be strongly decocted into a kind of spume. Thus, too, they say that the dawn is a light spume. When this spume | acquires the character of *mucilago* or turns bituminous, the same happens to the (*astrum*), which (boils)[2] so as to produce redness. For that is its color, while its substance has the consistency of blood more or less. When this is processed and transmuted, the heavens cause it to descend: for the heavens don't bear any palpable *corpus*, thus, if an impalpable body becomes palpable, it must be entirely separated from them. Thus, it descends by means of distillation, sometimes by itself, sometimes in rain. Either might be the case. The frogs in the firmament do not exist substantially up there: they become substantial and at once they descend. It happens in the same way with many spumes and such kind of exhalations: they become corporal in the same colors as their species are and thus these colors descend, white, blue, black, etc., for the water which rains from the heavens doesn't have just one color. There are differences. In some mountain regions, it can happen that it rains milk in the same way as blood. What falls onto the stones constitutes a white bituminous *usnea*,[3] which with time coagulates and hardens to resemble a stone that has sprouted from other stones. The *usneae cœlestes* of this sort are of various colors: red as of blood, green, blue, black, yellow, etc. What falls into the earth disappears, into water as well. Like- 240

syphilis writing *Von den Blatern, Lähme, Beulen, Löcheren vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen:* "Haben jhr nie verstanden / warumb der Astronomus das **Astrum** declariert / so er sagt von der Natur der Planeten / der Ascendenten. Conjunctionibus, Cometen / vnd dergleichen ? Meinend jhrer red vom Corpus, das ist / von dem das den Namen hat? [...] wann jr aber sprechen / vnd liessend das Corpus still stehen / es käme ex Spiritibus vitae / so treffen jhr den grund" (H C:264b).

d See above, note on H 8:109.

1 An unnatural creature that killed with its gaze or breath, the basilisk was generally said to be born "when an aged rooster lays an egg which is then sat upon by a toad" (Newman 2020, 33). On its generation and various interpretations in P. and pseudo-P., see ibid. The present occurrence is rather reminiscent of the plague treatises (written between 1529 and ca. 1534), where plague is spoken of as *basiliscus cœli* (Newman 2020, 40). Other theories on the generation of monsters are offered by P. as well: see below, H 8:253.

2 These two words in brackets have been apparently supplied or guessed by Huser from partly unreadable places on the manuscript.

3 See above, H 8:86, n. 2.

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fallt / verschwindt / in dem Wasser auch : Auch wirdt viel im Regen zerrütt in der farben / also / daß nicht auff die Erden kommen mögen / wie sie an jhm selbst seind. Es ist nit minder / daß die alten *Naturales* mit solchen *Vsneis* viel vnderstanden haben in der Medicin / auch in der Alchimey / wo sie es haben bekommen mögen : Vnnd sie *Flores* geheissen *Cœlestes*. Was aber damit außgericht / ist mir verborgen / nemlich etwas / dann jhr Speculation seind ergründt gewesen. Ich meine die rechten *Naturales*, nicht *Aristotelem*.[a]

Widerumb auch / so wirt ettwan gesehen Fewr regen : Welchs ein solche vrsache hatt. Aller Regen / der do ist / ist nichts dann *Sulphur, Sal* vnd *Mercurius*. Der *Sulphur* ist einer brinnenden arth an jhm selbst / vnd muß sich vom brennen in ein Wasser Resoluiren. So es sich nuh begibt / dz er in den Lufft kompt / auß seinen Sternen / vnd ist noch nit gar an seine statt bereitt / vnnd
241 aber ettwas ist bereitt : So fallt der bereitte Regen herab / | wie eines Regens arth ist / so fallet noch dz vbrige auch hernach / das nit gar resoluiert ist. Vnd so es also fellt / so ist es noch in der Action ein brinnender Schweffel / verzehrt sich also mit dem Regen in dem er ist / es sey dann vil oder wenig. Dann kan ein Himmlitzen oder Wetterleycht vom Himmel kommen / ein fewriner Straal / so kan das auch kommen : Dann sie sind alle von eim brinnenden Schweffel / der ettwan fix ist / als im Straal / ettwan nit fix / als im Regen : mag aber wol vor dem vnd er zeittig wird / sich herab lassen. Gleich wie er in der höhe deß Gewülcks arbeitet / dz mans also scheinbarlich auch sicht : Vnnd so es im Himmel brinnet / so mag man dz Fewr vor der Sonnen nit sehen / oder vorm Gewülcke / der darumb gehet. Solch Fewr aber so herab fallt / verbrinnet nichts : Aber wol wann es ohne Regen die Erden begreifft / so besenget es die Erden / oder dörrets / dz nichts mehr hernach wächst ein zeit lang : Aber wo es vnter dem Wasser ist / da löschet das Wasser ab. Die Nachthimmlitzen / so ohne Donner kommen / seind auch jrer arth / werden außgeschütt in Lufft / vnd vom Lufft herab gefellet wie ein Himmlitz[b] : dz ist / es fellt ein schneller Flamm / vnd ist gleich verbronnen in jhm selbst. Solche Himmlitzen aber kommen von den Sommersternen / nit Wettersternen / vnd sind jhre Purgatzen / daß sie von jhnen werffen / jhr vberfluß vnd Excrementen : Dann also ist jhr Natur / sie sind selbst nichts anders als brennende Schweffel / welche schweffelische Brunst den Sommer gibt : vnd dz sind jhre *Flores*, die Himmlitzen bey der Nacht. Vnd nit das sie allein bey der Nacht kommen / sondern zu Tags auch / aber im Tage sind sie vnsichtbar. Fallend gar vff die Erden / vnd wo

a P. and his followers ridicule Aristotle for his ignorance of the transformational art of alchemy: "Aber nicht dorumb meldt ich die Transmutation / dz der **Blaw *Philosophus Aristoteles*** in seiner Philosophey nicht wol ergründt sey gewesen / sondern etwas mit dem Narren besessen" (*Von den Natürlichen dingen*—H 7:198).

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wise in the rain, much of the color is destroyed so that it does not reach earth with their original hue. Admittedly the ancient *naturales* undertook much with these *usneae* in medicine as well as alchemy, as far as they could get hold of them, and they called them *flores cœlestes*. What they did with them I could not discover, but it was something which had a foundation in their speculation. I am referring here to the true *naturales*, not to *Aristoteles*.

Moreover, sometimes fire rains are seen. This is what causes it. Every rain is nothing else than *sulphur, sal,* and *mercurius*. The sulphur is of a burning kind in itself. Its flammability must be resolved in water. It can happen that it enters the air from its stars without being processed appropriately, though the processing has already begun. The processed rain then comes down | as is its wont and 241
the rest of the rain falls with it without being fully resolved. When it does fall this way, it is still the seat of the action of a burning sulphur, consuming itself along with the rain in which it is borne, whether much or little. It happens then that there can be a bolt of lightning or summer lightning from the heavens. It can happen with a fiery bolt. For they are all made of a burning sulphur, which sometimes is fixed, as with lightning, and sometimes not, as with rain, but may let itself descend before it has matured, just like it works in the heights of the cloud, so that it can be clearly visible to the eye. If the conflagration is in the heavens, one might not see it on account of the sun or the clouds surrounding it. When this kind of fire descends, it does not burn anything. If it reaches the earth without rain, it singes the earth or dries it out so that afterwards nothing will grow there for a long time. But when beneath the water, it is extinguished by the water. Those night flashes which come without thunder are of the same kind. They are strewn out in the air from which they descend like lightning bolts: a flashing flame takes place, but it is soon consumed in itself. These flashes come from the summer stars,[1] not the storm stars. They are their purgations: that which they cast out as their superfluity and excrement. It is their nature to be nothing but burning sulphur, the sulphurous heat heat of which produces the summer. Their *flores* are those night flashes. Nor do they only occur at night, but by day they are invisible. They often fall to earth. Where rainy

b This term, far from being a mere metaphor, pertains to the equivalence of macrocosm and microcosm in the discussion of diseases treated together with syphilis in *Von Vrsprung, Herkommen vnd Anfang der Frantzosen Acht Bücher:* "Nun aber gemein Arcanum zu finden in disen dingen / so wissent daß das Arcanum zu gleicherweiß sein muß / als die zerbrechung so in der Operation des Firmaments erfunden wird. Als jhr sehent / so die Constellati angehet vnd generiert den Donner / den Straal / das **Himlitzen** / etc." (H C:245a).

1 See the parallel passage in *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8:270).

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nit Regenwetter offt einfalt / vnd die Sommersternen offt blitzen / so dorrets Laub vnd Graß auß : Sonderlich gegen Mittag / da sie jhre Exaltation am meristen haben / vnd im Orient / vnd dergleichen enden : Das nit der Sonnen schuldt ist / sondern der Sommersternen / von wegen deß schroefflischen Plitzen / das also besengt / vnd ettwan auch Wäld vnd Häuser anzünden / das man nichts sicht vom Fewr : Bey der Nacht nit / dann die Küle der Nacht weret jhm.

So sollend jhr auch wissen / das ettwan Figuren von Himmel fallen auff die Erden / in mancherley gestallt / ettwan in Creutz form / Geisseln / Menschenköpff / vnd vielerley solcher Zeichen / vom Leiden *Christi*, oder von andern
242 dingen. Solchs / wiewol | es nit Meteorisch ist / so wirdt doch die vrsach in der *Meteorica* begriffen / in der gestalt / daß die *Superi Pennates* in solchen dingen *Pictores* sind / vnd machen solch Figuren / werffens herab vff die Erden / es sey auff Menschen / es sey auff Holtz oder Stein : In summa / wo es doch die Leute sehen mögent. Dann sie seind jhres schiessens wol so gewiß / als die Sonne gewiß ist mit jhrem glantz in die Erden zu treffen. Aber nuh merckent solche vrsach / das solches nit geschicht / allein es sey dann ein *Præsagium* verhanden. Als zu meinen zeiten sind Creutz / Hanen / Geißlen / Sewlen / Pilatus / etc. auff die Leute gefallen / in solcher gestalt wie geschrieben ist. Aber nit auß der Natur / sondern auß ordnung Gottes / zu einer Figur einer newen Alteration in denselbigen / das solche Zeichen fürt vnnd mit vmbgehet / wies sich dann bewisen hatt / vnd noch. Also begeben sich auch offte im Himmel solche Figuren / die nichts anderst bedeuten / dann solche zukunfft / wie sie ettwan gebrauchen. Als in newlichen Jahren / ist ein König in der Schlesy gesehen worden / mit viel seltzamer arth vnd Personen : Es ist ein *Præsagium*, daß ein solchs zu seiner zeit auch geschehen werde vnd erfüllet. Dann die *Pennates superi*, sind solcher Præsagien Meister vnd Arbeiter / vnd Zurichter / Steller / vnd Formierer. Darumb soll ein jeglicher wissen / das solche ding nit anderst sind / dann auß der Natur / durch die *Pennates superi* gemacht / auß dem inwendigen Himmel befohlen / zu verkünden der Zeit zukunfft. Der solcher seltzamen Figuren vnd *Similitudines* arth vnd erscheinung beschreiben wolt / möcht nit Bücher genug machen : Dann sie sind wunderbarlich in jhren dingen. Darumb soll der Mensch mehr acht darauff haben / dann auff dz gantze Natürliche : Auß der vrsachen / es berürt jhm sein Schand vnd Laster. Also sind auch die *Tonitrua* nicht ohne solche vrsache so wunderbarlich : Dann Gott ist vnergründtlich in seinen wercken / vnd niemandts ist / der sie auff das endt ergründen möge.

Nun ist nit minder / es befindt sich / dz auch Steine vom Himmel fallen / ettwan auch Metallen. Darauff merckent / Gott hat einem jeglichen Element sein *Primam materiam* geben / darauß es soll dz generiren / dz jhm zu stehet :

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weather is infrequent, yet the summer stars often flash, it dries the leaves and grass, especially around noon when their exaltations are the greatest, as well as in the East, and in those directions. The sun is not at fault, but rather the summer stars on account of the frightful flashes which singe things and sometimes ignite forests and houses without anyone seeing the fire, not at night anyway, because the cool of the night prevents it.

You should also be aware that sometimes figures from the heavens fall to earth in many different forms, sometimes in the form of a cross, whips, human heads, and many other signs of this kind referring to the sufferings of *Christus* or other things of the sort. Such things, even though | not meteorological, 242
have an explanation in the context of the *meteorica* in the sense that *superi pennates* constitute *pictores* [designers] of such things; they make such figures and cast them down to earth, whether onto human beings or onto wood or stone; *in summa*, wherever people can see it. For they are as accurate in striking the earth as the sun is with its radiance. But note that such things will not happen unless there is a *praesagium*. In my time, there were crosses, cocks, whips, pillars, Pilatus, etc., falling onto the people in the manner described above.[1] That they did not come from nature but from the order of God to prefigure an alteration in related matters so that such signs direct and guide us: this is something proven that still exists. So, too, such figures often appear in the heavens, typically signifying precisely some future thing. In recent years, a king was seen in Silesia with his train of all sorts of odd things and persons. This was a *praesagium* that in its time such things would occur and be fulfilled. The *pennates superi* are the masters and craftsmen of these forecastings, their providers, deliverers, and shapers. Hence, we should all be aware that such things are hardly less from nature; that they are cast by the *pennates superi* and directed from the inner heavens to announce what is to come. Whoever would undertake to describe these strange figures and *similitudines*, their character and appearance, could not write enough books about them. They are marvelous in their phenomena. For this reason, the people should pay more attention to them than to anything natural, for it is a matter of their shame and their vice. Nor are the *tonitrua* so marvelous without a reason. For God is inscrutable in his works and there is no one who could fully fathom it.

Now it is no less the case that stones drop from the heavens, sometimes even metals. Note in reference to this that God has accorded to each element its *prima materia*, from which it should generate what accrues to it: to earth the

1 See above the introduction, on 9–10.

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Als der Erden die *Plantæ*, dem Wasser die *Mineralia*, dem Lufft sein *Tereniabin*,[a] also auch dem Himmel seine *Generationes*. Nuh muß ein jeglichs | in dem
243 seinen bleiben / vnd kein anders Generiren. Darumb so ist nuhn nit möglich / daß das Wasser oder die Erden Generiert den Straal / Regen / oder Schnee / es muß allein der Himmel thun / deß *Officium* ist es. Also weitter / mag auch der Himmel nit Generieren das jenige / das den andern Metallen zustehet. Darumb so mag vom Himmel kein Mineral geboren werden / als weder Stein noch Eisen. Nuh aber so wissent / dz es sich bewiesen hat / daß solches beschehen ist / rechte natürliche Stein sind von Himmel gefallen : Auch wol zu glauben / dz dermassen Metallen auch gefallen sind / doch kein anders als Eisen. Wann da ist ein solche vrsach in beyden / das nicht sein mag / das ander ding dermassen herab fallen / als Eisen / vnd ein *genus* von einem Steine : Dann das geschicht also. Jhr sehent / das alle Sternen habend ein anziehende krafft an sich : die Sonne zeucht an sich was feucht ist / der Mond zeucht an sich was warm ist in der Natur : Also / daß die Sonne an sich zeucht das kalte / das ist / das Wasser / das ist sichtbar. Widerumb der Mond das warm ist / das ist / wo eine warme Natur ist in einem Geschöpff / die zeucht er herauß. Auß dem dann kompt / das die Leut / auß denen er zeucht die Wärme / so sie in kranckheiten beladen sein / so empfinden sie / so die kranckheit von Kälte ist / vnd ist in der Wärme keine kranckheit oder ein kleini : So bald aber der Mond in sein Magnetische arth gehet / so entzeucht er jhm die Wärme / darumb so wird er kräncker / dann wo das nicht geschicht. Also zeucht er auch auß manchem / der vnter jhm ist / das Leben gar weg / vnd was er nit thut / das nicht für jhn ist / das thund andere Sternen in ander wege.

Darauff so wissent nuhn / das auch andere Sternen seind / die Magnetische arth haben / die ziehen Eisen an sich : Sonst mag kein Metall an sich zogen werden. So es sich also ein Attraction anfienge / so ist nicht minder / Eisen wirdt an sich zogen in die höhe / in die Mansion desselbigen Sternes : Wie dann der Berg

a *Tereniabin* is associated with the element of chaos, i.e. air, in *Von den Blatern* [...] *vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen:* "Die Anatomey des Wassers / schawe was sein Corpus sey / demnach wie die Mineralia seine Glider sind. Also auch der **Thereniabin** ein glid des Chaos, der Galaxa ein Spina des fewers" (H C:262a). In *Von dem Honig* P. defines it as the superfluous fat of the manna: "Dann *Manna* ist die höchste Speiß / ist das Marck der Locusten. ***Tereniabin*** ist die ander Speiß / vnd ist die außgeworffene Feißte der *Manna*, wie ein Schmaltz von einer Suppen" (H 7:226).

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plantae, to water the *mineralia*, to air the *tereniabin*,[1] and thus, too, to the heavens their *generationes*. Each must | stick to its own, generating nothing of any 243
other kind. This is why it is not possible for water or earth to generate lightning, rain, or snow. Only the heavens can do so: this is their *officium*. Nor can the heavens generate that which is assigned to the other metals.[2] Hence, no mineral can be born of the heavens, neither stone nor iron. Yet it has been proven that such things have happened: real, natural stones have fallen from the heavens. It may also be assumed that metal has done so, but only iron. For in both there resides a causality which does not allow other things to fall except iron and one *genus* of stone. It happens this way. You can see that all the stars exert of themselves an attractive power. The sun attracts whatever is moist, the moon whatever is warm in nature. Likewise the sun attracts that which is cold, that is, the water which is visible. The moon attracts what is warm, that is, any warm nature residing in some creature. From this it comes about that people from whom it has attracted warmth when they are burdened with illness sense that the disease is of a cold nature. In warmth there is no illness, or only a little. But as soon as the moon enters into its magnetic power, it extracts from the patient warmth and he becomes sicker than otherwise. So, too, it extracts from many under its power life altogether; and when it does not do this of itself, other stars act the same way.

In this regard, let it be known that there are other stars besides which possess a magnetic nature, attracting iron. Otherwise, no metal could be attracted to them. When such an attraction occurs, it is no less the case that iron can be

1 See ETW 131, 160–161. This enumeration is reminiscent of *Opus Paramirum* (H 1:114–115): "auß den 4. Elementen wachsen alle ding : auß der Erden das Kraut vnnd Holtz vnd 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 / vnd Regen. Diß befilch ich nuhn der Metheoric / so auß dem liecht der Natur gemacht ist."—*Tereniabin* is always considered by P. as a product of the element of air (also named sometimes "chaos"). See vis-à-vis. The word (from the Arabic *taranǧabin*) is already present in Avicenna's *Canon* in the Latin translation by Gerard of Cremona (12th c.): "Hic est ros, qui plurimum cadit in Corasceni" ("This is the dew, which often falls on Khorassan" [the Khorassan province in Persia]). In the *Liber Serapionis agregatus* (end of 13th c., first published 1473) its definition is: "dew falling from the sky; it is likened to grainy honey that easily becomes an aggregate, and is called honey of the dew" ("ros cadens de celo; assimilatur meli granuloso aggregativo et est nominatum mel roris"); see FEW Arveiller 1999, 570–573.

2 Palthen deliberately replaced "metals" with "elements" in his Latin translation, which makes more sense indeed in that context: the heavens cannot generate that which is assigned to the other elements.

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Magnes natürlich auff Erden beweißt / das Eisen vmb sich an sich zeucht : Aber solches geschicht nicht auff ein mal an Eim stücke / sondern klaubt zusammen mit der Portz / so weitt jhm folgen mag / biß er viel zu wegen bringen mag. Also zeucht auch der Sterne *Magnes* an sich Eisen in kleiner gestalt / an seinen nächsten enden vnnd örthern zu jhm in sein Mansion. So ers nun hatt /
244 als dann so Rodiert ers / vnnd zermalets | wie der Magnet / vnd lest den Rost / *Aeruginem* von jhm wider fallen / vnnd gibt ein *Alcool :* Vnd waß *Alcool* in der Sonnen ist / ist von solchen *Corporibus* die anzogen sind / vnd corrodiert in *Alcool* von den obern *Stellis*. So ist nit minder / das ist auch wol zu wissen vnd zu gedencken / das auch Holtz an sich zogen werde / vnd vielerley solchs dinges.[a] Dann sich befindet / so die *Alcool Solis* colligiert werden in ein zusammen häuffen / daß nicht vngleich erscheinen vielen solcher dingen / faulem Holtz vnd dergleichen. Dann solch ding kompt nicht alls in die Erden / sondern es probiert sich / daß von der Sonnen vnd Sternen zermalen wird / vnd das zermalen auffzogen in das Firmament / als wol als das Wasser von der Sonnen / die warme feuchti im Menschen vom Mond. Aber darumb daß der Todt in solcher Consumation ist / vnd verzehret ein ding wie dz Fewr : Auß der vrsachen wissent / das nit wider auff vns kommen oder fallen mag : als wenig als das Wasser das sich von der Sonnen auff hebet wider zu vns kompt / sondern stirbet im Lufft vnd verzehret sich gar.

Darumb so wissent auff solchs / das ich mit der Philosophey vnd krafft der Sternen / solches vnnd mehrers billich bedencken kan. Dann was an der Sonnen ligt / das wirdt vester verzehrt / dann was nit dran ligt / es sey von Metallen oder andern dingen / die nit eines fixen Corpus sind : was nit fix ist / dz gehet hinweg. Als ein Exempel / was dz Fewr verzehret vnd hinnimpt / kan niemandt weder sagen oder sprechen / daß der Himmel dasselbige nit auch möge thun / vnd dz mit seiner zeit. Das Fewr aber nimpts hinweg in Einer stunde / daß die Natur für sich selbest nit mag in viel Jahren thun. Aber von dem Eisen / dz wider herab fallt / merckent ein solche arth. Derselbige Etherische *Magnes*, zeucht an sich dz Eisen wie gesagt ist / dann es ist nit fix / transmutierts in ein *Aerugi-*

a P. recognizes a group of *attractivi* that include along with the magnet other organic and inorganic medical materials: "Von den attractivis zureden / seind etliche die Holtz ziehen / Fäsen vnd solch ding / als Asphaltum vnd Carabe: Etliche Eisen / als **Magnes**: Etlich Kupfer vnd Zin / als die gefärbten Amethisten : Etlich Bley vnnd Stein / als der Alabaster. Etlich Lempen vom Fleische / Beinschröt / als die Gummi / Terpentin / vnnd Asphaltum. Etlich in allen stucken / als die Serpentina. Wie solche krafft all seind / soll von eim Artzet nicht gescheiden sein" (*Bertheonea*—H C:345c; cf. note on H 8:102).

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pulled upward into the mansion of that particular star. The mountain *Magnes*[1] proves in a natural way on earth that it attracts iron wherever it lies around it. But this does not happen all at once in a particular place; it is rather cumulative in its proportion for as far as it can go until the effect becomes great. So it is, too, that the star *Magnes* attracts iron in a minor form from the nearest regions into its mansion. When it has attained this, it corrodes it and | crushes it like 244
the magnet, letting the rust, the *aerugo*, fall from it, thereby yielding *alcool*.[2] Whatever *alcool* is in the sun comes from such *corpora* that have been attracted and corroded into *alcool* by the upper *stellae*. By the same token it is worth noticing that wood can be attracted as well, and many other things besides. It can happen that when *alcool Solis* is accumulated into a single mass, many such things appear not unlike rotten wood and so on. For such things do not enter only into the earth; it can be demonstrated that they are ground down by the sun and stars; and in this state they are drawn up into the firmament, as is the water by the sun or the warm moisture in the human being by the moon. But since death lies in such consummation, consuming a thing as a fire would, those things in consequence may not descend back upon us, no more than the water which the sun has elevated returns, dying instead in the air and getting consumed entirely.

Therefore, bear in mind that by philosophy and the power of the stars, I can account for these things and others besides. For whatever lies in the sun is consumed more rapidly than what does not, be they metals or other things which are not of a fixed corpus. Whatever is not fixed goes away. Given the exemplary instance of what fire consumes and removes, no one dares maintain that the heavens do not do the same in their own time. Nevertheless, fire does in one single hour what nature by itself cannot do in many hours. However, regarding the iron that descends again, take note of this natural occurrence. That same ethereal *magnes* attracts the iron to itself, as we have said, for it is not fixed. It is transmuted into *aerugo*, then attracted thither in the way the *Magnes* has pro-

1 See Wikipedia, Magnesia. The word "magnet" may come from lodestones found in the area of ancient Near Eastern Magnesia.

2 On the word *alcool* (from the Arabic *al-kuhûl*, antimony powder), see above, 446, note a. The word is used here in the medieval sense.

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nem,[a] den zeuchts an sich / nach dem vnnd derselbige *Magnes* jhm das bereitt hatt. So nuhn solches Eisen zu jhm kompt / als dann so es zu viel ist / vnd der *Vulcanus* zu schnell / oder es kompt ein *Vulcanus* darein / der dasselbige mit dem Etherischen *Borras* begreifft / so mag ers zusammenfliessent machen in ein Maß / als were es in eim Fewroffen oder Schmeltzoffen. Vnd so es also ist worden zu einem Corpus / so mags dz Firmament nimmer tragen / vnnd lests
245 fallen. Wo solch Eisen ligt | vnd gefunden wirdt / kan nicht sein / es muß besser sein / dann ander Eisen : Dann der Etherische *Borras* hatts geleuttert vnnd gradiert. Aber es ist nicht ein gemeines Werck / sondern das die Natur sich also erzeigt : wo es aber geschicht / do ist ein sonder *Mysterium* auff / vnd sonder Arth. So mag sich auch wol begeben / dz solche Generation / so von vnten hinauff gezogen werden / offtermahls die *Pennates* solchs an sich bringen / vnd damit Fabricieren vnd fallen lassen. Dann die *Superi* sind in den Magnetischen Sternen / deren Lust in solchem stück gehet.

Weither so gibt sich auch / dz Steine vom Himmel fallen. Wiewol es auch nit ein gemein ding ist / sondern ein seltzames / vnd nit ohne ein *Præsagium*, auch dz Metall nicht ohn ein *Præsagium*. Solcher Steinen Generation sind in den Sternen : Dann der Strall der Kaltt ist / ist nichts als ein härter Stein / wie ein ander Stein. So nuhn die Natur *Olympi*[b] im kaltten Strall ein Stein gebiert / so ist wol müglich / dz auch solche Steine fallen ohne Stralßweiß in die Erden. Vnd dieweil sich offentlich beweißt / dz sie *Præsagia* sind / vnd sind *Signa* zukünfftiger dingen : So sind die *Pennates superi* dieselbigen / die solche *Materiam* Fabriciren vnd zu Steinen bringen. Denn Zeug haben sie wol von kaltter Generation / aber nit bey einander / auch nit in Stein zu werden / sondern sich in andere wege zu Resoluieren. Vnd aber die *Superi,* dieselbigen sind die jenigen / die von wegen deß Præsagiums dieselbige Materien nit zu Resoluiren kommen lassen / sondern darfür ein Stein darauß machen : Welcher Stein als dann / so die zeit kommt der stundt / fallen lassen in die Erden. Dann dz Stein auffzogen werden / ist nit von der Natur / noch keinerley jhres gleichen / dann sie sind Fix / bleiben auff Erden liegent. Aber wol dz Eisen / ists nit zu widerreden : Wann dieweil es der Magnet an sich zeucht / so ist gutt zu gedencken / vnd in der Natur zu finden / dz auch Magneten im Himmel sind die es thunt / wie gesagt ist. Vnd alles wz in der Humiditet stehet / dergleichen / vnd was sich auff Erden in ein Humiditet feulen läst vnd Putrificiren / dz ist alles müglich / das es auffzogen werde / als faul Holtz vnd ander faul ding / so lange / biß nichts

a Certain ulcerations or ailments are associated with *aerugo*, verdigris, and therefore the metallic equivalents are important for medicine: "vnd wiewol es ist / das Gold vnd Silber / sich nit wie die anderen Metallen erzeigen: das ist / sie werffen kein Scorien nit / geben auch kein **aeruginem**: darinn wissend die vnterscheid: Sehen die Augen das Sal des Goldts vnd Silbers

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cessed it. When the iron comes to it, if there is too much of it and the *vulcanus* acts too quickly, or if a *vulcanus* enters in and seizes it with the ethereal *Borras*, it can be made into one single flowing mass, as in a fiery oven or a melting pot. And if it has thus become a *corpus*, the firmament can no longer carry it and lets it descend. Where iron of this kind lies | and is discovered where it should 245
not be, it must be better than other iron.[1] For the ethereal *Borras* has purified and perfected it. But this is not a common work. Nature has rather manifested itself. When it happens, it is a special *mysterium* of a special kind. It can also happen, if such generation is drawn up from below, that it is often drawn in by the *pennates* which use it to work with and then let it drop. For the *superi* operate in the magnetic stars, and enjoy such working.

Furthermore, it happens that stones fall from the heavens. However, it is not common but strange and not without *praesagium*. Likewise the metals. The generation of these stones lies in the stars, for the lightning bolt that is cold is nothing but a stone harder than, but alike other stones. When the nature of *Olympus* generates in the cold lightning bolt a stone, it is quite possible that such stones should also fall to the earth, though not in a bolt. And since it is clearly evident that these are *praesagia* and *signa* of things to come, the *pennates superi* must be responsible for fabricating their *materia* and giving it the condition of stones. For it is clear that they have the stuff of cold generation, but not altogether and not so as to turn it into stones, but rather so as to become resolved in other ways. These *superi* are the same that, on account of the *praesagium*, do not let the material come to its resolution but instead make a stone out of it, which, when its time arrives, they drop to earth. For stones to be elevated is not a matter of nature nor its pattern: they are fixed and remain lying on the earth. But that this happens with iron no one can deny. That the magnet attracts it is easy to conceive and a phenomenon found in nature so that in the heavens there are also magnets which do the same, as has been said. As for anything that is absorbed by humidity in the same way, and for whatever on earth rots and putrifies into humidity: all this can be elevated as happens with rotten wood and other decayed things until nothing is left. So now take note of several

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nit / so wirt doch durch dz gewicht empfunden der abgang / der bey dem Kupfer vnd Eisen sichtbar ist / darumb das es grob hinweg felt / dz sich vom Goldt vnd Silber subtil hinweg stilt / vnnd es gar am letsten in verzehrung bringt" (*Von der Bergsucht*—H 5:32).

b The Carinthian *Von den Tartarischen kranckheiten* suggests that common precipitations are of the "Natur Olympi": "den impressionibus **Olympi**, durch Regen / Thaw / etc. welches die Erden oberhalb feuchtet" (H 2:34).

1 This strikingly sounds like meteoric iron. See below, H 8:264.

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mehr da ist. Also wissent nuhn von etlichen sondern Puncten / die sich auch auff Meteorisch begeben / dieselbigen zuverstohn / wie gemelt ist. Dann die
246 Natur ist wunderbarlich in jhren Wercken / vnd seltzam vnd groß | von Gott geordnet vnd begabet. Vnd solch ding alles zuverstohn / gibt die Erfahrnuß vnd die augenscheinliche Beweisung : Darzu auch dz Liecht der Natur / das sich selbst offenbart / vnd den Menschen in solchem nichts verhalt : dem der in jhr sicht. Dann nichts ist so heimlichs / dz nicht offenbar werde / nichts so kleins dz nicht an die Sonnen kommt / das ist / in deß Menschen Verstand vnd Erkanntnuß.

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particular points which are also meteorological, so that you may understand them as we have announced. Nature is marvelous in its works, and strange and great | as arrayed and endowed by God. For understanding all of this, we have 246
experience and visible demonstration as well as the light of nature that reveals itself and conceals nothing from the human being in such matters to whomever sees by its light. For nothing is so concealed that it will not be revealed, nothing so small that it will not come to light in human understanding and knowledge.

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CAPVT X.
DE EXHALATIONIBVS.[a]

So merckendt nuhn weither / das die Sternen sich reinigen / Sommer vnd Wintersternen / nicht durch Himmlitzen / sondern mit eim Corpus / das ist / dz sie ein *Corpus* von jhnen werffen / dz heist man das Sterngeschoß. Nun ist deß Vrsprung also / sie haben jhre Nahrung im Firmament / damit sie sich erhalte vom selbigen Element. Dann da ist nichts geschaffen / dz nit seine tägliche Fürung haben muß / als wol als der Mensch : auß dem dann folget / dz sie auch auß jhrem Element essen / vnd die Nahrung haben. Vnd auff dz / was sich mit Speiß oder Tranck erhalt / dz muß auch sein *Excrementum* geben. Nun folgt auff das / dz sie nichts dann mit Fewr erhalten werden / wie der Mensch von der Erden / von der er ist : Vom selselbigen Fewr zihen sie auß jhr *Essentiam*, wie der Mensch sein Blutt vnd Fleisch. Was nun nit von der *Essentia* ist / dasselbige wird ein *Excrementum*. Also so nun die Sternen jhre gewönliche zeit haben jhr *Excrementum* von jhnen zu werffen : Geschicht es bey Tage / so gesichts niemandts : geschicht es bey der Nacht / so gesicht mans. Ist ein Fewriner Stern / der sich lang außzeucht / kommt von oben herab von dem Himmel der Sternen / aber man sichts nit wie hoch es fallt / sondern allein so es kommt herab auff die vndern Himmel im Lufft / da wird es sichtbar / vnd fallt gen bodem / da ligt es / vnd ist gleich wie ein Sultz. Nun ist nit minder / viel Sternen reinigen sich in ander wege / dz nit also Fewri gehet / vnd doch Fewr ist / aber vnsichtbar. Darumb man viel Weiß Sterngeschossen sind / von den kalten Sternen geworffen : Viel gehet auch im Regen hin / viel im Wulckenbruch / viel im
247 Schawer | vnd grossem Hagel : Dann dieselbigen Wetter sind der Sternen Purgatzen / bewegen zum Außgang. Aber die Fewri werden / ist gleich als einer der da Wasser trinckt / von dem gehet Wasser wieder : Also sie trincken Fewr / Fewr gehet wieder von jhnen. So bald es aber die Erden berüret / so ist es Jrrdisch vnnd kein Fewr mehr / sondern ein Sultze vnd ein Schleim / wie Rottfarber oder Gelbfarber Froschleich.

So sollendt jhr auch wissen / das die Natur auch Vogel macht / die da Fewri seindt vnd fliegen : Nemlich / die man Tracken heißt / die da schiessen / von einem Berge zum andern. Diese Tracken seindt etwann ein Wesentlich Fewr / das sie anzünden / wie der Strall : Etwann werden sie zu einer Sultze wie die

a *Ein ander Paragranum* is decidedly negative with regard to this term: "Dann was ist das Meteororum Aristotelis? nichts als Fantasey. Dann vrsachen / nichts ist im Himmel / domit dieselbigen **Exhalationes**, Impressiones mügen probiert werden / anderst dann das alles ein Fantasey ist / vnnd ein grosse Polyphemische arth" (H 2:113). Characteristically, P. not only rejects but redefines and subsumes a contested term or concept.

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CAPVT X.
DE EXHALATIONIBVS.
[On Exhalations]

Now let it be said further that the stars purge themselves, summer and winter stars alike do so, not by means of lightning bolts but rather with a *corpus*, meaning that they cast a *corpus* from themselves which is a shooting star. They have the following kind of origin. Their nourishment is in the firmament; they maintain themselves from its element. For there is nothing created that does not need its daily sustenance, as does the human being. From this it follows that whatever maintains itself with food and drink has to yield its *excrementum*. Moreover, it follows that they are only sustained by fire, as the human being from earth out of which he has been made. From that fire they extract their *essentia*, as does the human being flesh and blood. Whatever does not pertain to the *essentia* becomes an *excrementum*. So it is that the stars have their customary time to cast from them their *excrementum*. If it happens by day, no one notices; if by night, one does. If a fiery star draws from afar, it comes down from high up from the heavens of the stars. But one does not see from how high up it falls. Only when it descends to the lower heavens in the air[1] does it become visible as it falls to the ground. There it lies like gelatinous mass.[2] It is no less true that many stars purge themselves differently without the fiery trail yet nonetheless with a fire that is invisible. There are many white shooting stars cast by the cold stars. Many also eject in rain or in cloudbursts; many in showers | or large hail. These weather conditions are the expurgations of the 247
stars moving toward exit. But with those that become fiery it is like someone who drinks water and then passes it again: they drink fire and it passes from them. But when it touches the earth, it becomes earthen and is no longer fiery but rather a liquid mass and a slime, like red or yellow frog eggs.

You should also be aware that nature makes birds that are fiery and fly. They are the ones that we call dragons, the ones that can shoot from one mountain to another.[3] These dragons sometimes are a substantial fire[4] which they ignite like the lightning bolt. They may turn into a gelatinous mass like shooting stars.

1 This distinction between "the heavens of the stars" and "the lower heavens in the air" is probably a reworking of the traditional division of the different regions of air. See above, H 8:77.

2 See Grimm, Sülze, Sulze. Neither predominant connotation of a natural hole of salt water or a gelatinous meat dish seems to offer a specific clue, so we have adopted their lowest common denominator.

3 A draft of the whole passage on dragons and salamanders is found in *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris*, below, H 8:256–257.

4 We translate "wesentlich" like Palthen did in Latin: "substantialis."

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Sternengeschoß : Etwann verzehren sie sich gar mit einander : Etwann im verzehren geben sie ein hartten gestanck. Solcher Vrsprung ist also : Jhr sehendt / dz auß viel dingen lebendige Thier werden / als Keffer / Fliegen / Spinnen vom Lufft / die nicht Sahmen haben von dem sie kommen / sondern sie müssendt also ohne Sahmen vnd *Sperma* werden : Wie dann vom Lufft die Philosophey lernet erkennen. Also gebiert auch der *Olympus* in seim Firmament ein Arth der Thieren : Nicht allein Tracken / sondern auch andere ding / die da in jhnen Leben haben / vnd ein Vihischen Verstandt / zu schiessen / oder fliegen von eim orth zum andern / es sey Tag oder Nacht. Dann so das Element Wasser viel Meerwunder hatt in jhm / vnd die Erden viel seltzamer Würme / der Lufft viel seltzamer Keffer vnd Mücken : So hatt auch das der Himmel / viel seltzamer Salamander in jhm. Dann dz seind die rechten Salamander / werden auß dem Fewr geboren / das ist / auß der Putrefaction deß brennenden Schwefels. Vnd ist der vier Wunderwerck eins in den vier Elementen / vnd sind Vieh vnd Thier *Olympi*, sind verstendig wie dz Vieh im Wasser vnd Erden vnd Lufft / mit solchen Viehischen Verstand sind sie auch begabet. Jhr Leben ist nicht lang / aber dieweil sie leben / so haben sie ein weiten Schuß vnd ein weiten Kreiß zu fliegen oder zu schiessen / nemlich auff etlich hundert Meil : Nit in Eim Schuß / sonder ein Zeit biß an ein orth / darnach weither an ein orth. So balde sie do nider sitzen / so sind sie nit Fewrin anzusehen / allein aber / so sie ein wenig
248 in den Lufft kommen / so sind sie wider Fewri : Vnd so bald sie wider Fewri | werden / so scheinent sie wider. Sie habent auch ein Schlaff vnd Ruhe / in welchem Schlaffe sie auch nit leuchten : Allein in der Motion / so sie fliegen / oder in die weitte bewegen.

Nuhn begibt sich offte / dz man zwo oder drey Sonne sicht / oder auch zwen oder drey Mond / oder ander gestalt / mehr dann derselbigen sein soll. So es nuhn geschicht / so ist es allein darumb / dz das ein *Præsagium* ist / vnd nit von der Natur ein natürlich gewächs : Sondern die *Pennates superi* die machens / dadurch sie Præfiguriren eine solche Gleichnuß nachfolgent zukünfftig. Als dann offte beschehen ist / dz sie ersehen sind worden / vnd nachfolgend der Verstand gnugsam erfunden / wz sie bedeut haben. Nuhn werden sie also gemacht / von den *Pennatis superis :* Zu gleicherweise / als wann ein Baum stehet / der von Natur ist / vnd es kommt ein Künstler vnd macht einen denselbigen gleich von Wachs. Oder es seindt Corallen von Natur da / vnd käme ein Künstler / vnd machts von Künsten auch also / dz von ferni eins wie das ander sehe / vnd würden alle drey oder vier / etc. für gutte Corallen angesehen / dann von den scheinbarn rechten / folgend die Nammen den andern auch. Oder es were ein Guldenes Gefesse an einem orth / das entlich in guttem Wissen were / das es Gülden were / vnnd einer machte von Messing noch zwey oder drey Geschirr demselbigen gleich darzu / vnd stälte es auch dahin /

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They may consume themselves together and thereby give off a powerful stench. This is their origin: you can see many things turn into living animals, as do beetles, flies, and spiders from the air, having no seed from which they come. They come into being without seed or *sperma*, as philosophy teaches us with regard to the air. So does the *Olympus* in its firmament generate a kind of animals; not only dragons, but others besides which have a life in them and an animal mind which allows them to shoot or fly from one place to another, by day or by night. For just as the element of water contains many aqueous prodigies and earth many strange worms, and just as the air holds many strange insects and gnats, so do the heavens contain many strange salamanders. For true salamanders are born of fire, that is, from the putrefaction of burning sulphur, and it is one of the four wonders in the four elements. These are creatures and animals of *Olympus*, sensate like the creatures in water, air, and earth; and endowed with the same kind of animal mind.[1] They do not live long, but while they are alive, they have a wide range and circle, fly, or shoot, namely a range of several hundred miles: not all in one shot, but rather first to one goal and then further to another. As soon as they settle, they no longer appear fiery. But if they launch themselves only a little bit in the air they become fiery again, and as soon as they again become fiery |, they reappear. They also have their time to sleep and rest during 248
which they do not glow, which happens only when they are in motion, when they fly or move into the distance.

Now it often happens that one sees two or three suns or moons or some other configuration in excess of what should be. When that happens, they have no other purpose but to be a *praesagium* and not a natural outgrowth of nature. The *pennates superi* make it happen in order to presage a likeness of what will come about in the future. It often happens that such things are seen and only afterwards is there sufficient awareness of what they mean. They are made in this way by the *pennates superi*. It is comparable to a tree that stands; along comes an artist who configures the same thing with wax. Or there are natural corals; and along comes an artist who makes them by art so that from a distance one could not tell the difference. All three or four of them would be seen as good corals. The term for the good ones is applied to the others as well. Or there is a golden vessel somewhere which is well known to be of authentic gold. Someone makes several like it out of brass. When placed together, all of them might indeed be regarded as gold. So do the *pennates* have sufficient material in

1 Note that salamanders are, in the *Liber de nymphis*, the elementary beings of the element of fire. This is not yet the case here.—See the transitional passage on salamanders below in *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris*, H 8:256–257.

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so würdens dem rechten nach alle drey für Gold angesehen. Also haben die *Pennates* gnugsam Zeug im Firmament / das sie mögen machen solch Messinen Sonnen wie viel sie wöllen / vnd solche Messing Mond auch dergleichen. Aber die Zahl haben sie / das sie nicht mehr machen / dann so viel vnd das *Præsagium* vermag : Dann darumb seind die *Pennates* im Himmel / die auff solche dienst warten. Vnd der solche Erkanntnuß nemmen kan / was die *Pennates* Præfiguriren / in solcher gestalt : Dann es wird nichts treffenlichs oder fürgehents geboren oder angefangen / dz sie nicht nach jhren Præsagiren. Das befilch ich den *Magis*, vnd gar nichts den *Astrologis* vnd den *Astronomis*. Also nicht allein in Sonnen vnd Mond / sondern auch in andern bequemen Sternen / machen sie denselbigen grösser / oder dergleichen ein andern Stern / ein newen / machen auch viel solcher seltzamer Arth im Himmel / das alles jhr arbeitt ist.

249 Also auch machent die *Pennates* Ring oder Regenbogen vmb | Sonn vnd Mond / oder ander viel dergleichen Zeichen / von allerley Farben. Dergleichen machen sie auch Regenbogen / so ein Regenbogen soll ein *Præsagium* sein : Sonst seindt andere Regenbogen / die natürlich seindt. Dieweil aber durch den Regenbogen in sonderheit ein Friedt bedeutt vnd gemacht hatt / wo solcher Friede noch soll sein oder werden / oder einer aufferstehen / so ist ein solcher Regenbogen vorgangen : Die werden allein von den *Pennatis* gemacht vnd gestellet. Darumb soll man dieselbigen Regenbogen besondern erkennen vor den natürlichen. Dann die Natürlichen werden also : Es ist nichts dann *Sulphur, Sal* vnd *Mercurius*, mit sampt jhren Farben / beim besten vnd höchsten gedewet an dem orth : Werden im Firmament geboren von den Wassersternen / so sie wollen Regenwetter machen / so ist das der Blust daruon. Vnd nimmer kommt kein Regen ohn ein vorplütt. Vnnd so ein Stern sich will zum Regen machen / so ist am ersten der Regenbogen sein Blüest / demnach der Regen. Nuhn ist nicht minder / sie kommen nicht offt / als offts regnet / das ist / sie werden nicht sichtbar alle / verschwinden in Lufft vnd verzehren sich. Wo aber gewaltige außbrüche vom Regen werden / da werden gewaltige Regenbogen / dieselbigen sencken sich von Sternen vnd vom Gewülch herab auff die Erden / vnd stellen sich mit den zweyen Spitzen auff dem Boden / vnd die Rotunditet vbersich / vnd stehend so lang / biß der Lufft verzehrt. Vnd also kommt es offt / das zwene werden / das seindt *Gemini*, bedeutt ein zweyfach lenger Regen : dann der eine / an jhm sich selbst bedeutt. Das seind Gottes Ordnung / von Göttlicher Prouidentz dermassen versehen vnd verordnet. Dann nichts ist / das nicht ein Blüest gebe : Das Himmlitzen ist ein Blüest deß Wetters vnd Stralls. Also in andern viellerley Früchten mehr / vnnd viel Blüeste seindt / die wir nicht mögen sehen / vnd von jhnen kein wissen haben / darumb das sie sich im Lufft verzehren vnnd hingehend. Allein das sehen wir / was wol herab fallt vnd kommt.

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the heavens to make brass suns, brass moons, and the like. But there is a limit so that they do not make more than the *praesagium* requires. For that is why there are *pennates* in the heavens: to fulfill such tasks.[1] As for that which can be learned from what the *pennates* prefigure in this manner—for nothing excellent or premonitory is born or initiated which has not followed their presaging—I refer this to the *magi* and not to the *astrologi* or *astronomi*. So it is that not only suns or moons, but common stars can be made larger or affected or changed into other stars or made new, so that many strange effects in the heavens are entirely their work.

So too, the *pennates* craft rings or rainbows around | the sun and moon or 249
they devise other such signs of diverse colors. Likewise, they can make a rainbow as a *praesagium*. For there are other rainbows which are natural. When peace is anticipated or has been concluded, a preceding rainbow will signal where it is to happen; or where there is to be an uprising. These signs are made and brought to light solely by the *pennates*. Hence, one should distinguish such rainbows from the natural ones. The latter are nothing but *sulphur, sal,* and *mercurius* with their colors, digested in that place to the best and highest degree. In the firmament, they are born from the water stars where they should make rainy weather which is their bloom.[2] No rain ever comes without a previous blossoming. When a star would cause rain, its first bloom is the rainbow and after that the rain.[3] It is nonetheless the case that they occur infrequently, less often than it rains which means that they do not always become visible. They dissipate in the air and are consumed. But whenever there are mighty outbursts of rain, there are mighty rainbows. They descend from the stars and from the clouds onto the earth, placing their two tips on it with their curve rising up; and they remain standing until the air consumes them. So, too, it often happens that there are two. These are *gemini*, signifying rain twice as long. For each signifies its own. They pertain to the order of God, ordered and provided by divine providence. For there is nothing that does not flower. The lightning bolt is the flower of the storm and lightning. So it is in many other fruits besides and in the many flowerings that we cannot see or know about because they are consumed in the air and pass away. We only see what descends and arrives.

1 As already stated on H 8:242.

2 The vegetal language already observed in the treatise (see H 8:182) is spectacularly continued here, culminating with the very end of this chapter: "For there is nothing that does not flower."

3 The shift from astral purgation in the *Philosophy of the Elements* to astral blossoming in *De Meteoris* as the explanation of rainbow is obviously more fitting for such a powerful symbol of peace and a covenant between men and God.

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Folget
Ein andere Beschreibung *Meteororvm*,
in Fünff kurtze Bücher abgetheilt:
Zuvor nie in Truck außgangen.

LIBER PRIMVS.

Vom Regenbogen.

Die Geburt vnd Herkommen deß Regenbogens / ist gleich der Geburt der Frawen. Dann in Ein Weg / die zeit so die Frawen haben müssen auff jhr Frucht / dieselbig muß auch ein Regenbogen haben. Dergleichen auch wie sich begibt / das etwann Ein Regenbogen wird / etwann zween / etwann zun zeitten auff drey : Dasselbig ist gleich die vrsach / als so ein Fraw mehr als Ein Kindt brechti : Beyde mit gleichen *Rationibus* begriffen werden.

So wissen auch von seinem Gang / das etlich seindt / die do gleich lauffen den Wassersternen / das ist / mit jhnen : Etlich ausserthalb denselbigen : Etlich in der Lingen *Zodiaci Circuli*, vnd dergleichen. Auff das so wissen / das sie kommen zu vngleicher zeit : Etlich seind auff Winter / etlich auff Sommerzeit gericht / das ist / zu allen stunden : Gleich wie ein Fraw zu aller Stund genesen mag : Also hie auch zu wissen ist mit den Regenbogen. Dann sie haben kein bestimpten Herbst noch Ernd / allein wenn sich nun jhr *Coniunctiones* schickendt / als dann kommt jhr zeit der Geberung.

Wiewol sich viel begibt / das die hundertsten nicht gesehen werden. Dann vrsach / sie wollen ein Temperierts Wesen haben / dorinn sie geboren werden : Das ist / nicht zu Trucken noch zu Naß / nicht zu Kaltt / noch zu Warm / sondern im Mittel : Auß der vrsach / was Regenbogen seindt zu Winterszeitten / die
251 werden von der Kältti gefrört vnnd zerbrochen in | jhrer Geburt : Dergleichen

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There follows another account of the *Meteora*, 250
divided into five short books,
never yet having appeared in print.[1]

LIBER PRIMVS.

Concerning the Rainbow.[2]

The birth and origin of the rainbow is like the birth by a woman. For in a sense, the time that a woman must take for her fruit, a rainbow must also take. In this sense, it happens that at times one rainbow comes into being, at times two, sometimes even three.[3] The cause is the same for a woman who bears more than one child. Both phenomena can be grasped by the same *rationes*.

Let it also be noted concerning their course that some follow the path of the water stars, coursing with them; others are outside their orbit.[4] Some are in the line of *Zodiacus circuli*, and the like. Therefore, let it be noted that they do not arrive at the same time, some are directed to winter and some to summertime, therefore to any hour. By the same token, just as a woman can give birth[5] at any time, the same applies to the rainbow. For they have no particular autumn or harvest except when their *conjunctiones* apply and their time of delivery arrives.

However, it happens often that hundreds of them are not seen. The reason is that they should be born with a well-tempered substance: not too dry or moist, not too cold or warm, but moderate. For the same reason, what would be rainbows in wintertime are frozen by the cold and shattered in | their birth. 251

1 Huser printed this tract for the first time in 1590, drawing upon P.'s autographs. Though its thematic progression and loose argumentation suggest a tentative draft and work in progress, it was clearly not discarded by the author, and therefore must have had a content and value once deemed by him worthy of preservation. Note that its successive chapters sometimes follow almost exactly the order of the corresponding chapters in the *Philosophy of the Elements*. On the other hand, the last sentence of the tract (H 8:277) directly links it to book five of *Von den Natürlichen Wassern* (H 8:414–428).

2 A brief fragment on the rainbow (*De Iride. Aliter*) mostly parallels the present chapter, with differences that we highlight in our footnotes. See below, H 8:329–331.

3 On the previous page, the last one of *De Meteoris*, P. evoked the simultaneous production of two rainbows and called them *gemini*. In the present treatise, however, the notion of birth from a mother is fully developed.

4 In the *Philosophy of the Elements* and *De Meteoris*, the rainbow is directly produced by water stars. Their interdependency is much looser here.

5 See Grimm, genesen (3).

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was zu Summer zeitten ist / so die Sonn lautter vnd trucken ist / dieselbigen werden außgedörrt vnd verbrennt. Drumb solche nicht gesehen werden / sonst würden alle Tag Regenbogen sein. Aber zu Morgens / vnd zu Abents / vnd zu Wetterszeitten / so ein Temperatur steht / als dann so haben sie jhr frewd / vnd zeit / zu der Geberung.

Wiewol auch die Regenbogen jhren Nammen haben / allein das sie Regen sollen bedeutten : Ist die vrsach in dem / das sie zu solcher zeit vollendt werden / vnnd in ander zeit werden sie verdörrt oder erfrört : Auff das vermeint wirdt / es sey ein Zeichen zum Regen : Aber in dem Weg / wie obsteht. Darumb nichts gewiß do zu haltten ist. Denn gleich wie die Geburt der Frawen seindt / also die auch : Vnd als sie nichts bedeutten / also die auch.

Die Regenbogen nemmen jhr Farben auß dem Saltz deß Fewrs : Dann sie gehnd auß dem Element Fewr / dasselbig seind auch deß Elements Fewrs Farben / vnd weither keini. Vnd wie jhr sehent ein Fewr auffbrennen / do Saltz jnn geworffen wirdt / vnderschiedlich / Grün / Gelb / Blaw / Braun / etc. Rott / etc. Also wie dieselbigen Farben sich nicht vnder einander vermischen / sondern frey auffgehnd / getheilt neben einander : Also der Regenbogen sein Farben dermassen theilt / die er dann hatt auß Krafft deß Saltzgeists / so im Element deß Fewrs leit : Dann also ist sein Arth / vnd angeborni Eigenschafft.

Dermassen seiner Form halben vnnd Gestalt / wissen : Wie jhr sehen / das alle ding in ein Form gericht ist / als der Mensch / als das Vieh / als die Kreutter / Beum / Stein / etc. Solche Form ist der Philosophey nicht müglich auß zugründen / auß was vrsachen sie also gemacht sey. Wiewol wir von Menschen mügen erkennen / warumb Hendt vnnd Füß gutt sey / worzu Augen vnnd Zungen : Aber noch viel weniger von andern dingen der Geschöpfften : Anderst allein das sie Gott dermassen gefallen haben.

Also sehendt jhr / wie er die Form den Rosen geben hatt / den Gilgen : Auß welcher Form nichts nützlichs geschicht / als allein das Wunder vor Augen. Deß Menschen Form erfordert die Notturfft : Diese aber nicht also. Es wer dann
252 sach / das jhr Form auß der Eigenschafft gieng / das ist / Ein ding weri : | Das dann nicht sein mag / zeigt an / der Form zerbrechung / vnnd der Eigenschafft bleiben. Also wie in der Natur die Form auß dem Sahmen geht / also mit der Zeit in sein Frucht : Also der Regenbogen auß seinem Sternn wachst vnsichtlich im Vndern Firmament / biß er die viertzig Wochen erfüllt : Als dann / so sein

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Similarly, in summertime when the sun is pure and dry, they are desiccated and burned away. Hence, these are not seen; for if they were, there would be rainbows every day. But in the morning or evening and in times of storm when the temperature is steady, they thrive and have their time of birth.

If the rainbows take their name solely from their reference to rain, the reason is that they reach fulfillment at that time. At other times, they are dried out or frozen. It is thought that they are a sign of rain, but only in the sense described above. Nothing about that should be considered certain. For it is as with birth by women; just as this may mean nothing, so it is with them too.

The rainbows derive their colors from the salt of the fire.[1] They stem from that element and have its colors and no other. Just as when you cast salt into a fire, you see it flare up variously: green, yellow, blue, brown, red, etc. And just as those colors do not mix with one another but rather flare freely, separate from one another, so it is that the rainbow divides up its colors from the force of the salt spirit that lies in the element of fire. For that is its nature and innate property.

Therefore, you should know this with respect to its form and configuration. You can see that all things are directed toward their form, as is the human being, the animal, herbs, trees, stones, etc. Philosophy cannot fathom these forms to explain what causes them. With human beings, we can, however, explain what hands and feet, eyes and tongue are good for, though much less for other created things. We can only say that God wanted them that way.

You can see what sort of form he gave to the roses or the lilies. From it nothing useful results but a marvel for the eyes. The human form fills the requirement of necessity, but those do not. Not unless their form resulted from the property, that is, that it would be one and the same thing. | But it cannot be, as indicated by the destruction of the form and the permanence of the property.[2] As in nature the form stems from the seed in time proceeding into the fruit,[3] so the rainbow grows invisibly from its star in the lower firmament until its forty 252

1 See our note on the Huser text above, H 8:84.

2 This puzzling passage should be understood, as it seems, in this way: the "form" is the mere physical appearance of either flowers or a human being. The "property" is that which makes the outward form necessary; P. probably means the very essence of a human being, the soul itself. The "form" is transient, while the "property" subsists after the destruction of the form. Flowers do not have a soul, so in their case, it is not possible that the soul and the body are combined as to form one single being, as in the case of human beings. We thank Jean-Marc Mandosio for this interpretation; mistakes, if there are, are ours only.

3 The idea of the seed is found again in the brief fragment parallel to the present chapter (H 8:329).

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stundt der Geburt da ist / ist ein Temperiertes Wetter do / so erzeigt er sich / vnnd wirdt vollkommen in seiner Form vnnd Farben / wie jhn die Natur deß Fewrs gemacht hatt.

Nuhn ist seins bleibens nicht lang : Dann wie alle ding jhr Zeit haben jhrs Lebens / also do auch. Dann er ist also subtil vnnd zart / das jhn gar ein schnelle Wiederwertigkeit zerbricht : Jedoch so ist sie auff ein Stundt oder anderthalbe zuerharren. Wiewol etlich lenger / etlich kürtzer stehndt : Ist auß vrsachen / das ein jedliche Creatur vor oder nach der zeit ein Zerbrechung nemmen mag. Gleich als ein Kindt / vnd ein Hundertjähriger Mann / so die sterben / wie weit stehnd sie von einander ? Auch gegen den Mittelsten / dz ist / gegen den Viertzigjährigen ? Nuhn ist die Arth do / das ein jedlicher Regenbogen vndersich stehet mit beyden Füssen auff der Erden / wie er dann in Lufft gesenckt oder genött wirdt auff den Boden. Gleich wie ein Blum der vbersich wechst mit sein Blettern : Also seind all öberi *Impressiones* vnder sich gericht. Dann vndersich ist jhnen vbersich / wann die Wurtzen seindt oben / so muß das Gewechs herab stehen / das ist / von jhrem Boden / vnd nicht in jhren Boden.

Von den Figuren / so im Himmel seltzam erscheinen.

So begeben sich offtmahls im Himmel seltzam Form vnd Figuren : Jetzt auff Gleichnuß eim Mann / jetzt eim Vieh / jtzt also / dann also / auff seltzam vnerhört Arth. Solch Geberung ist natürlich im Firmament : Dann auß den Sternen nemmen sie jhr *Corpus* vnd *Materiam*, auß denselbigen nemmen sie auch jhr Form. Wie jhr aber sehendt / das vndter den Menschen Mißgewechs wachsen / zu seltzamen zeitten vnersehene Kinder mit seltzamer Gestalt vnd Wesen /
253 die dann nicht zu beschreiben seindt / allein der gantzen Mißgestalt halben : | Also in den weg die Figuren im Himmel[a] Mißgewächs sind : auß den Regenbogen ettlich / ettlich auß den trocknen Gewülch / ettlich auß vermischung

a The *Liber de Podagricis* intimates that these figures are both a common occurrence and meteorologically and medically relevant: "Als das Necrococomicum ist das: In dem **Himmel** seind Bilder / **Figuren** / vnd dergleichen / deren Anfang / Vatter vnd Mutter nichts ist / sondern ein ding vber Vätterliche vnd Mütterliche geberung. Nit allein also im Himmel / sondern im halben mittel vom Himmel: Auch nit allein in denselbigen Interstitiis, sondern auch daß sie fallen gar herab auff die Erden / auff die Kreütter / Bletter / etc. der Beumen / oder dergleichen / vnd also im Taw / vnd ohn den Taw zu seinen zeitten viel Form / Figuren / Cocomica signa erfunden werden / die auch all mit den öbern auß Einer Arth kommen / vnd offtmals fallen auff die Leut / so in solcher Lineen wandlen. Als einer der vnder einem Gewülck wandert / leichtlicher begriffen wirdt dann einer der nicht darunter : Also werden offt auff den

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weeks are fulfilled. Then, when the hour of birth arrives, a tempered weather comes and it manifests itself to become complete in its form and colors, as it has been crafted by the nature of the fire.

Now it does not linger for long. Just as all things have a measured lifetime, so does it too. For it is so subtle and delicate that it is soon destroyed by opposing forces. Nonetheless, it might last an hour or hour and a half. Some remain longer and some shorter. The reason is that every creature may enter destruction before or after its time. It is as with a child and a hundred-year old man: when they die, how far apart are they? And how is it with the intermediate ones, the forty-year olds? But their character is such that every rainbow stands with its two feet on the earth, as if it were dangling in the air or forced to the ground. It is like a flower that grows upwards with its petals: so it is that all celestial *impressiones* are directed downwards. For downwards is upwards to them. If their roots were above, the growth must point downwards, that is, from its ground and into its ground.[1]

Concerning the Figures That Appear Strangely in the Heavens.[2]

It often happens that strange forms and figures appear in the heavens, now taking the appearance of a man, now an animal, now this, now that, in strange and unfamiliar ways. This generation occurs naturally in the firmament. For from the stars they derive their *corpus* and *materia*, and from it they take their form.[3] Just as you see that among human beings the misbegotten grow; at odd times unusual children with a strange figure and being that can hardly be described simply on account of its misshapenness, | so, too, are the figures in 253
the heavens misbegotten. Some are from the rainbows, some from the rainless clouds; some from the mixture of their forms. It is the same as when three or

Kleidern gefunden mancherley zeichen / von viel Figuren in mancherley arth vnd weiß / sichtig / mehr sichtig / vnnd etwan dunckel / vnnd viel die teglich zufallen / so nit sichtig sind" (H 4:269).

1 For similar considerations see e.g. *De Meteoris*, H 8:239.

2 This chapter has a corresponding section in the *Philosophy of the Elements*, book 2, sixth treatise, section 4 (H 8:93–94). In the latter, figures in the heavens are said to take their body from the element of fire via the three principles. They are interpreted as presages. The present chapter clearly represents a more primitive stage of P.'s ideas.

3 Here P. does not go as far as attributing such generations to the three principles; his mention of the stars as the providers of their bodies and very matter is a first step toward this theory, but he does not say more about the stars.

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solcher Formen zusammen. Zugleicher weiß als so drey oder viererley *Spermata* zusammen gossen werden / darauß wirt ein *Monstrum*[a] : Also werden da auch vermischung der Sternischen *Spermatum*. So als dann die *Corpora* zusammen kommen / so eylet ein jedtliches auff sein Form : mit dem so brichts je eins das ander : Also werden Form darauß / die niemandts anzeigen kan oder vorsagen : auß bemelten vrsachen der seltzamen vermischung. Drumb sollen solch Form nit für seltzam oder ettwas Miraculs[b] angenommen werden / noch für ein Weissagung : wann solcher jrrung der Natur geschehen viel.

Darumb ein jedtlicher Regenbogen / der in jhm selbst mißgerath / darauß wird ein Gewülch mit seinen farben / auff seltzame arth / Rott / Grün / Geel / etc. vnd mit seltzamer Form bey anderm Gewülch im Himmel. Wo solch Gewülch ersehen werden / ist allein Mißgewächs vom Regenbogen / es sey bey Tag oder Nacht.

Von Lantzen.

Also begeben sich auch / das ettwan Spieß gesehen werden / vnd solch Form : So Regenbogen farben jnlauffen / so ists allein ein Mißgewechs eins Regenbogens / das ist / dz in den Bogen gehn solt / das geht in die Lengi / schneidt sich ettwan ab einander / vnnd machen mehr als Ein Stück darauß : Ettwan kuglet es sich zusammen / zu Ringen vnd dergleichen / wie dann eins jedlichen dings zerbrechens ein arth ist. Dann wer will oder kan das zerbrochen ding gnugsam anzeigen ? wie seltzam / oder in was gestallt seine Stück werden ? Ettwan gleich den Schlössern vberhauffen sie sich / ettwan Kirchen gleich / ettwan wie die Teller / vnd anders dergleichen / wie es sich dann begibt / im zerbrechen. Darumb auß solchen mißgerahtnen dingen soll sich der Mensch nit groß darinn ersehen : dann sie geschehen auff der Erden auch / in allen dingen wo Mißgewechs begegnen. So sind solch jetztgemelt Figuren / allein zerbrochen Regenbogen / vnd dasselbig *Corpus,* Farben / vnd Wesen : wie es sich dann scheidet von einander vnd zerbricht / nit allein der Form halben /
254 sondern auch Farben halben. Sie haben auch ein ander Alter / | das ist / sie mögen lenger oder kürtzer / als der Regenbogen arth ist / (im) leben.

Sich begeben auch ettwann heittere Figuren vnd Form im Himmel : als ettwan ein New Mond / oder ein gleichnuß eins Mons / oder sonst ein ander

a The *Herbarius* states: "Das ist ein ***Monstrum***, dz der Himmel außbrüttet / wider der Natur Ordnung. Als er brüttet ein *Sperma* auß / darauß wirdt ein *Monstrum*, das ist / ein Thier / das nit in der zahl der Geschöpff ist : welche widerwertige *Monstra* dem Menschen sonderlich zu wider sind / vnd vielfeltig für Geist gehalten werden / für Teüffel / vnd dergleichen" (H 7:96).

b See below, H 8:264.

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four kinds of *spermata* are poured together to yield a *monstrum*.[1] So, too, does the mixture of the astral *spermata* come about. When the *corpora* come together, each hastens to achieve its form, thereby interrupting the others. From this, there result forms which no one can reveal or predict as a result of the indicated causes of the strange mixture. For this reason, these forms should not be regarded as strange or miraculous, nor as a prophesy.[2] For such errors of nature happen often.

Hence, every rainbow that is aborted in itself yields a cloud formation with its colors of a strange kind, red, green, yellow, etc., and with a strange form alongside the other cloud formations in the heavens. When such cloud formations are observed, they are nothing but malformations of the rainbow, whether by day or by night.

Concerning Lances.[3]

It can also happen that pikes are seen and other forms of that kind. When the rainbow colors run together, there is a simple malformation of a rainbow that should form a bow. It instead extends horizontally and at some point gets cut off so that more than one segment results.[4] Sometimes, it gets rounded to rings and such shapes, as is the wont of anything that breaks. Who can or would want to demonstrate the broken thing, as to the shapes that result? Like castles, they pile up on one another, sometimes like churches, sometimes like plates and other shapes besides, when they break up. Hence, toward these misshapen things the human being should not orient himself; for such things happen on earth as well, indeed in all things where malformation can occur. These afore mentioned things are nothing but fragmented rainbows with the same *corpus*, colors, and essence. They separate and break up not only in form but in colors as well. They have another age span, | that is, they can live longer or shorter 254
than is typical for the rainbow (in its) life.

There also result serene figures and forms in the heavens such as a new moon or the likeness of a moon or some other form which is, as stated, equally fiery.

1 This explanation of the birth of monsters differs from those given in P.'s *De homunculis* and *De animalibus ex sodomia natis*, two treatises from the so-called *Philosophia magna* (in Huser, vol. 9). See the discussion in Newman 2020, 42–44.

2 This statement is clearly in contrast to the opposite one in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:94).

3 This chapter is much longer than the fifteen lines or so that bear the same title in the *Philosophy* of the *Elements* (H 8:85).

4 This explanation is not found elsewhere.

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Form / wie obsteht / gleich als fewrin. Dasselbig nimpt sein vrsprung auß den Sterngeschossen / in den weg. Wie jhr sehend / daß die Stern sich reinigen / vnd ein fewrin Streimen herab auff die Erden werffen : dieselbigen sind natürlich / dann es ist jhr Blüe / wie ein Baum der sein Blumen außdrucket. Vnd aber wie die Sternen ein Liechtschein haben : also auch sein Geblüe / so lang vnd es lebt. Das ist / wie jhr sehen / daß die scheinenden Würm bey der Nacht jhr Sternlizeigen / vnd bey Tag nit : Also dieselbigen Geschoß auch. Vnd wie die Würmli allein lebendig dieselbigen haben : also dieser Sterngeschoß auch / derselbig scheint so lang er lebt : dz ist / so bald er auff die Erden kompt / so ist er erkaltet / vnd ist todt / vnd scheint nicht mehr. So es nuhn im fallen ist / so dehnet es sich auß einander / daß es ettwan gleich sicht einem Spieß / jetzt einem Dracken / etc. So ist es doch allein nichts anders / dann ein reinigung seins Sternens in der Blü. Dann ander Gewechs auff Erden sind / die es auch dermassen thund.

Also begibt sich auch ein Mißgewächs / daß solch Sterngeschoß[a] offtmals im Lufft erhalten werden / wie ein Gewülch / seiner leichti halben / vnnd auch daß es ein Lüfftische arth ist. So dasselbige geblüe in einem hauffen bleibt / vnd nicht zerfellt / so sicht es gleich einem grossen Stern / oder Mond : Nach dem vnnd der Materia viel ist / oder nider auff der Erden / darnach scheint es groß oder klein. Dergleichen so mag es wol zu stücken fallen / vnd ander Figuren geben / wie dann oben vom Regenbogen stehet. Von solchen ferorinen Formen vnd Figuren wissent / daß es nichts anders ist / dann der Stern soll auff die Erden fallen : das ist nun für kommen / vnd ist blieben im mittlen Himmel / im selbigen entformbt es sich / vnnd wirdt vom Windt / der im mittlen Himmel gehet / getrieben. Also erscheinen ettwan fewri Mann / fewrin Spieß / fewri Schwertter / vnd dergleichen. Von solchen ist nichts zu reden anders dann ein Mißform / wie angezeigt ist.

255 Also mögen [sich] drey Mond begeben / zwen Mond / oder | mehr erscheinen / groß vnd klein / vnnd ander seltzam ding. Wiewol es ist / daß der Mond auch Sterngeschoß gibet / vnnd so er dieselbigen außwirfft / so lest er sie nit fallen / er gibt ein andern Mond / dz ist / ein Form jhm gleich / vnder jhm / oder neben jhm : Ettwan ij. oder mehr / nach dem vnnd der Sperma viel ist / oder auff einander kompt. Dann solcher gewechs sind viel im Himmel / die gleich als der Saffrach in der eyl auffstehnd vnd wachsen.

Also auch mit der Sonnen zu wissen ist / die gleich so wol jren Schein reiniget / vnd also mehr als Ein Sonn gesehen werden. Wiewol es offtmals wider

a A reference in the dubious *De Pestilitate* is of interest because it mentions sightings, years, and lands in which the author and his "disciples" made them and the prophetic and cataclysmic meaning of the phenomena (H 3:49).

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This might result from the shooting stars in this way. As you can see, the stars purge themselves, casting a fiery streak to earth; these are natural; for this is their blossom that arises as a tree presses forth its flowers. Just as the stars have their radiance, they have their blossom for as long as it lasts.[1] It is, as you can see, as when the glowing worms show their little stars at night but not by day. So it is, too, with the shooting stars. Just as those glow worms only have their light for as long as they live, so, too, the shooting star only has its light for as long as it lives. As soon as it arrives on earth, it is cold and dead and no longer shines. In falling, it gets dispersed so that it at times looks like a pike and at times like a dragon, or what have you. Yet it is nothing more than a purgation of its blossoming star. There is vegetation on earth that does the same.

There can also be a malformation whereby such shooting stars are maintained in the atmosphere like a cloud formation due to lightness and because their character is airy. If this blossoming holds together and doesn't disintegrate, it resembles a large star or the moon. If there is much material or if it is lower toward earth, it appears large or small accordingly. By the same token, it can fall to pieces, yielding other figures, as has been said above of the rainbow. Regarding such fiery forms and figures, you should know that they are nothing other than an indication that the star should fall to earth. That has happened so that it has remained in the middle heavens where it was deformed and was driven by the wind which is in that part of the heavens. Thus, appear fiery men, fiery pikes, fiery swords, and other things of the kind. Nothing need be said but that these are malformations, as can be seen.

So, too, three moons can result, two moons or | more may appear, along with 255
other strange phenomena, large and small.[2] Though the moon can also yield shooting stars. If it casts these out, it does not let them fall but rather yields a second moon, that is, a form like the first one, below or alongside it. There may be two or more, depending on how much sperm there is, or how much collides. For there are many such growths in the heavens, similar to the crocus that in haste rises up and grows.

Moreover, it should be noted regarding the sun that it also purifies its radiance, so that more than one sun can be sighted. To be sure, it often stands

1 The blossoming of stars is an idea that does not appear in the *Philosophy of the Elements*, but is systematized in *De Meteoris*. Here, however, the purgation of the star occurs *with* its blossoming; in *De Meteoris*, meteoric impressions *are* their star's blossoming.

2 In the *Philosophy of the Elements*, triple suns or moons are always presages (H 8:95).

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die Sonnen stehnd / das ist / ausserthalb jhrem Circkel / oder gegen der Sonnen : das ist / so sie in Orient ist / diese in Occident / oder sie in Occident / dise in Orient : dasselbig thut allein der Wind / der sie wehet. Auch ist es die vrsach / so die Sonn in Orient ist / vnnd sie stehnd in Occident / so seind sie gestern geboren worden / vnd biß auff die zeit gestanden vnd erwachsen auff jhr Alter / vnnd also sich erzeigen. Deßgleichen so sie in Orient stündent / vnd die Sonn im Occident / also werend sie den vordern tag / do sie in Orient gesein ist / geboren worden / vnd verlassen von der Sonnen / vnnd also nachfolgend erscheinend. So aber im *Austro* oder *Borea* solchs erscheinen würde / es werend Mond oder Sonn : so ist es allein vrsach deß Windts / der sie auß der Lingen seins Circkels geworffen hatt. Als der *Auster* wirfft sie gen Septentrion / der *Septentrio* gegen dem *Austro*, hoch oder nider / weitt oder nahe. Es ist auch in solchen dingen der Sonnen / etc. nichts anders dorinn zuerkennen / dann den natürlichen Lauff der Sonnen / oder Mons. Wann die Sonn reiniget sich täglich / wie jhr sehend von andern Sternen : Aber jhr Reinigen ist der Taw / dieweil derselbige geht / so geschicht das mit den Sonnen nit : So aber derselbig nit weri / vnnd blieb in eim Corpus / vnd kehm nicht in das Taw / das ist ein Sonn / das ist / ein Stern gleich einer Sonnen. Dann der Taw in jhm selbst ist auß der Sonnen / vnd ein Schweiß der Sonnen / vnd hatt auch jhren Schmidt[a] bey der Sonnen / so lang biß er Resoluiert wird. Drumb ein Mißgewechs deß Thawes / ist ein vrsprung der andern Sonnen.

256 *DE DRACONIBVS.*

Nuhn werden offtmals Dracken ersehen / die do vberzwerch schiessen / nicht von oben herab / das ist / von eim Berg auff den andern / vnd ettwan brennen vnd anzünden in den Wälden / ettwan in die Stätt oder Dörffer fallen vnd flammen / was sie von dingen begreiffen / so das Fewr endtpfecht / anzünden / gleich einem Fewrstraal oder fewrin Wetter : deß vrsachen ist also. Es sind Mißgewechs von fewr Straalwetter / die sich zu früe auß dem *Composito* lassen / vnnd fallen herab auff die Berg / als dann so schiessen sie vberzwerch / gleich wie deß Straals arth ist. Das ist / der Straal ist fewrin / vnd ein Portz bey einander : So es nun ein Mißgewechs wird / so wird es lang vnd groß / vnd

a Alternate reading noted by Huser in the margin: "Scheint."

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opposite the sun, outside of its orbit or against it, that is to say, when the one is in the Orient, the other is in the Occident and vice versa. This is caused solely by the wind that drives it. Moreover, it explains why the sun is in the Orient when the others stand in the Occident: they were born only yesterday and unto this time have stood and grown to the full age to show themselves thus. By the same token, if the others stood in the Orient and the sun in the Occident, where it was the previous day when the other was in the Orient, born from and abandoned by the sun, they appear consecutively. Should such things appear in Auster or Boreas, whether moon or sun, this is caused solely by the wind which has thrown it out of the line of its orbit. Thus, Auster throws it toward Septentrion; and it in turn toward Auster, high or low, far or near. In such matters of the sun, there is nothing more to understand than the natural course of the sun or the moon. For the sun purifies itself daily, as you can see with the other stars. Its purification is the dew.[1] For as long as it continues, this does not happen with the sun; but if not for this, if it instead remained in a corpus without becoming dew, it would be a sun, i.e., a star like a sun. For the dew in itself comes from the sun and is its sweat and has its smith[2] with the sun until it is resolved. Thus, a malformation of the dew is an origin of the other sun.

DE DRACONIBVS.[3] 256

Now it happens often that dragons are sighted. They shoot crosswise, not from on high downward, but rather from one mountain to another. They cause burning and incineration in the forests. Sometimes they fall into towns and villages and whatever they seize upon flames up when it is set fire as if struck by a lightning bolt or fire storm. It happens this way. They are the irregular outgrowth of two fiery lightning storms which are released too early from the *compositum* and descend onto the mountains in order to shoot crosswise in the manner of lightning bolts. That is to say that the bolts are fiery and a portion of them merges.[4] When it becomes a malformation, it is long and huge and the

1 In the *Philosophy of the Elements*, dew is described as a purgation—actually a sweat, as well as in the present text—of the stars, not the sun (H 8:75). See below, H 8:299–300, an other interpretation of the origin of dew.

2 Variant reading: "its shine."

3 This chapter is definitely close to *De Meteoris* (H 8:247–248). The corresponding chapter in the *Philosophy of the Elements* is entirely different (H 8:85–86). As for the second part of this chapter and the following one, they have an equivalent further below under the heading of "Hexed Storms" (*Liber tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis*, H 8:308–309).

4 Specific to this chapter is the direct link between the fiery dragons and the lightning bolt. In *De Meteoris* lightning is only evoked as a comparison (H 8:247).

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henckt das gantz *Corpus* an sich. Das ist nun nichts als allein ein Schweffel vnd ein brennendt Saltz / dasselbig alls geht in ein *Monstrum*, vnd der Himmlitzen *Materia* geht auch darein / also daß ein groß Gewächs wirt / das brinnet / wie dann sein arth ist / vnd ist ein recht Fewr : dann der Stral ist ein Fewr / vnd sein *Corpus* ein rechter Schweffel vnd brennents Saltz. Auß dem folgt nuhn / das diß *Monstrum* die arth deß schiessens auch hatt / wie dann der Straal : aber nicht vollkommen / oder so gewaltig in die Mauren / etc. auch nit mit dem Donner oder Klapff / sondern milt vnd still / wie die arth ist eins zerbrochnen Gewächs. Also ist sein Macht nit weitter vnd stercker / dann hin zuschlahen oder zu schiessen / als wer es ein fewrender Drack. Dann im schiessen gaht ein Schwantz vnnd ein *Corpus*, wie dann die Mißgewächs sind / gleich als seyend Flügel da / Füß oder Maul / so es doch nuhr ein Gleichnuß ist / vnd desselbigen gar nichts. Auß dem folgt nun / so von jm fallen Funcken / vnd kommen brennend auff die Erden / so brennen sie biß verzehrt wirt : Also verzehrt er sich gar / in dem so er selbst nider fallt.

Auff dz wissen / dz auß solchen Dracken der *Salamita*[a] wachst / das ist / der Hexen Buler.[b] So ein solcher Drack von der Natur gebiert / so ist er do / vnd mischt sich darein / vnd fürt jhn zu seiner Hexen / gleich als sey er es alles.[c] Auß dem folgt nuhn / das offt Häuser also angezündet werden / vnd dergleichen. Auch so redt er auß diesen Dracken / vnnd bewegt sich darauß / gleich als wer er in eim Menschen.

257 Dieser *Salamita* ist auch der Teuffel / der im Firmament acht hat / so es Donnert / so geht er in die *materiam* deß Strals / vnnd schlecht mit dem Straal herab / je schneller der Straal / je lieber jhm das ist. Also offtmals füret er den Straal / vnd seind die Straal / die schlond auff die Leuth / oder auff Thürn / oder auff Puluer / oder auff ander ding / do schaden geschehen. Dann er ist der Strahl Richter / so er in sie kompt.

a This specific name only appears there and on H 8:332 ("salanita").

b The *Hexenbuler*, the male consort of a witch, is by definition evil and destructive. As *De Sagis et earum Operibus* indicates, the wickedness of *Hexenbulschafft* consorts with the devil lasciviously. Just as men or women, young or old, can be seduced into unnatural copulation that gives birth to monsters, so, too, can the stellar or planetary "ascendenten" enter into evil conjunctions. Hence, the cosmic dimension of the *Hexenbuhler* (H 9:258–259).

c Variant by Huser in the margin: "*f.* [*forsan:* perhaps] allein."

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entire *corpus* adheres to it. It is nothing more than a sulphur and a burning salt which constitutes a *monstrum*. The celestial material also enters into it so that a great formation comes into being. It burns, as is its wont, and is an actual fire. The bolt is a fire with real sulphur and burning salt as its *corpus*. It follows from this that the *monstrum* inherits the mode of shooting like the bolt; but it doesn't do so as consummately or powerfully through walls and the like, nor with the thunder or clap, but rather does so mildly and silently, as is the wont of a broken formation. Its power extends no further nor greater than this striking and shooting, as if it were a fiery dragon. For in this action there appears a tail and a *corpus*, as is typical for the malformation, as if there were wings, feet, and a maw, though it is only a likeness and nothing of the sort. From this it follows that when sparks fall from it and reach the earth still burning, they continue to burn until they are exhausted. So does it consume itself completely while descending of itself.

From this, we learn that from such dragons the *Salamita* grows, the witch-monger.[1] When such a dragon is generated by nature, the latter is there and gets mixed into it, and leads it to his witch, as if it were it all.[2] From this it follows that even houses are often set on fire and such things. It also happens that it speaks through these dragons and moves through them, as if it were possessing a human being.

This *Salamita* is also the devil who sees to it in the firmament when there is 257
thunder, entering then into the *materia* of the lightning bolt and striking along with it. The quicker it strikes, the more he likes it. So it is often the case that he guides it and these are the bolts that hit people or towers or gun powder or other such things causing damage. For he is the executioner of the bolt when he enters into it.[3]

1 See De Stefani, Barbey and Forsyth Major 1895, 78: *salamida* is attested in 19th-century Calabria, and in Du Cange. The latter recurs to Greek σαλαμὲνθη in assigning the false meaning "spider," which is refuted and explained by the authors.—See the same words below, H 8:332.

2 Variant offered by Huser: "as if it were it alone."

3 This *salamita*—or salamander, as it is named in a different, albeit similar, context in *De Meteoris* (H 8:247–248)—is an evil spirit able to enter the matter of the lightning bolt to perform evil effects on earth (see also below, H 8:261). It acts just like the *Vulcanus* or the *Pennates Superi* in the other meteorological tracts, yet it is neither a spiritual worker in the heavens like the *Vulcanus*, nor an elementary being like the *Pennates Superi*. Later on, P. will reshape this conception in the form of salamanders as elementary beings inhabiting the element of fire: see *Liber de Nymphis*, H 9:53ff. (on the plausible posteriority of *Liber de Nymphis* to *De Meteoris* see Kahn 2021, 233).

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Also zauberet er durch diese Dracken auch / der dann Natürlich ist vnd natürliches wirckens / so führt er jhn nach seim willen / als wann er ein Menschen besessen hett / vnd jhn regirt nach seim gefallen.

Also wie obsteht von den Mißgewechsen der Figuren / Farben / vnd dergleichen / so im Himmel ersehen werden tag oder nacht / allein für *Monstra* gehalten sollen werden / die do kommen auß der falschen oder jrrigen Operation der Natur.

Von Nachtschaden / oder Nachtwind.

Also wissen auch das bey Nacht der Himmel sich mehr als bey Tag reiniget. Auß dem folgt / das natürlich ist / dz viel vergiffts Luffts vnnd dergleichen / bey Nacht geht / so bey Tag nit ist / also. Wie jhr sehend / das vom Himmel Donnern / Hagel / Schawr / etc. kommen : So nun ein solches doben ist / so ist (auch) vil vergiffts auch doben. So nun also ein vergifft Reinigung vom Gestirn herab fallt / so vergifft es den Wind vnnd Lufft / an dem orth do es ist. Auß dem folgt nun / daß der *Salamita* solcher vergifftung acht hat / vnd wo er sie begreiffen mag / so vermischt er sich darein / vnd führt jhn nach seiner arth / für die Häuser / vnd in die Ställ zum Viech / auch für die Fenster / so etwas hinauß sicht / dz er die anweh. Darumb diß nit alle mal geschicht / allein geschicht es / wenn er solch vergifften Lufft mag haben / so führt er jhn also vmb. Auß dem dann folgt / das offt solchen Leüthen / die er angewehet hatt / das Antlitz außschlecht / geschwilt / vnd Blutteyssen wachsen / vnd dergleichen viel solcher seltzamen Kranckheit / die dann Nachtwindt heissen / also natürlich vom Himmel geboren / vnd durch den Salamiten geführt an die örtter / do er schaden mag thun. So er solch *materiam* all mal hett / so würd er es auch all mal thun : dann er ist der höchst im Firmamentischen Laufft mit der Erkanntnuß.

258 ## Von Cometen.

Vrsprung der Cometen / ist ein sonderlichs Gewechs / dz auß keiner Mutter kompt / noch auß keinem Sahmen / sondern ein *Compositum* der Geistern.

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So, too, does he exercise his magic through these dragons which are natural with a natural causation: he subordinates them to his will, as if he had taken possession of a human being to rule him according to his whim.[1]

So, as has been written above concerning the misbegotten figures, colors, and the like, that are seen in the heavens day and night: they should be regarded simply as *monstra* that result from the false or errant operation of nature.

Concerning Night Harm or Night Wind.

So, be aware that the heavens purify themselves more by night than by day. From this it follows that it is natural that there is much poisonous air and that sort of thing at night which does not occur by day. As you can see that from the heavens come thunder, hail, downpours, etc., just as such things are up there, so is much (also) poisoned. When this poisonous purification falls from the stars, it poisons the wind and the air in a particular place. It follows that the *Salamita* attends to this poisoning and whenever he can encompass it, he mixes himself into it and guides it in his own way toward houses and stalls to the livestock and before windows when someone is looking out, to blow them evil. This does not always happen, only when he wants to have the use of the poisoned air and conducts it. From this it follows that the people whom he has affected have their faces struck and swollen; thickened blood[2] results, along with many strange maladies which are called "night wind." They are born naturally from the heavens and conducted by the Salamite to the places where he chooses to inflict harm. If he had all available *materia*, he would always do this; for he is the highest one in the concourse of the firmament possessing such knowledge.

Concerning Comets.[3] 258

The origin of comets lies in a special outgrowth neither from a mother nor from a seed but rather from a *compositum* of the spirits.[4] The reason for stating

1 Here malevolent meteorological phenomena are both natural and a demon's agency, a common understanding of the age, as in the *Theatrum Diabolorum* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Schmid, 1575), p. 132^{v}f. (a great storm in Meissen), 133^{r} (storm winds and their damage). This idea, however, only appears here among all the meteorological tracts.

2 On "Blutteyssen," see S IV:151–159 ("Von gemeinen geschweren oder bluteißen"), whereby "eißen" of "eisen," according to Grimm, refers to coagulation, not iron.

3 This chapter has its counterpart in the *Fragmenta Meteorica* (H 8:331–332), with the mention of "Salanita" (*sic*) in the end. Similar ideas are found in the *Liber tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis*, H 8:319.

4 See the same idea below, H 8:319 and 331.

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Dann vrsach / sie wissen die zukünfftigen Letiff / vnsers Glücks / Vnglücks / Todt oder Sterben : Krieg oder Thewri : Auß dem nun folgt / so sie wollen solches eröffnen / auß vrsachen so bey jhnen ligt / so formieren sie ein Stern / den sie auß dem Himmel nemmen / vnd machen auß jhm ein Figur vnd ein gestallt / die frembd vnd seltzam ist anzusehen / vnd füret den in Lüfften den weg / hoch oder nider / wie sie dann die Zukunfft bedeutten wollen am verstendigsten dem Volck / vnd nach innhalt desselbigen dinges / es sey newes welcherley es wölle. Darauff wissen / zukunfft der Cometen anzuzeigen / nimpt sich auß den Lossen / so dieselbigen Geist fürwerffen den Wahrsagern / gleich als hetten sie es auß der Natur. Dann solch arth ist in den Geisten / was solch sachen seind / durch Fürbildung zubedeutten. Daß sind die stück / so den Lauff deß Himmels nit betreffen : das ist / so ettwas wider den Lauff sein soll oder beschehen wirdt / das wirdt / als ob es auß der Natur sey zu erkennen / geoffenbaret. Drumb solcher Wahrsager zweyerley sind : die do der Sternen zukünfftigen Lauff anzeigen / das dann allein die Elementen betrifft : darnach ander / die do wider den Lauff / das ist / ohn deß Lauffs wissen anzeigen der Menschen zukünfftig Fürnemmen : als Todt / Geburt / etc. das geschicht auß Cometischer arth / vnnd nicht auß dem Lauff deß Himmels.

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De Impressionibus coagulatis.

DE RANIS.

Auff solchs weitter so wissen / daß offtmals vom Himmel Frösch / Würm vnd dergleichen regnet : derselbigen vrsprung ist also. So auff der Erden *Spermata*
259 ligend der Thieren / es sey von Würmen / Schlangen / Ottern / | Krötten / etc. So in dieselbigen ein Regen fallt oder ein Gefröst / Reiff / etc. wie solchs von oben herab ein Zufall geben mag / also daß diser *Sperma* gehindert wirdt in sein Generation zu gehn / vnd wirdt also zerbrochen : Nachfolgend so geht dieser *Sperma* in ein Feüli / das ist / ein jeglichs ding das zerbrochen wirdt / das muß faulen : Als dann so die Gefröst hinweg kompt / oder dergleichen / das zufallt / so hebt es an zu faulen. Auß dieser Feüli wachsent Mißgewechs / denselbigen Thieren ettlichs theils gleich / das seind aber verkehrt *Monstra :* Solch werden denn angesehen / als seyend sie geregnet worden : dann man kennt jhr Herkommen nicht / vnd auß solcher vrsach werden sie für geregnet geachtet.

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this is that they know the future courses of our fortune, misfortune, death, and dying, of war and inflation. Therefore, when they want to reveal these things on grounds that lie in their counsel, they form a star which they extract from the heavens and make it into a sign and a figuration which is strange and weird to look at; they then guide it on the course of its path, high or low, by which they would signify the future most clearly to people and in accordance with the subject at hand, be it something new or whatever. So know from this that disclosing the news of comets arises from the lots that those spirits cast for the soothsayers, as if they drew this from nature. For the spirits have a nature concerning such matters to signify by foreshadowing. Those are the matters that do not concern the heavens. If something should run and happen against the course it appears as if this could be recognized from nature and were revealed thereby. Thus, soothsayers are of two kinds: those who interpret the future course of the stars by the elements alone; and the others who, against their course and without reference to it, know and reveal future undertakings of the human being, including death, birth, etc. This results from the character of the comets and not from the course of the heavens.

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De Impressionibus coagulatis.
[Book Two. On Coagulated Impressions.]

DE RANIS.
[On Frogs][1]

Continuing, it should be noted that from the heavens frogs, worms, and things of that kind often fall. Their origin is as follows. If *spermata* of animals lie upon the earth, be it of worms, snakes, vipers, | toads, etc. and upon them a rain falls 259
or a freeze or frost descends as can happen by chance, with the result that the *sperma* is prevented from entering into generation and is ruined, the *sperma* subsequently enter into decay, since anything ruined must rot. Hence, as soon as the frost or whatever passes, it begins to rot. From this decay, misbegotten things grow, perhaps the same kind of creatures but perverted to *monstra*. These will be regarded as if they had rained down; for one will not know where they came from, so that they will be thought to have come with the rain.

1 In the *Philosophy of the Elements* "worms, frogs, toads, and many similar kinds of vermin" are said to be generated by an egest of the stars (H 8:87); in *De Meteoris* as well (H 8:238). Here, to the contrary, they are barely considered as products of the stars: they are, rather, monsters generated from a sperm lying on the earth, for example when rain falls upon it.

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Wiewol auch im Himmel *Spermata* auß den Sternen kommen / vnd auff die Erden fallen / auß denn ettwan gleich als Frosch oder dergleichen ersehen werden zu wachsen / als seyend sie vom Himmel herab gefallen : das beschicht in den weg. All die Bletter / oder Höltzer / oder Gräser / so in jhnen Schaben wachsen / als in den Haselstauden / do seind Schaben inn / die die Bletter fressen / dergleichen die Sahmen / darauß Rauppen werden / oder ander Holtzwürm oder Beumwürm. Wo nuhn solch *Semina* ligend / vnd *Spermata*, sichtig oder vnsichtig / so auff dieselbigen Australische Regen fallen ettlicher Sternen / so treiben sie dieselbigen Sahmen in ein wachsen / darauß auch *Monstra* werden vnd wachsen / dieweil der Regen noch auff jhnen leitt / das ist / dieweil es noch naß ist. Dann durch diese Regen werden eröffnet / wo solch *generationes* ligendt / darauß wachsen Laubfrösch vnd anders mehr.

Also in diesen dingen sollen jhr nichts anders wissen / wo solche Thier wachsen vom Regen / daß sie allein von der Wurm *Spermatibus* also hin vnd her verkrochen ligend / vnd durch die faulen Austrischen Regen Transmutirt in ein Wurm oder ander Thier / nach dem vnd dz *Monstrum* werden mag : Ettwan von eim Regen anfahen biß zum andern / biß zum dritten / oder dergleichen / vnder dem letsten eins mals auffbrechen / vnnd herfür kommen / gleich als seyend sie auff diese stund erst kommen mit demselbigen Regen / so vorhin der anfang für ist.

260 *DE SANGVINE.*

Also begibt sich offt oder ettwan / das Bluttwasser / das ist / schier wie Blutt regnet / das doch fast seltzam ist / vnd doch ettwan ist auß der vrsachen / daß die Sterngeschoß / so von den Stern fallen / sich selbst in Regen mischen / vnd mit dem Regen herab fallen. Als dann wo dieselbigen Stern tropffen auff die Erden oder kalten Stein fallen / so ferben sie sich auff Rott oder Leberfarb / vnd sind doch an jhm selbst lautter wie Wasser : aber in der vermischung auff der Erden nemmen sie jhr Farben.[a]

a This is a more naturalistic explanation of phenomena cited as biblical effects of the "inner heavens" in the later *Astronomia Magna:* "da seind die jnnern Himmlischen Astra die sie geben / vnd jhren Effectum herauß bringen / in den eussern Himmel / in das Element Aquae: Als dann mit der Sündtfluß Noe / ein Exempel beweißt / welches in Krafft der Natur nicht hette mögen beschehen deß eussern Himmels : Der jnner aber der vermags in seiner Astronomey. Also Regnet auch Fewr vom Himmel / das ist / vom jnnern Himmel / als in Sodoma vnd Gomorrha. Also fallen auch Stein vom Himmel / **Blutt** / vnd dergleichen. Dann der jnner Himmel wirckt im eussern / als da die Sonne still gestanden ist / hatt der jnner Himmel den eussern zu Regieren / vnd jhn in seiner Handt" (H 10:246).

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However, in the heavens, too, *spermata* arise from the stars and descend to earth, of which some may be regarded as having developed as frogs or the like, as if they had fallen from the heavens. This happens as follows. All leaves, or wood, or grasses in which insects grow, as is the case in hazel stalks, have insects that eat the leaves and the seeds from which caterpillars or other kinds of wood worms or tree worms grow. When these *semina* lie around along with *spermata*, visible or invisible, upon which the austral rain of several stars falls, this causes the seeds to grow, from which *monstra* originate and grow for as long as the rain lies on them and they remain moist. For the rain opens it up wherever such *generationes* lie, with the result that the tree frogs and other such things grow.

In such occurrences, you should be aware that nothing happens but that these creatures grow from the rain, that they are from the *spermata* of the worms which have crawled around there, which are transmuted by the foul austral rains into worms or other creatures, following which it may become a *monstrum*. This might happen after between the first rain and the second until the third, or what have you, with a hatching and emerging coinciding with the last one, when the process was started before.

DE SANGVINE. 260
[On Blood.][1]

It happens often or at times that it rains bloodwater or simply blood, which is quite rare, and yet it happens because shooting stars that fall from the heavens get mixed in with rain and fall with it. When those star-drops fall onto the earth or onto a cold stone, they cause a red or liver-colored discoloration, yet in themselves they are pure as water. In their admixture on earth they receive their color.

1 The corresponding passage in the *Philosophy of the Elements*, although different (H 8:87), may be compared with the first paragraph of this chapter. The explanation of blood rains in *De Meteoris* (H 8:239–240), as strange as it sounds, is much more refined.

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Auch kommen sie offtmals auß den Regenbogen / also daß sie Resoluiert werden zu Wasser / in dem so sie in allen Farben sind / als dann so gehnd dieselbigen Farben auff die Erden mit dem Regen : darnach auff demselbigen Boden werden auch solch geferbt Regen gesehen / vnd nemlich wo die Regenbogen in den Regen stehnd / die groß vnnd starck sind : So sie anheben sich zu resoluiren / so verschleissend sie sich mit dem Regen hinweg. An denselbigen ortten / so einer vnter den Regenbogen steht in solcher Resolution / mit subtilen weissen Tüchern / so werden die Farben darauff gefunden vnd ersehen : allein daß der Regen nit zuvil infall / vnnd es wider hinweg wesche. Wiewol nit alle Regenbogen zu Wasser werden / dann sie seind Lufftisch : Aber jedoch die grossen / so im Regen stehnd vnd voller Salischen sind / ein wässerisch arth an jhnen haben / darumb sie sich resoluiren.

DE CRVCIBVS & FIGVRIS impressis super Tunicis & Cutibus.

Also so wissen / dz von solchen Farben wie obsteht / die Tropffen / so sie subtile Tücher begreiffen / vnnd nit zuvil vom Regen vberwunden / in die Tücher Creützli machen oder Figuren / als ob es ettwas bedeuttet / das ist / es fallt dem Faden nach / vnd dergleichen. So sind auch etlich so subtil / daß sie in die Leut greiffen / vnd auch also / wie dann eins Wassers arth ist / außschwimmen / in ein Figuren. So begibt sich auch / das solch Farben bey schönem Himmel fallen / vnd nit zu Regen werden / oder doch ettwan zu zeiten hin vnd her / Tropffen fallen / vnd wo sie also hinfallen / Flecken oder Masen machen : vnd
261 sind aber Farben die do | kommen auß den Sternen / wie obsteht. Wiewol sie selten kommen : Jedoch aber so geschicht es alle Tag gemeiniglich / aber verzehrt vnd dergleichen vom Regen vberschütt / dz nit gemerckt werden.

Auß solchen Farben nimbt der *Salamita* sein Gewalt / vnnd mahlet den Leutten Creutz auff die Kleider / Seulen / Geyscheln / Würffel / vnd dergleichen / gleich wie obsteht vom Strall vnd Dracken. So nuhn ein solcher Tropff wirdt / es sey was Farben es woll / so macht er ein Gemeldt dorauß / damit man sich do bekümmere oder verwunder / jhe eins anderst dann das ander / vnnd nur auff Geistlich ding / das ist ansehlicher als ander sachen.

Von solchen fallenden Farben wie obsteht / soll sich keiner verwundern / dann sie seindt mannigfaltig / wie jhr sie im Regenbogen sehend / im Gewülck / in Sternen. Auch so ein Farben fiel / die nicht im Firmament wer : So wissen / das die Feuli Farben gibt / das ist / wen solch ding faul wirdt / als ein Holtz dz Weiß ist / so es fault / wirdt es Grün vnnd Gelb / etc. Also solch Generaten in diesen dingen auch seind / deren der *Salamita* acht hatt / vnd sie hin vnd her treytt.

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Moreover, they also come often from the rainbow, so that they are resolved in water. Since they are of all colors, these descend to earth with the rain. After this such colored rain is visible on the ground, especially where the rainbows that are great and strong stand in the rains. When they begin to be resolved, they dissipate with the rain. In such places where, of all the rainbows, one stand in that state of resolution, with fine white cloth the colors can be found and discerned unless the rain soaks them and wipes them away again. Though not all rainbows become water, for they are of the air; the big ones, however, that stand in the rain and are full of salinity do so, having an aqueous character from which they are resolved.

DE CRVCIBVS & FIGVRIS
Impressis super Tunicis & Cutibus.
[On the Crosses and Figures Appearing on Cloth and Skin.]

So, be aware that the drops of the above described colors which saturate the fine cloth without being overcome by the rain form little crosses or figures in the fabric, as if to signify something, meaning that they follow the thread or something similar. Some of them are so subtle that they affect people[1] and in the manner of water spread out into a figure. It can also happen that such figures descend when the sky is clear without turning into rain, or now and again at times, drops fall around and where they hit, they cause spots or stains, but these are the colors that | come from the stars, as described above. Though they 261
seldom occur in one place, it happens every day in general, though distorted by the scattering rain so that they are not noticed.

From these colors, the *Salamita* derives his power, painting crosses onto people's clothing, as well as pillars, scourges, dice, and such things,[2] much as we have said above regarding the lightning bolt and dragons. When such a drop occurs of whatever color, it creates a painting, so that one will be concerned or amazed at how each is distinct from the other and only related to spiritual objects which are more reputable than other things.

Concerning these descending colors, no one should be amazed, for they are manifold, as one can see in rainbows, clouds, and stars. Should a color descend which is not found in the firmament, be aware that decay can also cause colors; when something like a piece of wood rots and turns white in the process it can become green, yellow, etc. Such generations occur in these objects, which the *Salamita* is aware of who can make this or that out of them.

1 See Grimm, greifen in, C.1d.

2 All these objects were well known from popular depictions of the iconography of the scourging and execution of Christ. On the *Salamita*, see above, H 8:257.

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DE LAPILLIS.

Also werden offtmahls Stein vom Regen / das ist / wie jhr sehen / das alle Stein vom Saltz harrt werden vnnd Coaguliert : Deßgleichen all Holtz vnnd was do ist / das macht das Saltz Compact vnd Corporalisch / vnd ohne dasselbige mag nichts harrt werden. Auff das volget / so die Saltz sich Resoluieren im Himmel / vnd fallen herab / als dann so sie etwas begreiffen / dorein sie gehn oder durchdringen mögen / als dann so verhertt es in demselbigen / vnd macht es in sein Arth zu Steinen oder dergleichen. Als jhr sehen / so jhr ein Lautter Saltz legend in ein Wasser / vnnd Erbissen auch dorein / Linsen oder Bonen / vnd lassens also eintrucknen vnd harrt werden / so werden dieselbigen Bonen oder Linsen / etc. gleich herrt wie Stein. Auß solcher vrsach begibt sich viel / das also Bonen / Erbsen / Linsen / etc. erhärtten vnnd vngeschlacht werden / nicht wie sie sein sollen : Geschicht auß bemeltter vrsach. Auch alle Feuli / so in den Früchten wachst / auß denn Regen kommt / die also solch Transmutierende Arth in jhnen haben.[a]

262 Sich begibt auch etlich mahl / das der Saat / das ist / so Erbssen / oder Linsen geseet werden in die Erden / auch zu Steinen werden : Das beschicht auß der vrsach / das im selben Acker / oder Boden ein Saltzblüe ist / vnnd den Acker durchlaufft : Vnnd so als dann dorein geseet wirdt / vnnd ein Regen dorzu kommt / der das Saltzblüe Dissoluiert / als dann was dorein geseet ist / dasselbig macht es zu Steinen / das ist / denselbigen gleich. Wann alle Saltzblüe / wo sie von Regen Dissoluiert werden / was dorinn ligt / oder / das sie begreiffen mögen / Holtz oder anders / das machen sie zu Stein Arth. Also auch seindt etlich Brunnen / die solch Arth haben / auch auß solcher Saltzblüe die Krafft nemmen.

a P. integrates the "meteorological" phenomenon of the precipitation of stones with a central term of his alchemical medicine, the *tartarus* stone precipitated from undigested or partially digested food substances. In *Liber de podagricis* gout is discussed in association with the stone rain (H 4:267).

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DE LAPILLIS.[1]
[On Pebbles.]

It also happens often that stones come from rain, for, as you see, all stones harden and become coagulated from salt.[2] In the same way, all wood and what have you is rendered compact and corporeal by the salt without which nothing would harden. It is consistent with this that when the salt is resolved in the heavens and descends to encompass something, penetrating and saturating it, the salt hardens in the thing and makes it in this manner to stone or something like it. You can see this when you place pure salt into water with peas, lentils, as well as beans, allowing it to dry into it and harden: the lentils or beans become as hard as stone. For this reason, it often happens that beans, peas, or lentils, etc., harden and become crude and not as they should be. This happens for the afore mentioned reason. All the rot that grows in the fruits comes from the rains which bear this transmuting nature. | 262

It sometimes happens that the seed likewise turns to stone when peas or lentils are sown into the earth. This happens because in the same field or soil there is a salt blossom running through the field. When the seed is sown and a rain comes along dissolving the salt blossom, this turns what was sown into stones or something like them. All the blossoming salt dissolved by the rain takes on the nature of stone, whatever lies in the field or is encompassed by it, be it wood or anything else. This is also how certain springs which have the same kind of nature take their strength from the salt blossom.

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1 This section and the next one have a close parallel in the *Opus Paramirum* (H 1:187; ETW 413). See also below, *Von den Natürlichen Wassern* (H 8:417).

2 This is the main property of salt, expressed e.g. in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:144–145): "Die Stein nemmen jhr Härtti vnnd Coagulation vom *Liquore Salis*, jhr *Corpus* vom *Sulphure*, jhr Gewicht vom *Mercurio*, vnnd etlichs theils den *Corpus*"—as well as in the *Opus Paramirum*: "Nuhn ist aber die Congelation des Corpus auß dem Saltz: Das ist / ohn das Saltz wer nichts greifflichs da […]" (H 1:107; ETW, 412–413), in the *Annotationes* (*scholia*) *in libros duos Theophrasti de Tartaro*: "Durities omnis est ex coagulatione salis" (H 5:249: "Every hardness comes from the coagulation of salt"), or in *De Mineralibus*: "dann das Saltz gibt die Farben / den Balsam / vnnd Coagulation : Der *Sulphur* gibt das *Corpus*, die Substantz / vnd *Aedificum* : Der *Mercurius* gibt die *Virtutes, Vires, Arcana*" (H 8:345). The *Herbarius* ("Vom Saltz und seinen Kräfften," H 7:82) is no less relevant: "Nun wissen vom Saltz weitter / das Saltz ein Irdischer Balsam ist des Menschen und aller dingen. Dann auß ursachen / wo Saltz nit ist / da gohnd die feulung an : und allein das Saltz erhalt ein jeglich ding vor der feülung / Lebendigs unnd Todts. […] Wo Saltz nicht ist / do ist nichts bleiblichs / sonder alles zur Feülung gericht." See also above the *Philosophy of the Elements*, H 8:63 and 103, and the internal references listed there.

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DE LAPIDE è COELO.

In der höhi deß Firmaments / do ligendt die Ersten drey / wie im Anfang der Theorick angzeigt ist / auß denn alle *Impressiones* wachsen vnnd entspringen. Dieselbigen drey Ersten seindt so hoch / das wir jhr Form nicht sehen mügen / vnd seindt doch Form / wie obsteht in der Theorick / allein das Grün sehendt wir / das ist sein Farben. Also nuhn auff das folgt / das im Element Fewr die *Generationes* der Steinen auch seindt / vnnd was do für Stein generiert werden / dieselbigen fallen herab. Nuhn ist es ein seltzams vnnd ein vnerhörtts / vnnd sich seltten begibt / jedoch aber auff dem Meer / mehr als bey vns.

Solcher Stein *Generationes* seindt in den Weg. Wie jhr wissen / das der Donner wachst / vnd ist ein Stein / als offentlich ist. So nuhn die anfang solcher Donner do sind / vnd sich samlen in ein Strall / so ist es müglich vnd natürlich / dz solcher Generationen der Strall x. oder xx. etc. mehr oder weniger zusammen kommen : Das ist / als offt ein knall / als offt ein besonder Stein. Nuhn auff dz volgt / so also solcher *Generationes* viel zusammen in Ein Generation giengen / so werden dieselbigen all Ein Stein / das ist Ein Strall. Auß dem folgt vieli oder grossi deß Steins / auch sein Form vnd Arth / wie derselbig dann do erkennt wirdt. So wissen auff das / so die *Generatio* also ist / so mag sie nicht zu einem grossen Wetter gehn : Dann vrsach / diese *Generatio* geschicht
263 zu schnell / vnd endtfallt den Lufften / so | baldt sie Coaguliert ist. Vnd ist in solcher maß zuverstehn / als wen ein Wasser gefreurt / das ist am ersten lind / vnnd wann es gefreurt / so ist es härtt : Also ist die *Materia* am Ersten nur ein Lufftisch Werck / vnd wie ein Wasser anfacht zugefrieren / also facht dieses an zu Coagulieren : Vnd so baldt dz erhärrt ist / so ist es nimmer Lüfftisch / sondern Terrisch : Als dann so mügens die Lüfft nimmen erhalten / vnd fallen.

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[On Stone from the Sky]

At the height of the firmament lie the three principles from which all *impressiones* grow and arise, as has been demonstrated at the outset of the theoretical part.[1] The three are so exalted that we cannot perceive their forms and yet they have form, as explained above in the part on theory. We only see the green, which is their color.[2] From this it follows that in the element of fire there are also *generationes* of the stones, and those generated there descend. This is something strange and unheard of that occurs rarely, but it happens more often at sea than with us.[3]

The *generationes* of those stones happen like this. You already know that thunder grows to become a stone, as is evident.[4] When the beginnings of such thunder are gathering themselves toward a lightning bolt, it is possible and natural that around ten or twenty of such generations combine. For every flash there is a particular stone. It follows that if many such *generationes* merge into one, they become a single stone or bolt. This determines the number and size of the stones as well as their form and nature, and how they will be recognized. You should be aware from this that when the *generatio* is such, it cannot gather into a great storm. For this sort of *generatio* happens too fast and departs from the air, as | soon as it coagulates. It should be thought of as when water freezes: 263
it is initially pliant but as soon as it freezes it is firm. So it is that the *materia* is initially only an aerial product, as when the water begins to freeze. And so it is too when it begins to coagulate. As soon as it hardens, it is no longer aerial but rather terrestrial. At that point, the air can no longer retain it and it falls.

1 This is a hint that the chapters that we have left of the present treatise were perhaps once preceded by a theoretical section.

2 This color is that of the *chaos* which fills the element of air in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:62). The explanation to the present text is found, however, in *De Elemento Aeris* (H 8:294–295): "The reason for this is that the vapors of the stars and the haze proceeding out of them discolor the expanse between us and the *chaos* in their own fashion, so that their vapor from the salt heightens the brown to blue or green, the latter two colors most of all. Moreover, there is a special *chaos* between the true *chaos* and us, which is colored blue and green, depending on how the stars refract their gleam into it and in accordance with how the cloud formations pass below, making the heavens seem blue. This does not come from the heavens but rather from the saline vapor that proceeds out of the stars. Some people say, however, that the heavens are green and only appear blue on account of the distance. They have not considered carefully what the heavens are made of, nor that there is a *chaos* and *aër* and an element which is not the heavens. Nor have they considered of what the element of *aër* consists, nor in what it abides."

3 This passage seems to be alluded to in *Von den Natürlichen Wassern* (see below, H 8:417).

4 See the *Opus Paramirum*, H 1:184–185 (ETW, 185).

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Auß dem ist also müglich / das solch Materien zusammen kommen / ohn alle Wetter oder Wettergleichnuß / vnnd sich selbst vber allen Lauff in Himmel zusammen fügen / vnnd der Arth seind / das sie / so sie zusammen kommen / ein ander härrt machen. Als ein Bley das zerlassen ist / so baldt es in ein Wasser kommt / so ist es härrt im Augenblick. Solch Materien sind im Firmament deß Fewrs auch / dieweil sie kein Wiederwertiges haben / so bleiben sie Lüfftig : So baldt aber ein Wiederwertiges frembdts dorein fallt / so ist es ein anders / vnnd nimmer Lüfftig. Als jhr vom Regen wissen / dieweil er ein Wolcken ist / so berührt er die Erden nicht / ist nur auff der Höhi : Als baldt er aber die frembdt Coniunction nimbt / vnnd sich Dissoluieren last / so ist er Corporalisch vnnd Terrisch / als dann so wirdt ein Wasser darauß vnnd Regnet / vnnd mag nimmen auff seiner Höhi bleiben / sondern fallen. Also seindt im Himmel die *Materiæ,* dorauß Stein mögen werden auß Donnerischer Arth / das ist / auß dem Strall. Dergleichen seindt ander mehr / so ein Wiederwertiges dorein kommt / auch zu Stein werden.

DE METALLIS.

Dergleichen auch von Metallen ein solche Arth in dem Element Fewr ist / in massen wie die Stein im Himmel schweben / also auch die Metallen : Vnd doch aber ein Metallen / den Jrrdischen vngleich / also daß niemandts kan erkennen. Auff das wissen / das die Fewrenden Strall mit dem Wetterleychten allein Metallen sind / hertter dann kein Eisen oder Stahel / vnd flüssig wie Kupffer / vnd an der Farben gemengt vnd wie ein Strall geformiert. Solchs alles ist im Himmel gleich so wol / als auff der Erden. Aber wie auff der Erden nichts von
264 den dingen hinauff fallt / also nichts von den Obern herab fallt / | anders dann was die Coniunction der vier Elementen erfordert / vnd ein vberzwerch Miracul[a] / oder seltzame zusammenfügung / dorauß ein *Corpus* wird. Es kommen auch wol als seltzame ding in Himmel hinauff / als seltzam herab / so vns möglich wer / im obern Gewelb zu sitzen. Auff das so wissen / so es müglich wer / das der Mercurystern / Saltzstern / vnd der Sulphurstern / zusammen mit glei-

a See also above, H 8:253; below, H 8:333. This word is mostly used by P. with the meaning of "natural wonder," as in *Von den Natürlichen Dingen*: "allein durch die groß Erfahrenheit der Vulcanischen Künst befinden sich solche wunderbarliche ***Miracula***, in den Kräfften der Natur" (H 7:176). See likewise *Von den Natürlichen Bädern*: "wie jhr dann sehend die Fewrberg / Kolberg / welche die Aetnische arth an jhnen haben / die vff der Erden seind vnnd brennen / vnd ist doch jhr *Corpus* allein Stein vnd Erdtrich / mögend von keim Regen noch Wasser erlöscht werden. Dermassen auch wie ausserthalb sollchs **Miracul** beschicht / also auch innerhalb der Erden als wol als haussen / sollch brennende Arth seindt" (H 7:301). Other

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It is therefore possible for such materials to converge without a storm or anything of the kind and to merge of itself above the course of the heavens; it is in their nature to fuse and harden. It is like molten lead: as soon as it is in water, it becomes instantly hard. Such materials, too, are in the fiery firmament. Lacking anything opposed to them, they remain aerial. As soon as anything contrary and foreign enters, it is transformed and no longer aerial. You know regarding rain that as long as it is a cloud, it does not touch the earth but remains on high. But as soon as it takes the foreign conjunction and is dissolved, it becomes corporeal and terrestrial, resulting in water and raining, unable to remain on high but descending instead. So it is, too, that in the heavens there are *materiae* which turn into stone from the action of the thunder or the lightning bolt. There are other instances besides where the admixture of something opposing causes stones to emerge.

DE METALLIS.

Likewise, there is such a kind of metals in the element of fire. Just as the stones float in the heavens, so, too, do the metals. Yet it is a metal unlike the earthly ones to the point of being unrecognizable. Know in this regard that the fiery flashes in summer lightning are only metals of the hardest kind, more so than iron or steel, yet malleable like copper, mixed in color and shaped like a bolt. All this is the same in the heavens as on the earth. But just as nothing falls from earth to the heavens, nothing falls down from above | other than what the 264
conjunction of the four elements demand,[1] and an odd wonder, or strange combination, that yields a *corpus*. There are as many strange things that arise in the heavens as below, which we could see if we sat in the upper vault. You should know in this regard that if it were possible for the mercury star, salt star, and sulphur star to merge in a single union, there would not pass an hour without many such *impressiones* descending onto us. But they are not directed by any-

occurrences deserve further study, as *Volumen Medicinae Paramirum* (H 1:59), *Vom Langen Leben* (H 6:126), *De Sanguine ultra Mortem* (H 9:286–287, 289). Finally, other occurrences clearly relate to the divine: *De Fidei Miraculis et Operibus*, a non-extant treatise that belonged to the so-called *Philosophia Magna* (H 9:A4^{v}); *Astronomia Magna* (H 10:294, 330); *Außlegung des Cometen vnnd Virgultae* (H 10F:54). This plurality of meanings is of course much scarcer in the theological works.

1 This idea is not often found in the works of P. Usually the four elements are meant as separated entities, the compounding or mixture of which P. denies—already so in the *Archidoxis*. See our introduction.

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cher verfügung giengen / kein stund nit wer / solcher *Impressiones* wurden viel auff vns fallen. Sie seindt aber nicht dermassen gericht / als allein wz vom Strall ist. Dorauff jhr wissen sollen / das Stein fallen / Metallen fallen / die Geburt haben wie die Strall.

Der groß Stein zu Enßheim im Suntgaw auff j. C. schwer[a] / der ist auß der *Materia* der Steinstrallen geworden / also das do zusammen kommen seindt ob den hundert *Coniunctiones* der Strall / vnd do sich Coaguliert so schnell / als der ein zerlassen Silber außschütt / vnd gesteht : Also schnell ist diese Matery erhertt worden / vnd als ein *Corpus* gefallen / das auch sein anzeigen ist / mit seinen Bucklen vnd Formen / das er in allem Sudt gestanden ist vnd auffbleen / vnnd im selbigen erkalttet mit der schnell / vnd gefallen / wie dann vom Strall angezeigt ist. Dann im Element Fewr seindt alle ding zerlassen / Stein / Metallen / vnd was do ist / ist alles siedent Heiß. So auß derselbigen Region etwas kommt in die Kältti / so ist es eylentz erhärrt vnnd fallt. Aber dieweil es seudt vnd im Fewr ist / dieweil ist es Lüfftisch / vnd fallt nicht : Aber [so es] dorauß kommen / vnd als dann Coaguliert / so muß es fallen.

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DE VENTIS.

Von den Winden wissen / das sie jhr Wurtzen vnd Anfang auch in Sternen haben. Dann zu gleicherweiß wie etlich Stern seindt / die Schnee geben / ander / die Regen / etc. wie dann in der gantzen Meteory beschrieben ist. Also seindt auch Windstern / die jhren natürlichen Wind geben / vnnd sonst weder

a "auf ein Centner."

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thing but the lightning bolt. Therefore, you should know that stones and metals that descend are born like the bolt.

The great stone of Ensisheim in Suntgau at a hundredweight[1] came into being from the *materia* of the stony bolts in such a way that hundreds of *conjunctiones* merged in the bolt and coagulated as quickly as molten silver strewn out congeals. That's how quickly the material hardened to fall as a *corpus* with its bulges and forms indicating that it stood in a molten mass and inflated and in that condition precipitously became cold and descended, as we can see from the lightning bolt. In the fiery element all things become fluid: stones, metals, and whatever is in it, are all boiling hot. When from that region it enters the cold, it hardens immediately and falls. As long as it boils and remains in the fiery element, it is aerial and does not descend; but [as soon as] it exits and coagulates, it must do so.

TERTIVS LIBER

DE VENTIS.
[Third Book. On Winds.][2]

Know regarding the winds that they likewise have their root and origin in the stars. Just as there are some stars that yield snow and others rain etc., as has been described in this whole *meteorica*, so, too, there are wind stars which

1 The Ensisheim meteorite is a meteorite whose descent from the sky onto a wheat field in Alsace (now part of France) in 1492 is one of the earliest instances of a meteorite fall on record. Its fall "was observed as a fireball at a distance of up to 150 kilometers from where it eventually landed" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ensisheim_meteorite). Its weight was estimated at 127 kg. The weight given by P. reads "auf einem Centner": it is the weight indicated in the German edition of the Nuremberg Chronicle in 1493, one of the first accounts of the event. This meteorite is supposed to be 4,6 billions years old. See Marvin 1992, 40–41 for the Nuremberg Chronicle. "Maximilian I, who was proclaimed Holy Roman emperor soon afterward, assembled his council to determine the significance of this event; their verdict was that the meteorite was a favourable omen for success in Maximilian's wars with France and Turkey. Accordingly, Maximilian ordered the Ensisheim stone to be placed with an appropriate inscription in the local parish church. The meteorite was fixed to the wall with iron crampons to prevent it from wandering at night or departing in the same violent manner in which it had arrived. It resides in the town of Ensisheim today [...]" (www.britannica.com/topic/Ensisheim-meteorite, accessed 23 May 2023; see McSween 1999).

2 This section sounds like a first draft, a less-refined version of the corresponding sections in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (see our notes below), yet with a distinct, almost obsessive emphasis on the directions of the winds.

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265 Schnee / Regen noch nichts darzu. | Ob aber in solchen ein Schnee / Regen / etc. einfiel / das beschicht ohn vrsach deß Winds / er hett es den von eim frembden Landt in das ander tragen / durch sein starck wehen. Darauff so wissen auch / das etlich Regen mit Wind angehend / dieselbigen werden in jhrem Capitel angezeigt.

Diese Wind aber / wie allein die Natur gibt / wissend / das sie kein Zahl haben / als das man sprechen wöllte / jhr weren allein 4. Dann vrsach : Der Himmel ist voller Windsternn / außgetheilt vnder vnnd ob den Sphæren. Dann mancher Wind kommt von Orient in Franckreich / der auß Vngern ersteht vnd herkommt / vnnd mancher in Vngern / vnd gehet *in Thraciam :* Darumb aber ist weder der *Zephyrus* noch der *Eurus*. Also auch mancher auff den Alpen / vnnd gehet in Lumbarden : Auch auff den Alpen / vnnd geht in das Schwabenlandt. Es ist auch weder der *Auster* noch der *Eurus*, es ist ein Albwind.

Dergleichen auch so geht mancher Wind / der auff halber Kugel anfecht / als auff dem theil *Austri*, vnnd geht vndter der Kugeln in die theil *Boreæ*, vnnd vber die Kugel dieselbig Region auff Deutschland / vnd ist der *Auster*, vnd ist *Septentrio*. Also auch der *Eurus* manchmahl vnder die Kugel geht durch den Zephyrischen Gang : Aber es ist nicht *Zephyrus*, sondern *Eurus :* Hingegen die andern auch. Also auch nicht allein die / sondern auch ander / die in vnserm Himmel / dz ist / so weith wir jhn sehen / begibt sich viel / das ein Wind ob vns entspringt / vnd geht auff ein seitten. Sein Arth vnd Nammen ist dorumb nicht nach den 4. Winden. Dann es ist nichts mit den 4. Winden / also zuverstehn. Natürlich aber ist es also außzutheilen / so einer steht gegen Orient / vnnd hieß alle die Wind / so gegen jhm gingen / *Eurus*, vnd was jhm am Rücken zuging / *Zephyrum*, ander auff den Seitten / *Austrum* vnd *Septentrionem*, vnnd machte darnach die Nebengesellen dorzu / nach seinem Willen. Aber darumb das er sie also heist / darumb ist es nicht also / es ist auch nicht die Meinung.

Nuhn mag sich begeben / das ob vns gleich an vns ein Wind kommt : Als Schweitz / Schwaben / hett ein Wind / der kehm von Mittag / vnd die in Lumbarten vnd am Meer sehend vnd hörtend nicht von jhm : Von wannen kommt
266 der Wind ? Er erstehet an dem orth / do er anfacht. Wiewol das ist / das einer | möcht meinen / als ein Regen / der hundert Meil geht zun zeitten / eh das er fallt / das also dem auch sey : Nein. Dann vrsach / der Wind ist kein Gewülch / er ist geboren so bald er auß seim Loch kommt. Also in den Weg auch von andern Winden zuwissen ist. Dergleichen auch so ein Wind geht / auff XXX. LX. Meil wegs / als dann ist es auß : das ist / ein Gebloß auß einem Stern / der nicht weither gehn mag / vnd sich dann verzehrt. Auff dz mercken / dieweil sich die Wind also verzehren / vnd keiner mag ein solche weithi gehn / ohn zerbrochen / wie möcht dann der *Eurus* von Orient / das ist / vber Meer zu vns in

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yield a natural wind without snow, rain, or anything else. | But if snow, rain 265
etc., should merge into it, it would happen without being caused by the wind, unless it was born from another country by strong gusts. Know, too, that some rain begins with wind which will be discussed in the appropriate chapter.

However, these winds, which only nature causes, are without number so that one cannot say there are four of them. This is because the heavens are full of wind stars, scattered below and above the spheres. Some winds arrive from Orient into France, arising and approaching from Hungary; and some arise there and pass into *Thracia*. But this is neither the *Zephyrus* nor the *Eurus*. Some are upon the Alps and pass into Lombardy, or from the Alps into Swabia. Nor is this either the *Auster* nor the *Eurus*, but an Alpine wind.

By the same token, some winds might begin on one half of the globe, perhaps on the part of the *Auster*, and they might then pass beneath globe into the part of *Boreas* and across it to the same part of Germany, and it is then *Auster* and *Septentrio*. Likewise, the *Eurus* sometimes passes beneath, through the course of *Zephyrus*, yet it is not the latter but the former. The others can do the opposite. There are not only these cases but many others which are in our heavens, meaning, in the radius of what we can see: a wind can arise here and pass to an adjacent region. Its nature and name therefore does not conform to the four winds, nor should it be understood as such. For they make no sense. Of course, things can also be arranged so that someone who faces the Orient would call all winds that come his way *Eurus*, and whatever blows at this back *Zephyrus*, and what touches his sides *Auster* and *Septentrio*. He could make of them his associates as he likes. But his doing so doesn't make it that way or make it the general opinion.

Now it might happen that a wind comes upon us. Switzerland or Swabia has a wind that comes from the South, yet those in Lombardy or at the sea knew nothing of it. So, where does it come from? It arises in the place where it begins. Though one | might think that it would be as with rain that travels a hundred 266
miles before falling, so it would be with the wind. It is not so. The wind is not caused by a cloud; it is born as soon as it emerges from its hole.[1] This applies to the other winds as well. The same when a wind travels thirty or sixty miles until it is exhausted. It is a blast from a star which can travel no further than until it is consumed. So, note that when the winds are consumed and none can travel further without being exhausted, how then can the *Eurus* be from the Orient; how can it cross the sea to us in the Occident? How can the *Zephyrus* travel

1 I.e. the *emunctorium* of a wind star. See two lines below, and further on, H 8:267–268; likewise, *Philosophy of the Elements*, H 8:74.

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Occident kommen / oder *Zephyrus* zu jhnen ? Das aber Mittelstern do seind / dieselben treiben ander theil / also das alles trieben wirdt mit Winden : Vnd seindt nicht 4. noch 12. Es seind viel tausend Vrsprung / hin vnd her gezettelt.

Nuhn aber von den starcken Winden / die do so lang vnd ohn ander Innwind jhren fürgang haben / vnd vnzerbrochen bleiben / dieselbigen führen offt ein Regen durch Septentrion her / durch *Austrum*, vnd ist doch derselbig Regen nit auß der Region : Sondern offt vom *Austro*, vnd ist ein *Boreas*, ein *Zephyrus*, ein *Eurus*, dz ist auß denselbigen *Regionib*. Auß dem volgt nuhn / dz die Regen nit sollen dem Wind nach geurteilt werden / es wer dann ein jnngeborner Regenwind / als an sein orthen beschriben ist. Auß dem folgt nun / dz die Jahr vnfruchtbar werden / jtzt Saur / jtzt Wenig / jtzt Würmig / etc. Dann ein jedlich Region hatt sein Landsstern zum Regen / dz sind desselbigen Lands natürliche Regen. So aber ein solcher Regen durch ein Windstern verjagt wird / zeittig oder vnzeittig / in ein Land / dz nit auff dise Region dienstlich were : Als dann ist er demselbigen schad / an Früchten / Gewechsen / vnd wz dorinn ist. Dann ein jedlichs Land hatt sein geordnets Wetter / Regen / vnd Lufft : Wo dasselbig endsetzt vnd entfrembt wird / als dann folgt ein Inbruch derselbigen Gewechsen / vnd ein verderben dorinn. Dasselbig seind vrsach theurer Jahr / der bösen Frücht / vnd alles deß so nicht sein soll / vnd wider Lands Arth ist.

Wie nun obsicht von Vrsprung der Winden / so wissen / dz auch in denselbigen mancherley arth sind / dienstlich vnd wiederwertig. Dann wie viel vnd seltzamer arth Kreutter auff Erden wachsen / also in Winden auch solch vnderscheid zu wissen ist. Auß diesen kommen sonderlich Kranckheiten / vnd
267 Feulung vnd dergleichen. Nun | aber diese Wind sollen alle nach jhrer Eigenschafft erkennt werden / von wannen sie kommen / oder wz jhr Vrsprung sey / vnd dasselbig also in dem Weg. Wie jhr sehen / dz auff eim Baum ein Blüe steht / 4. Tag / 6. Tag / 3. Tag / etc. mehr oder weniger : Also seind auch die zeit der Wind / dz sie auch also mit solcher zeit müssen lauffen : Einer weht 3. Tag / der ander 1. Tag / 2. Stundt / 1. Stund / etc. auff wochen oder Monat / etc. wie dann alle Gewechs jhr Zeit hand / zu jhren Exaltationen / wie lang / vnd wenn. Also nach solcher Ordnung lauffen diese Stern auch mit jhren Winden / der in dz Land / der ander dohin / ein jedlicher auff sein Region / vnd das zu seiner zeit / vnd mit seiner weitti / stärcki vnd schwechi / jhe einer anders dann der ander.

So ist der Wind Vrsprung also / dz in denselbigen Sternn / auß denn der Wind geht / zu gleicherweiß ist der Wind ein Gewechs / als so ein Baum auß einer

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over to them? It is because there are intermediate stars that drive them further into foreign parts, so that everything is driven by the winds. There are not four or twelve, but many thousand origins scattered here and there.

Now concerning the strong winds that travel so long and without another infusion and unbroken, these often carry rain through Septentrion, through *Auster*, yet this is not the same rain from that region; it is often from *Auster* and a *Boreas*, a *Zephyrus*, a *Eurus*, which is of the same *regiones*. It follows from this that the rains should not be ascribed to the winds, not unless it should be an inherently rainy wind as will be described in the proper context. It follows that the years will be infertile, this one sour, that one meagre, another one wormy, etc. For every region has its own land's star for rain. Those are the natural rains of the land. But when such rain is dispersed by a wind star in a timely or untimely way into another land and is not of use to this region, it causes harm to the land and to the fruits, herbs, and whatever lies therein. For each land has its proper weather, rain, and atmosphere. When they are displaced and altered, there follow an interruption and ruining of what grows there. Such things cause inflationary years, bad fruit, and everything that shouldn't be and is against the nature of the country.

As has been written above concerning the origin of the winds, you should be aware that these also have various natures, useful and harmful. For just as various herbs grow on the earth, so, too, there is a diversity in winds. From them result illnesses, decay, and that sort of thing. Now |, however, all the 267
winds should be known in accordance with their properties and whence they come and what their origin is, and indeed as follows. You can see that blossoms remain on trees for, say, four, six, or three days more or less. So, too, with the times of the winds.[1] They must also blow for their appointed time, the one for three days, another for one day or for two hours, one hour, or whatever, for weeks or for months, and so on. By the same token, everything that grows has its appointed time for its exaltations, determining how long and when. Following this order, the stars course with their winds, this one blowing into this land, that one into another, each to its region and its appointed time and circumference, strength or weakness, each different from the next.

So, that's the origin of the winds: in the stars from which the wind arises, it is like an outgrowth, as when a tree sprouts from the earth, or grass grows on a

1 The vegetal language, more explicit in the next paragraph, does not appear in the *Philosophy of the Elements*. In *De Meteoris* winds arise from a seed which is the prime matter of the three principles (H 8:209). Here the two aspects are not strongly associated: we read first that winds are alike a vegetal outgrowth, and only then, that they come from the matter of the stars, i.e. the *tria prima*. Not much emphasis is put on this origin, contrary to *De Meteoris*.

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Erden geht / oder ein Graß auff einer Wiesen / dz Morgen abgehawen ist : Also ist der Wind ein Gewechs auß den Sternen / in seiner zeit vnd stund. Aber in dem vnterscheidet er sich / dz er sich mehr vergleicht einem Fewr / in den weg. Jhr sehend / wann ein Holtz bey einander ligt / so ist es bereitt zum Fewr : Als dann so man dz Fewr darzu legt / so brennt es vnd ist ein Fewr / so lang das Holtz wehret. Nuhn folgt auff das / dz also in den Windsternn auch ein solch anzünden sein muß / gleich wie dz Fewr : Drumb so wissen / das in diesen Stern lieget die *Materia* deß Winds / gleich als wen es ein Holtz weri / vnd als dann wird es angezund auß dem Firmament / vnd so lang es dornach do ist / also lang wehret der Wind. Diese *Materia* ist ein Firmamentischer *Sulphur, Mercurius*, vnd *Sal*, vnd doch nit mit Regen / oder derselbigen *Materia*, sondern allein Windig / in allweg als wie die Krafft ist deß Fewrs / also hie auch / ein lebendig / rürendts ding wachst / das sich bewegt / vnnd entpfindtlich mag erkennt werden.

Als dann so nun die Wind also wachsend vnd zu wehen geordnet sindt / so wehen sie nach der seitten. Dann jhr *Emunctoria* stehnd nach den seitten : Einer gegen Orient / einer gegen Occident / einer gegen Mittag / der ander gegen Septentrion / wie es dann ist. Etwann ein Windstern steht auff *Sclauonia*, vnd vbertrifft dasselbig Land / vnd lest sich erst *in Austria* nider / vnd geht darnach seiner Lingen nach. Dann sie haben jhrn gleichen strich / als Pfeil
268 von | Armbrust / wo sie auß wollen. Etlich stehnd auff *Sueuia*, vnd kehrent jhr *Emunctoria* vber die Alpen / vnd fallen *in Italia* nider : Etlich stehnd *in Saxonia*, vnd kehrend sich auff Behmen / vnd *Polonia :* Etlich auff *Portugalia*, vnnd kehrend sich auff das Meer : Etlich auff *Anglia*, vnd kehrend sich *in Barbariam :* Etlich in der Türckey / vnd kehrend sich gegen *Apulia*. Also auch mit allen Winden zu wissen ist / dz sie dermassen jhren strich haben / vnd jhr genannte Breytten. Dann so sie auß den Sternen kommen / als dann so theilen sich sie auß : Wie jhr sehend an einem Baum / der ob der Erden sich außspreittet / viel grösser als er in der Erden ist.

Dorauff auch so wissen / dz sie also auch in der gestalt Warm vnd Kalt seind / dz ist / nach dem vnd jhr Natur ist. Dann do sind etliche Kaltt / vnd stehnd in Mittag / etlich Warm / vnd stehnd in Mitternacht. Also auch mit denen in Auffgang vnd Nidergang. Wiewol die Kaltten Stern mehr stehnd auff Mitternacht / vnd die Warmen / mehr auff Mittag. Aber nichts dester minder / so sollen sie drumb nicht in der gemein Kalt gehalten werden / oder Warm : Dann sie sind vermischt durcheinander. Wiewol dz ist / dz die Heissen Stern in Mitternacht / Kältti empfahen vber jhr kaltten Region / vnd die von Mittag / Wärmi empfahen von der Sonnen : Als wen ein Schnee zerschmiltzt / vnd verleurt sein kelti / oder ein warm Wasser an der keltti gefreurt : Also verlieren sie jhr Arth von den eussern Zufellen. So ist aber solches nicht alle mahl / sondern allein

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meadow which is mown tomorrow. In the same way, the wind is an outgrowth of the stars at its appointed time and hour. But it is different in being more like a fire in the following sense. You can see that a stack of wood is prepared for fire. When it is set aflame, it burns and becomes fire for as long as the wood lasts. It follows from this that in the wind stars there must also be an ignition as with the fire. Thus, it should be evident that in these stars lies the *materia* of the wind, just as if it were a wood which gets ignited by the firmament; for as long as that force prevails the wind lasts. This *materia* is a *sulphur, mercurius*, and *sal* of the firmament,[1] but not rain or anything of the kind, but rather only a windy force, entirely like the power of fire; with wind no less a vital, exciting thing that grows, moves, and can readily be perceived.

So when the winds are set to blow and grow, they blow in one direction. Their *emunctoria* stand in whichever direction. One toward Orient, one toward Occident, one toward Noon, and the other toward Septentrion, just as it is. Should a wind star hover over *Sclavonia* and surpass that land, it falls upon *Austria*, and continues along the line of its path. For the winds have their trajectory as an arrow and a | cross-bow have theirs. Some hover over *Suevia*, pointing 268
their *emunctoria* across the Alps in order to descend on *Italia*. Some hover over *Saxonia* and turn toward Bohemia and *Polonia*. Some over *Portugalia* and point toward the sea. Some over *Anglia* and point toward *Barbaria*. Some in Turkey and point toward *Apulia*. So, it must be noted with all winds that they have their trajectories and their appointed latitudes. For emerging from the stars, they spread out: as you see from a tree that sprouts from the earth to radiate much further than its circumference in the earth.

In addition, be informed that they are also warm or cold in accordance with their nature. Some are cold and hover at Noon, some warm and hover at Midnight. The same applies to the winds at Sunrise and Sunset. Though more of the cold stars are toward Midnight, and more of the warm ones toward Noon, nonetheless they are not all to be assumed to have that character; for they are intermixed with one another. It is to be sure the case hot stars toward Midnight receive the cold above their cold region and those toward Noon warmth from the sun. It is as when snow melts and loses its coldness or warm water freezes in the cold: so, too, do they lose their character due to their external circumstances. It does not always happen this way but only by accident. By the same token,

1 See likewise the *Philosophy of the Elements*, H 8:73.

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mit Zufall : Demselbigen aber nach soll kein Wind kaltt oder heiß auff solche vrsachn geheissen werden / sondern wie sein jnngeborne Natur ist vnd Arth. Dann dz ist zuwissen / gleich als wol als auff Erden Heisse vnnd Kaltte Kreutter[a] seindt / also gleich so wol diese Windsternen also verstanden werden.

So wissen auch / dz sich offtmahls von Winden begibt einsmahls ein grosser vngestümmer Wind / dasselbig ist gleich einem Wolckenbruch / in dem Weg : Wie jhr sehen die schnell Resolution deß Gewülchs / also wirdt offt ein Stern vbereilet / vnd fallt auff Einmahl herauß / das sonst lang zeit blieben sollt sein. Auch so seindt etliche Stern / die seltten Winden : So sie aber Winden / so geht auff ein mahl ein solcher gewaltiger Sturm / dz er Heuser vnd Beum auß der
269 Wurtzen außwirffet : | endtstehend hoch / vnnd schiessen Eins mahls auff die Erden : Als dann so er auff die Erden kommt / so streicht er derselbigen nach / so lang er weret / vnnd sich verzehrt. Es seindt auch viel Wind / die allein oben im Himmel bleiben / nicht herab kommen : Dieselbigen seindt also mit jhren Emunctorien gericht / die zur Höhi gehnd. Vnnd ist müglich / das XXX. oder L. etc. Wind mit einander / gegen einander / auff einander gangen / ein jeglicher sein strassen vnd nach seiner stercki : sich ettwan zusammen vermischen / oder einander abstossen / je einer den andern von jhm treibt / vnd also ein jeglicher jhm selbst ein strassen macht / als wenn man vber Land zeucht / hin vnd her wandlet. Was aber auff die Erden kompt / ist nicht widerwertig / selten allein / Einer der mehrer theil / vnd nach dem vnd sie seind / die Erden bewegen / oder das Meer mit seinen Procellen. So seind auch ettlich Sommerstern / ettliche Winterstern / das ist gleich zu rechnen den Kreüttern / vnd Herbst / vnd Erndt. Wie also der Sommer sein zeit hatt / dorinn er sonderlich ettwas gebiert : also hatt auch die Zeit jhre Stern / die im Herbst / die im Glentz / etc. zeittig werden. Also ettliche kalt / ettliche warm / etc. wie dann alle ding in jhr ordnung gemacht seind.

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a The kinship of the cold winds with diseases and with the traditional "cold" herbs is a thought extensively developed in *Opus Paramirum:* "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 Windtkeltin / Chaoskeltin / Lufftkeltin / 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 kreutter** auff Erden wachsen : Solatrum, Rosa, Lactuca, Portulaca, 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" (H 1:131).

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no wind should be called cold or hot for such reasons, but rather in accordance with its innate nature and character. For one should recognize that just as there are hot and cold herbs on the earth, the same should be known regarding these wind stars.

Be aware, too, regarding winds that it often happens that a great unruly wind occurs which is like a thunderstorm. It happens as follows. You can see the rapid resolution of the cloud formation. In the same way, a star may be accelerated and depart suddenly though it should have stayed put for longer. Likewise, there are some stars that rarely cause winds; but when they do it unleashes precipitously such a might storm that rips out houses and trees by the roots |, 269
they are borne up and hurled all at once upon the earth. So it keeps after it as long as it lasts until it's exhausted. There are many winds besides that remain isolated up there and do not descend. They are arrayed with their *emunctoria* upward. It is possible that thirty to fifty winds run into one another, against one another, at one another, each taking its route and having its strength, perhaps colliding and intermingling or repelling one another, each driving off the other, thus forging a route for itself, as if traversing the country, wandering back and forth. But what descends to earth is not contrary and rarely by itself, but rather one of several parts of varying constitution that move the earth or the sea with violent gusts. Thus, there are some summer stars and some winter stars, comparable to the variety of the herbs and fall and harvest. Just as the summer has its time to give birth to its particular things, so, too, does the time have its stars which come to term in fall in their radiance. Thus, some cold, some warm, just as all things are created and arrayed in their order.

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DE TONITRVIS.
Vom Himmlitzen.

Wie nuhn vnder andern *Impressionibus* deß Himmels ein vrsprung ist / also wissen hie auch vom Himmlitzen / vnd dasselbig in den weg. Es seind ettliche Stern / die do allein von jhnen geben ein Rauch deß Schweffels / das ist / ein Dampff : derselbig so er ausserthalb seiner Stern kompt / vnd im Mittel Himmel vom Wind getrieben wird / so zündt denselbigen die Sonn an / als dann so brinnt er : Aber im Puncten verrochen / wie ein *Spiritus Vini, Sulphuris*, oder eins andern dings. So nun derselbig also verbrinnt / so ist der Himmlitz auch
270 auß. | Auff das so wissen auch / das solch Himmlitzen nicht allein von Eim Stern kompt / sondern von vielen / die mit einander jhren Gang haben / vnd also auff einander sich Emungiren. Darzu auch / offtmals auß Eim Stern / dreyssigerley Himmlitzen gehnd / auß der gestallt : Als offt ein Dunst geht / so ist ein brennen do / drumb der Dünst offt viel sein / also auch viel brennens. So wissen nuhn hie von diesem Himmlitzen / das also die arth ist der Sonnen / daß sie die anzünd in der Höhi vnd nit am Boden / dz ist zu vnderst. Dann es sind offt zu vnterst Regengewülch / Kelti / etc. das nicht sein möchti. Aber der Dunst so er auß dem Stern geht / so blost er jhn auß biß auff den Boden : Gleich als wenn einer mit dem Maul an ein Wand blest : So nuhn dieser Blost beschehen ist / vnd ist ein Schweffeldunst / so ist die Sonn zu obrist darinn / vnd zündt jhn an : Als dann so groß der Dunst ist oder gehet / brennt er / es sey im Wasser / oder im Gewülch / wo es dann ist : Eben gleich als ein Dunst vom Wein / der brennt so weitt er geht / er sey worinn er woll.

So begeben sich auch solcher Dünst viel bey der Nacht : dieselbigen sind eines andern geschlechts vnd arth / vnd das in dem weg. Wie jhr sehend / daß der Lufft den *Spiritum Sulphuris* vnd *Salis* anzündt / also hie auch an diesem ort dieselbigen Stern solcher arth sind / so jhr Dunst außgeht / so bald jhn der Lufft begreifft / so brinnt er : Auß vrsachen / er mag den kalten / feuchten Lufft nit erleiden / wann er zündt jhn an. Wie jhr sehen / so jhr machen *Spiritum Salis* vnd *Sulphuris, &c.* zusammen / also in der gestallt / so bald jhr den in Lufft schütten / so brinnt es alles / was außgeschütt ist worden. Auff das folgt also / daß die Nacht auß jhrem kalten / feuchten Lufft / disen Sulphur vnd Saltzgeist

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DE TONITRVIS.
[Fourth Book. On Thunders.]

Concerning Lightning Flashes.[1]

Just as the other *impressiones* of the heavens have been shown to have their origin, you must know this as well regarding the lightning flashes, and indeed it is thus. There are indeed some stars which of themselves give off a sulphurous vapor or steam. When the latter emerges outside the star and is driven by the wind in the intermediate heavens, the sun ignites it and then it burns. However, at that point, it is evaporated like a *spiritus vini, sulphuris*, or some such thing. As soon as the same has been burned up that brings an end to the flashes. | In 270
addition, know as well that such flashes do not come from only one star but from many that travel together, thereby emungating onto one another. Moreover, it often happens that from a single star thirty or more flashes proceed, and indeed as follows. Whenever a vapor arises, there is a flame; and there are often many vaporous discharges and much burning. You should be aware regarding these that they have the nature of the sun: they ignite high up and not on the ground, not at the lowest. For often rain clouds and cold are lower which is not the preferred condition. But when the vapor proceeds out of the star, it is blown out clear to the ground. It is as if someone were to blow upon a wall with one's mouth. The exhalation having occurred, there is a sulphurous haze with the sun in a superior position which ignites it. Depending on the size and path of the haze, it burns in the water or clouds, wherever it is. It is like vapor from wine that burns as far as it extends, wherever it happens to be.

Thus, many such vapors occur at night. These are of another genus and nature in the following sense. As you can see, the air ignites the *spiritus sulphuris* and *salis*. Thus, here, too, there are the same stars of the kind from which their vapor proceeds so that they burn. The reason for this is that it cannot suffer cold, moist air so that it is ignited. The reason is that it does not suffer the cold, damp air and ignites it. You can see this when you put *spiritus salis* and *sulphuris* together, and so on, in a certain way so that as soon as you agitate the air, everything burns that has been emitted. It follows from this that the night with its cold, moist air ignites the sulphur and the salt spirit, causing lightning

1 The idea that lightning flashes result from emungations of the stars is close to the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:80 ff.). Here, however, the process is entirely different and simpler. This chapter also differs from that in the *Liber Tertius, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:304 ff.).

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anzündt / vnd gibt auch Himmlitzen / wie die bey Tag. Aber hierinn mercken / das solcher Stern ordnung ist : dann diese Stern machen den Sommer / gleich wie die Schneesternen / den Winter : vnd ist also ein Gang / das dise Stern den Sommer geben / vnd ist von jhnen hie. Vnd wo diese Stern nicht sind / do mag die Sonn nimmermehr kein gantzen vollen Sommer machen. Drumb so dieser Stern viel sind im Gang / vnnd starck vnd gewaltig / dem nach wird auch der Sommer / heiß oder kalt. Dieser Stern arth ist / Trocken vnd Heiß / vnd gleich brennen sie wie ein Fewr / vnd geben ein Dunst / wie ein Holtz ein Rauch /
271 derselbig wirdt | angezündt / bey Tag von der Sonnen / oder bey Nacht von der Nachtfeüchti vnd Küli / wie dann solcher Dünst arth ist / dz sie sich dermassen also entzünden / wie von beyden Himmlitzen angezeigt ist.

Vom Donnern im schönen Himmel.

So wissen hierauff vom Donnern / dz es auch dermassen ein Stern ist / der auß jhm selbst ein solch Gethön macht / vnd das in dem weg. Jhr sehend / dz nichts widerwertigs bestahn mag in der wirckung. Auff das folgt / das dieser Stern bey jhm hat ein *Sulphur* vnnd ein Salpeter / die zwen machen das Brodeln vnd Donnern / also. Dieser Donnerstern / wie obsteht / so hatt er ein solche Hitz in jhm / das er all sein Egestion siedent außwirfft : das ist / wie jhr sehend / das in eim Haffen gesotten mag werden der fix *Sulphur*, vnd Saltz *fixum*, vnnd als bald als es in Lufft kompt oder an die Feuchti / so hebt es an zu Donnern / vnd sich zu erheben / biß es gar erkalt. Also hie auch / so diese *Mucillago Sulphuris* vnd *Salis* auß dem Stern fallen / vnd in Lufft kompt / so mag der Salpeter beim *Sulphur* nit bleiben : dann sein arth ist / so er ein feuchten Lufft empfindt / so muß er Donnern : Also der *Sulphur* auch / so er bey jhm ist. Nuhn so solchs also auß dem Stern fallt / vnd kompt in Lufft / biß es erkaltet im Lufft / so erzittert es als ein Erdbidmen im Lufft vnd Donnern : dieser Donner geht auff die Erden / vnnd gibt sein Resonantz im mittel Himmel / darinn hören wir jhn. Aber es ist noch viel höher / dann wir mercken mögen. Also weret dieser Donner so lang / biß es erkaltet / so ist es ein Lufft : das ist / es wirt alls zersteubet / vnd vom Wind getragen. So ist es auch sein eigen arth / daß es sich selbst treibt / als ein ding das do fleucht sein widerwertiges / so lang es weret.

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flashes like those by day. But note in this that such stars have their order; they cause summer[1] the same way that the snow stars cause winter. Moreover, there is a course by which these stars yield summer, and it proceeds from them thus. Without these stars the sun can never make a summer full and whole. Hence, in accordance with whether there are many of these stars in the course, large and powerful ones, the summer will be hot or cold. The nature of these stars is dry and hot: they burn at once like a fire and give off a vapor like woodsmoke. The same is | ignited by day by the sun or by night by nocturnal moisture and 271
coolness, as is the nature of such vapors so that they are ignited in this way, as is demonstrated by the lightning flashes.

Concerning Thunder in a Clear Sky.

Be aware concerning thunder that it is likewise a star which of itself makes such a noise and that it does so as follows. You can see that nothing antithetical can abide in its interaction. From this it follows that such a star possesses in itself a *sulphur* and a saltpeter, whereby the two together cause that rumbling and thunder. The thunder star, as indicated above, possesses within itself a heat which makes its entire egestion boil up. This is what you see when in a vessel fixed *sulphur* and *fixum* salt are boiled. As soon as they touch the air or moisture, a thundering results and goes on until it cools completely. The same applies in this instance. As soon as the *mucilago sulphuris* and *salis* descend from the star and enter the air, the saltpeter cannot bear to remain together with the *sulphur;*[2] for its nature is such that upon sensing moist air, it must thunder. The same holds for the *sulphur* which accompanies it. Whenever it descends from the star and arrives in the air and has not yet cooled in the air, it trembles like an earthquake in the air and thunders. This thunder passes to the earth and yields its resolution in the intermediate heavens where we hear it. Yet it is much higher up than we can observe. Hence, this thunder lasts until it has cooled and becomes air, which is to say, until it is completely dissipated and carried away by the wind. Thus, it is in its nature to be driven as a thing that flees what is opposed to it for as long as it lasts.

1 Compare with *De Meteoris*: "These flashes come from the summer stars, not the storm stars. They are their purgations: that which they cast out as their superfluity and excrement. It is their nature to be nothing but burning sulphur, the sulphurous heat heat of which produces the summer" (H 8:241).

2 A similar idea is found in the *Philosophy of the Elements*, H 8:81.

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Vom Wetter.

Also mit dem Wetter / so ein solcher Stern kompt / der das Wetter gibt / so wissen / daß derselbig anfenglich auch vom *Sulphure* vnd *Sale* ist. So er nun will außgehn / vnd sein Ernd ist / vnnd sein zeit sich zu Emungiren / so gibt er am ersten sein Dunst / als ein siedend ding / darnach gibt dieser Dunst sein Himmelitzen / es sey bey Tag oder Nacht. Dann die Sonn zündt jhn nit an / allein der Lufft : drumb bey Tag oder Nacht solchs | zu entzünden ist. Auff das 272
folgt / so der Stern also seüdt / so muß das sieden ein Dunst geben / derselbig so weitt er außblost / so flambt er / vnd gibt ein Himmlitzen. Auff dasselbig so schütt der Stern ein Sudt herausser in den Lufft / derselbig Außwurff fecht an zu Donnern / als wann man ein zerlassen Silber in ein Wasser wirfft / das do donnert / so lang es im Sudt oder Hitz ist. Also auß solchen Stern begibt sich / dz solcher Dunst ein grosse zahl [sich] begeben mögen : Vnd viel Sudt außgeworffen werden / also das Donner vnnd Blitz mit einander / oder einander nach geht / wie dann solch verfügung geschehen mögen / also auff einander gehnd. So ist also solcher Stern arth / daß sie darzu ein Regen geben : dann auß vrsach / aller Dampff / so vom Saltzgeist geht / der wirdt zu einem Regen / vnd der vom *Sulphur* geht / zu einem Blitz. Auß dem folgt / das also nach jnhalt deß Sterns / Blitz vnd Regen werden / viel oder wenig / nach dem vnd derselbig Stern sein wesen hatt / vnd vieli seiner Egestion. Also Blitzet / Regnet / vnd Donnert mit einander / so lang biß es alles auß ist. Darauff wissen / das kein ander vrsach ist / als allein deß siedens der Materia / dornach die Feüchti vnd Hitz / wie dann der Regen arth ist / vnd dergleichen.

Vom Haglen.

Also seind auch ander Stern / die in massen wie die vorbemelten angehnd mit Blitzen / Donnern vnd Regen / aber weitter mit Steinen / das ist / mit Eyßrißlen : vnd kommen auß der vrsach / das diß Wetter ist ein solch kalt ding an jhm selbst / vnd also ein solch heiß ding dabey : Also das auß den heissen der Blitz / Donner vnnd Regen geht / wie obsteht : Nachfolgend aber auch bey dem / ein solch kalte arth auch do / das dasselbig Wasser so kalter Natur ist / so bald es sich resoluiert in Tropfen / ein jedlicher Tropfen gefreürt / vnd zu einem Schneestein wird / vnd also gleich so wol mit solchem *Impetu* herab fallt / als das ander / Blitz oder Regen. Nuhn wissend hierinn / das diese arth ist vom *Sale Crystalli*, also starck / daß sie im Stern auß grossem gewalt resoluirt wirdt :

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Concerning Storm.

So it is with bad weather: when its star arrives causing storm, you should be aware that the star is initially from the *sulphur* and *sal*. When it is disposed to come out and its harvest time, its time to emungate arrives, it first of all yields its vapor in a seething mass, after which this vapor yields lightning flashes by day or night. The sun does not ignite it. Only the air does that. This is why by day or night it | can be ignited. It follows that if the star is seething, this gives 272
off vapor. As far as it wafts, it will cause flame and yield the lightning flash. The star strews its stew into the air and what is expelled begins to thunder, as it does when molten silver is cast into water:[1] it thunders as long as it is hot or boiling. From these stars there must be a great amount of such vapor [that] results; and much seething mass must be ejected for the thunder and lightning mixed or following one another, as caused by the conjunction when the two occur together. It is in the nature of such a star to cause rain too. The cause of this is that all the steam that proceeds from the salt spirit turns to rain, and what proceeds from the *sulphur* to lightning.[2] Hence, depending on the content of the star, there will be lightning and rain, much or little, depending on the sort of essence the star has and on the amount of its egestion. Thus, there is lightning, rain, and thunder mixed together, until it is all used up. Therefore, be assured that there is no other cause than the seething of the material, followed by the moisture and heat, with the nature of the rain, and so on.

On Hail.[3]

So, too, there are other stars which like the aforementioned begin with lightning flashes, thunder and rain, but that continue with stones, that is, with ice sleet. These come about because this sort of weather is so cold in itself yet with such a hot thing added to it. So it happens that from the hot things lightning, thunder, and rain result, as mentioned. But following these, there is such a cold nature involved that the water, cold by nature, upon resolving itself into drops freezes drop by drop, turning into a snowy stone and immediately falls with the *impetus* of the other bolt or rain. Be aware that this nature results from *sal crystalli*, so powerfully that in the star it is resolved with great force. It is a sepa-

1 The comparison with molten silver was already used above, H 8:264.

2 See the short chapter on thunder in the *Philosophy of the Elements*: "For sulphur is the hottest of all and the *sal* is saltpeter. From its rain, indeed the best saltpeter arises" (H 8:80).

3 This chapter differs from its counterpart in the *Liber Tertius, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:306–307).

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dann es ist ein Separation / gleich als wenn ein Schnee / vnnd ein siedent Wasser in Eins vermischt wirt / vnd als dann wider ohn schaden jhr Corruption von
273 einander gebracht / jedlichs in sein wesen. Dann kein ding | ist so heiß nit / es hab ein Kelti an jhm / dergleichen auch mit dem kalten / es hab ein Hitz. Also ist do ein Separation in diesem Stern / auß welcher Separation zweyerley herab fallen / das ist / das Warm / vnd das Kalt : das Warm in sein Regen / das Kalt in sein gefroren arth / dann also ist die Eigenschafft. So wissen auch / das hierinn der *Salamita* in diese Wassertropfen Haar leitt / vnnd ander ding / ehe daß sie erfrieren / das ist / Congeliren / vnd als dann dasselbig schickt oder führt an ein orth / do es jhm geliebt. Auch so mag er auß solchen Stern Hagel machen / wann die *materia* do ist / die sunst vergieng / etc. mag er fürdern vnd vber Landt führen.

Vom Straal.

Also dergleichen vom Straal wissen / das jhr auch zweyerley sind / Heiß vnd Kalt / vnd mögen wol mit einander gehn / auß Eim Stern / das ist / so sich Kalts vnd Warms scheidet / ein jedlichs auff sein arth / wie *de Thermis* angezeigt wird : dasselbig beschicht nun also. Diser Stern / der den Straal gibt / ettlicher ist mit Wetter arth / ettlicher nicht. Welcher aber solch Straal in jhm hatt / der geht an in seiner Ernd zu Emungiren sein Egestion. So ist nun solcher Straal arth / daß sie doch selten / es sey dann fast ein schnelle wirckung vnd gar behend / sonst so seüdt er am Ersten vnd gibt sein Dunst / das ist / sein Blitzen : Nachfolgent vom Sudt sein Donnern. In dem scheiden sich die *Salia* von der Erdischheit[a] / vnnd gehnd in ein Regen. Nuhn ist bey solchen Stern gemeiniglich ein Windische arth auß dem Sieden / so in jnen ist / vnd ein anhangende Natur eines Windts / die auch darbey ist. Aber vber dasselbig / ist ein Metallische arth do / oder ein Kißlische / Marmorische / auß dem Saltz / also daß sich der Stein zusammen Compactiert / vnnd was von solcher arth ist / dasselbig geht in ein Stein / vnd was nit / das geht in die andern Egestion. Nuhn aber / das so in ein solche arth geht / dasselbig verbrennt in die arth / vnd ist ein *Mercurius* vnd ein *Sal* vnd ein *Sulphur*, vnd ist so schnell in einander / daß es durch sein Operation vnd widerwertigs auß dem Stern geworffen wirdt in die Erden / vnnd also schnell / daß Mauren zerbricht / das ist allein sein *Impetus*. Darbey wissen / das diese Straal gantz Stern seind : dann es werden viel Sternen im
274 Himmel die wider | zergehnd / vnd in diese vnd ander *generationes* kommen.

a Alternate reading in the margin: "*al.* Erdfeuchti."

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ration as if snow and boiling water were mixed into one, and their corruption separated back without harm, each into its own essence. For no thing | is so hot 273
that it has no cold in it. The same can be said of cold which is not without heat. Thus, there is a separation in this star from which two distinct things descend: the warm and the cold. The warm in its rain; the cold in its frozen nature, for such are the properties. Be aware as well that the *Salamita* introduces adulterations[1] into these water drops before they freeze or congeal and are sent or guided to some predisposed place. Moreover, from such stars he can make hail when the *materia* for it is there which would otherwise disappear, etc. He can promote and direct it across countries.

Concerning Lightning.

Know likewise concerning lightning that it has two kinds: hot and cold.[2] They may go with one another from a single star, when cold and warm separate, each by its own nature, as is shown in *de Thermis*.[3] The same happens in this case. Of the stars that yield lightning some have the nature of storms and some do not. But whichever star bears lightning begins emungating its egestion. It is the nature of such lightning that it is rare, unless it is a very quick effect; otherwise, it seethes initially and yields its vapor which is its lightning. After the seething comes the thunder. In this, the *salia* separate from the earthiness [variant reading: earthy moisture] and pass into rain. With these stars there is usually a windy nature from the seething which occurs in them and the adjunct character of a wind which is also involved. But beyond this, there is a metallic nature or a gravely or marble-like one from the salt, so that the stones are compacted with whatever shares that nature, turning into stones, and what does not thus pass in goes into other egestions. Now, however, in entering into this nature it burns in that nature. It is a *mercurius*, a *sal*, and a *sulphur* which merge so quickly that through their operation and opposition, it is cast out of the star onto the earth, and indeed so precipitously that walls are shattered by the force of its *impetus* alone. Be aware in this regard that these bolts are entire stars; for there are many stars in the heavens that | pass away and enter into these and 274
other *generationes*.

1 See Grimm, Haar, 21a), the idiom of mixing hair into wool, confirmed for the sixteenth century, is a metaphor for cheating and falsehood based literally on adulterating a product.

2 On cold lightning, see the *Philosophy of the Elements*, H 8:82–83.

3 See the treatise *Von den Natürlichen Bädern* (also called *De Thermis* in Huser's Table of Contents of vol. 7): "Nuhn weither was das sey / das da die *Separatio* gescheiden hatt / ist gesein Kaltt vnnd Warms / also / daß das Warm in sein Wesen kommen ist / vnnd das Kalt auch in sein Wesen" (H 7:296).

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Nun ist jhr arth also / daß sie trefflich schnell gehnd / das thut der *Mercurius*, der sie auß dem engen Loch schlecht / vnnd das siedent Saltz in jhm nicht haben mag. Dann so es anhebt / in sein Generation zugehn / so wehret sich der *Mercurius*, vnd will nit : das ist / so es auß der Coniunction kompt / vnd so bald aber die Stern an ein ander kommen / das ist / die *Materia* zu der Generation geht : Als jhr sehend in andern dingen / daß jetzt wirdt die Wurtz zeittig / jetzt der Stengel / jetzt dz Blatt / jetzt die Blü / etc. darnach die Frucht : Wie nun solchs auff einander geht / also hie in den Stern auch. Am Ersten werden die Sulphurischen *genera* geborn / auß denn das Blitzen geht : darnach das Saltz / auß deme Regen geht : darnach sie beyde / auß dem das Donnern geht : darnach der *Mercurius*, auß dem der Straal geht. Also geben sie sich auff einander schnell / mit sampt der Windischen arth / vnd darnach so schlecht der *Mercurius* auß / vnd das in den weg. So es alles zeittig ist / vnd sich zu dem mitteln Himmel setzt / so ist der *Mercurius* so schnell / so bald jhn ein Feuchti berührt in seiner Region / so schlecht er durch sein *Emunctorium* auß / wie dann dasselbig steht / Eins Knalls : dann er ist in einem engen Loch / dorauß er muß : vnd aber je weitter es ist / je strenger sein Knall ist. Dergleichen so wissen / das dieses Loch allein ist ein Gewülch von Wasser / darinn er leit / so bald es sich Resoluiert / als bald so es jhn berürt / so schlecht er durch das trocken Gewülch hinauß / es sey weitt oder eng : Ist es dann gar naß / vnd resoluirt / dester hertter gibt er sein Klopff.

So wissen von solchem Straal / daß sie ein theil ableschen im Wasser / vnd kalt auff die Erden kommen : Ein ander theil ist von Natur kalt. Welche aber heiß seind / vnd sich nicht ableschen / kommen heiß auff die Erden. Auff das wissen / daß sie am Ersten ein zerlassen Saltz sind / vnd ist ein compacter Dunst in ein ander gefast ohn alle Coagulation. Dieser Dunst *Salis* wie ein Windt ist er / der schlecht zun spalten hinein / wie ein Schweiß zu eim *poro* auß / oder als so ein Windt durch ein Mauren oder Wand gehet / das gar viel weniger ist dann ein solcher Straal / vnd wechst doch.[a] Also geht er durch [den] spalt hinein / durch die *poros*, vnd wieder auß / wie eins Windts arth ist. Dann
275 das er ein trockner Windt ist / vnd was er begreifft | / dasselbig besengt er / oder er verbrennts / nach dem vnd sein arth ist. Dann ettlicher verbrennt das Gold / ettlicher die Seiden / ettlicher Holtz / etc. dasselbig ist alles auß arth deß Saltzs / so in jhm ist. Auch auß krafft deß Saltzs lött er Schlüssel zusammen / Eisen auff einander / Schlösser macht er fliessen. Dann diß ist der recht *Borras* zum Lötten / vnd ein Saltz demselbigen gleich. Dieser Dunst geht durch

a Alternate reading in the margin: "*al.* darnach."

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Their nature is such that they go exceptionally quickly. This is caused by the *mercurius* that fires them out of their narrow hole where the seething salt would not have them. When its generation begins, the *mercurius* resists and resists, which means that when it departs from the conjunction and the stars come together, the *materia* is ready to enter into generation. As you can see in other things, the root becomes ripe, next comes the stalk, then the leaves, after that the blossom, and finally the fruit. As that succession goes, so, too, in the stars. First of all, the sulphuric *genera* are born from which the lightning results; next the salt from which the rain results; and finally both of these from which the lightning results. So it is that they have at each other precipitously together with the windy nature, after which the *mercurius* strikes forth as follows. When its time has come and it settles in the intermediate heavens, the *mercurius* acts so quickly upon touching the moisture in its region that it strikes forth through its *emunctorium*, as it stands, with a bang. For it is in a narrow aperture which it must exit; and the further it goes, the harsher its bang. Be aware that this aperture is nothing but a cloud formation of water in which it lies when it is resolved. Upon touching it, it strikes through the dry cloud formation pushing forth, be it wide or narrow. When it is wet and resolved, it strikes its knock all the harder.

Be informed concerning this bolt that part of it arrives extinguished in water and cold on the earth. Another part is by nature cold. But whatever is hot and is not extinguished arrives on earth hot. Know that it is a dissolved salt, a compact vapor condensed without any coagulation. This vapor of *sal* is like a wind that strikes through cracks, like a sweat exiting from *pori* or like a wind passing through a stone wall or house wall; these are much less than such a bolt yet grows [variant reading: grows subsequently]. Thus, it passes through the cracks, through *pori* and back out, as is the nature of wind. For it is a dry wind, and whatever it | encompasses, it singes or burns as is its wont. For some indeed 275
burn gold, some silks, some wood, etc. All of this results from the nature of the salt that is within it. By the same strength of the salt, it can solder keys together, weld iron, or make locks melt. For it is the true *Borras*[1] for soldering, and salt is like it. This vapor passes through walls, for they are always porous and everything makes it through. This vapor strikes the swords in their sheaths,

1 *Borras*: borax. It was used as a flux in metallurgy and solvent for metal oxides. See a similar occurrence in *Liber de Inventione Artium* (H 9:167). See as well *De Meteoris*, H 8:244.

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die Mauren / dann die Mauren seind alle porosisch / do laufft es alles durch. Dieser Dunst schlecht die Schwertter in der Scheiden / vnnd der Scheiden ohn schaden : dieser Dunst schlecht in die Erden / vnd an andern ortten / vnd macht kein Loch. Dann es ist allein ein compacter Wind / zusammen gefast in ein kleini ein grossen hauffen. Als jhr sehend / wie in der Sonnen ein grosse Hitz ist / mehr dann sonst in allem Gestirn / vnnd ist doch klein : Also ist do ein gleichnuß vom Windt / das ist / vom Straal / do ist auch ein compacter Wind / do mehr inn begriffen ist / dann sonst in tausent Meyl.

Solcher *Generationes* sind viel im Himmel / das also ein solch arth in ein Compaction kompt / das ein Loth[a] 1000. Centner vbertrifft / auß der also solche stercki kompt. Dann wie der *Crocus*[b] vielmal mehr vbertrifft *Flammulam* in der Gilbi / also do auch. Nun aber die andern Straal so Coaguliert seind / dieselbigen machen Löcher / vnnd thund mehr schaden / als die andern / aber jhre Weg werden gesehen / wo sie durch fahren.

Also werden die Wetter / vnd Straal / vnnd Hagel / etc. geboren / je eins dem andern nach mit der zeit : wie ein Krautt / das jetzt auß dem Sahmen die Wurtz wirdt / darnach der Stengel / darnach das Krautt / darnach die Blumen / darnach die Frucht : Also ist das Himmlitzen die Blumen / das Donnern der Stengel / der Regen die Blüet / der Straal sein Frucht : vnnd hatt also sein zeit ein jedlichs sunderlich / wie dann ein jedlichs Krautt sonderlich sein gewechs hatt. Vnd als mancherley vnd seltzam dieselbigen sind / vnd als viel / also do auch zu wissen ist.

276 *LIBER QVINTVS*

DE PLVVIIS.
Vom Regen.

So wissen nuhn von den Regensternen / daß sie Fix seind / vnnd stehnd still auff derselbigen Region / dorinn sie geboren seind. Dann wie die Länder still ligendt / also ligendt auch still all jhr Gestirn / so jhn zugeben ist. Als ein Exempel : Jhr sehend / das in der gantzen Welt der Lufft ist : Nun ist desselbigen mancherley vnd viel / nach dem vnd die Länder sind : Aber still vnd fix

a Loth is a frequently used unit of measurement for P. This common medieval unit was apparently 1/30 or 1/32 of a pound.

b See above, 288, note b.

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leaving these undamaged.[1] The vapor strikes into the earth and other surfaces without leaving a hole. For it is but a compact wind, fused together in a smaller or larger mass. You can see how in the sun when there is a great heat, surpassing all the stars, yet it is still small: this is a likeness of the wind or lightning bolt, which is also a compact wind encompassing more than anything else in a thousand miles.

There are many such *generationes* in the heavens whereby something of this kind enters into a compaction so that half an ounce surpasses a thousand tons in yielding a power of this kind. For just as the *crocus* in its yellowness surpasses *flammula* many times over in yellowness, so it is with this as well. The other bolts that are coagulated also inflict holes and cause more damage than these, but the paths by which they penetrate are visible.

So it is that the storms and lightning and things of that sort are born, one after the other in time. Just as with an herb, where the root first emerges from the seed, followed by the stalk, then the herb itself, then the blooms, and after that the fruit, so, too, are the lightning bolts the blooms, the thunder the stalk, the rain the blossoming, the flash the fruit.[2] Each has its own time in itself, as each herb has its pattern of growth. As many and peculiar as they are, all should be known.

LIBER QVINTVS 276

DE PLVVIIS.
On Rain.[3]

Now you should be informed regarding the rain stars that they are fixed, hovering over the same region where they were born.[4] Just as the territories are not mobile, neither are all the stars assigned to them. Here is a comparison. You can see how the air extends throughout the entire world. Yet it may be of various kinds and amounts depending on the character of the territory. Yet it is fixed

1 See similar cases evoked in *De Meteoris*, H 8:237.
2 Here the vegetal language is impressively developed.
3 This chapter is in some ways parallel to that in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:78–79).
4 See the locations of rain stars in the *Philosophy of the Elements*, H 8:78.

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steht er / das ist / der Affricanisch Lufft kompt in *Europam* nit / noch *Asiæ in Europam*. Deßgleichen alle Länder haben jhren Lufft / der bleibt bey jhnen : Als *Pannonia, Sarmatia, Dania, Sueuia, &c*. haben all jhren fixen Lufft / vnnd verendern sich nicht. Dann wie jhr sehend den Clar im Ey / es werd das Ey vmbkehrt wie es woll / noch verendert sich der Clar nicht / er bleibt fix an seiner statt : Also der Lufft auch. Wie nun solchem ist / also ist auch den Regenstern auff jhren Ländern. Wiewol sich begibt offtmals / daß die Regensternn weitter jhren Regen geben dann jhr Region ist / dasselbig aber kompt von den Windtstern / so dorinn lauffen / vnnd das Gewülch weitter treiben / dann an sein Region / das dann ist ein Zerstörung desselbigen Landts fruchtbarkeit. Aber die Landtstern / so nit von Windt gejagt werden / dieselbigen durch jhren selbst Wind / machen sie sich auch weitter / dann jhr fallenden Linien ist : Aber nicht auß der Region. Darauff so wissen / das also sondere Stern sind / die zum Regen geordnet seind / vnd auß den der Regen geht : als ettlich stätt in dem Feld / auß denen *Sauina*,[a] andern *Origanum*, andern *Serpillum*,[b] *&c*. wachst / den andern neben jhnen ohn schaden / vnd so dieser [...] *Quære primum Capitulum, Secundi Tractatus*.[c]

So nun also ein Wasserstern angeht / so wissen / daß sie daher streichen in jhrem wachsen als der Monn / der ist jetzt halb / dann Viertel / dann gar nit /
277 darnach wider hindersich / vnd gar gantz : | Also geht dz wachsen auch an in disen Stern / vnd als ein Sahm auff dem Feldt. Erstlich so dringt es herfür / vnd wz do zu seinem Baum wachsen soll / dasselbig fallt vom Stern herab / wie ein Baum auß der Erden hinauffwertz. Dieser Sahm wachst biß auff die höhi seiner statt / vnd die ist also. *Quære in secundo Tractatu, hoc signum,* [*&c.*].[d] Zwischen Himmel vnd der Erden seind zwo Distantz : Eine deß Gewülchs / die ander der Erdfrüchten. Auß der vrsachen wachst kein Baum vber seine Distantz / auch kein Gewülch kommt vnder sein Distantz / das ist in die weitti der Erdischen. Also hatt ein jedlich ding sein Höhi : Das Wasser geht allein auß der Erden biß

a See above, note on H 8:107. *Scholia & Obseruationes in Macri Poemata* observe: "Id est, die gutten Blatern / & veniunt vt plurimum in Peste. Vnd so sie nit ad mortem giengen / soll mans cum **Sauina** heilen" (H 7:258); moreover: "Inter herbas omnes ad Menstrua pellenda vel prouocandam, est omnium efficacissima Sauina: vnd soll mans nuhr in alten Weibern brauchen quae iam sterilescere inceperunt, etc." (ibid.).

b *Origanum* occurs nowhere else, *serpillum* in *De Gradibus & Compositionibus Receptorum & Naturalium* (H 7:14).

c The sentence is unfinished. The Latin words are commented on by Huser in the margin: "*Sequentia omnia ad verbum ita habentur in Autographo*." See vis-à-vis, and below, note d.

d These Latin words, printed in roman—as all Latin words within the gothic printing of the German text,—are inserted in the middle of the sentence, with a larger space after "auff die". See vis-à-vis.

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and constant. This means that the African air does not extend to Europe, nor does the Asiatic air. By the same measure, all lands have their own air that remains over them. Thus, *Pannonia, Sarmatia, Dania, Suevia,* etc. all possess their fixed air and they do not change in this respect. For as you can see from the egg white in the egg shell, you can move the egg around as much as you like, yet it will remain fixed in its place.[1] So it is with the air as well. This being so, thus, too, with the rain stars over their territories. It can happen that the rain stars dispense their rain beyond their regions; however, this is caused by the wind stars that also move among them, driving the cloud mass further than its own region, thereby causing a decimation of that land's fertility. But the territorial stars that are not driven off by the wind but moved by their own wind go further than their descendent line. But not out of their region. Therefore, you should be aware that there are particular stars ordained for rain from which it proceeds, just as there are various places in the field from which *savina*, or *origanum*, or *serpillum*, etc., grow, without harming those other species alongside them, and accordingly this […] *Quaere primum Capitulum, Secundi Tractatus*. [Look at the first chapter of the second treatise.][2]

So, when a water star goes into action, you should know that they streak along waxing like the moon, now half, now a quarter, now gone; but then again the other way until quite full. | That's how the waxing in these stars proceeds. 277
It is also like the seed sown on the field. First, it breaks forth. Whatever is slated to grow in its tree descends from the star the way a tree sprouts out of the earth. This seed grows up to the point of the height of its place, and to be sure as follows. *Quaere in secundo Tractatu, hoc signum,* [*&c.*].[3] Between heavens and earth, there extend two distances: the one of the cloud mass; the other of the earthly fruits. For this reason, no tree grows beyond its distance, meaning into the expanse of the earthly distance. So it is that each thing has its height. Water flows from the earth as far as its surface: at that point it is not possible

1 The notion of an egg occurs in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:61–62, etc.) and in the draft *De Elemento Aeris* (H 8:286). See also *De Meteoris* (H 8:190).

2 These words seem to hint at the chapter on frogs (H 8:258–259).—The sentence is discontinued in Huser and followed by the Latin comment obviously written by P. himself, as Huser explained in the margin: "All that follows is found in the autograph in this way, word for word" ("*Sequentia omnia ad verbum ita habentur in Autographo*").

3 "Look at this sign [&c.] in the second treatise." This cross-reference was obviously added by P. in the middle of his sentence: see vis-à-vis. Here Huser reproduced the autograph perhaps too carefully (see note 2). Perhaps P. was referring again to the second book of the present treatise, but we cannot find the place referred to.

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an Tag / do ist es nuhn nimmer müglich ein Puncten weither höher zu steigen / so es in der Erder schon auff 1000. Meil gestigen ist / vnnd weither müglich wer / so sie höher stünd. Drumb also der Baum vber sein höhi auch nicht wachst : Also der Regen auch. *Quære hoc signo,* [*&c.*]

Cætera quære in Libro de Aquis præcipitantibus.[a]

a Variant reading in the margin: "*vel Aqueis præcipitationibus.*"

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to ascend one bit higher, whereby in the earth it has been known to ascend a thousand miles and possibly more where greater heights present themselves. For the same reason, the tree does not grow beyond its height either. The same holds for the rain too. *Quaere hoc signo,* [*&c.*] [Look at this sign, [&c.].]

Caetera quaere in Libro de Aquis Praecipitantibus.

[Look at the remaining in the Book on Falling Waters][1]

1 The variant in the margin (“*vel Aqueis præcipitationibus*”) can be translated as: “or the Book of Aqueous Precipitations.”—A reference to the work *Von den Natürlichen Wassern* (see H 8:414), parts of which are included below.

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Lectori.

Diese jtztfolgenden Büchlein / Gönstiger Leser / in welchen zum vierten mahl die Meteorischen *Generationes* deß Element Fewrs vom *Autore* beschrieben werden / seindt nicht gantz / sondern Fragmenten weiß hin vnd wieder gefunden / vnd also zusammen geordnet.

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PROLOGVS
In die Bücher *METEORORVM, THEOPHRASTI HOHENHEIMENSIS, Philosophi.*

Darumb das wir nit für ein Heyden geachtet werden / Heydnischen in vnserm Philosophieren zu Tractieren / sondern dz wir vns als ein Glaubigen fürtragen / wollen wir euch als vnsern Schülern zwo Theilung dieser Jrrung / zwischen Heydnischen vnd Glaubigen / anzeigen.[a] Vor dem vnnd wir die zwo Theylungen außlegen / wollen wir ein Vorred erkleren / als ein Argument / also. Zimlich vnd gebürlich ist es eim *Philosopho,* das er wisse Anfang vnd End deß / daruon er Philosophiert. Auff solches schreiben wir Meteorischen / wissen doch der ding kein Anfang noch das End / wie dasselbig beschehen sey vnd zergehn werde. Wiewol wir aber solches nicht wissen / so wissen wir doch das / was das ist / von welchem wir schreiben. Als wir wissen vnd feelend deß nicht / was die *Corpora* seindt / vnd was dieselbigen jnnehalten /

a P. undertakes more than once to clarify the pagan and Christian sources of his medical thinking, which had become a grave concern for him in the wake of the Reformation and of Luther's stark rejection of heathen influence on Christian faith. A more blunt, though hardly more satisfying, approach to this perennial problem is voiced in the *Volumen Medicinae Paramirum*, on the five *entia* of disease, which admits of having taught in a "pagan (Heydnischer) style" in discussing the first four *entia* before turning to Christian faith in the last: "Dann es ist nit ein **Christenlicher Stylus**, sondern ein **Heydnischer Stylus**: Aber das letzt Ens, das ist ein Christlicher Stylus, mit welchem wir beschliessen. Vns soll auch der Heydnisch Stylus, den wir beschreiben in den 4. Entibus, nicht schaden am glauben: Er soll vns allein scherffen vnser Ingenium. Wir nennen das ein Heidnischen Stylum, auß vrsachen / das es den Glauben Christi befrembt: vnd bekennen darbey / das jhr all / die der 4. Ens wesen betrachten vnd gebrauchen / deß geblütz Christen sindt. Was aber vns do vrsachet / das wir die 4. ersten Entia Heydnisch heissen / vnd das letzte Göttlich / das wollen wir im selbigen Tractat erzelen / ettlichs theils: Aber den rechten grundt der warheit volkommen zuhaben / wollen wir dasselbig Ens enden vnd volfüren / im letzten Beschlußbuch Fidei: do wir vns verzeihen des Heydnischen Stylums / vnd verharren in dem glauben als ein Fidelis, dem weitter Paganische arbeit nit zu mueth sindt" (H 1:11).

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Lectori.

The little works that follow here, esteemed reader, in which for a fourth time the author renders account of meteorical *generationes* of the fiery element, are not complete but rather fragmentary, recovered here and there and ordered together in this way.

PROLOGVS

To the Books *METEORORVM*.[1]

THEOPHRASTI HOHENHEIMENSIS, Philosophi.

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In order that we should not be accounted as a heathen who speculates in a heathenish vein in philosophizing,[2] so that we should instead present ourselves as a man of faith, we intend to show you, our pupils,[3] the bifurcation involved in the error between the pagan and the faithful. Before elucidating these distinct positions, we will expound a preface in the form of an argument in the following way. It is right and proper for a *philosophus* to know the beginning and the end of that of which he philosophizes. To such purpose we write meteorological things, yet do not know the beginning and end, how it all occurs and will pass away.[4] Although we might not know this, we do know that about which we write. For we know with certainty what the *corpora* are and what they contain

1 In his table in front of vol. 8, Huser presented these two prologs as "Zwene *Prologi* in die gantze *Philosophiam de Generationibus Elementorum*." As he explained that all the texts printed on H 8:278–333 are "fragments gathered here and there and put in order in this way" (H 8:277: "Fragmenten weiß hin vnd wieder gefunden / vnd also zusammen geordnet"), it has to be surmised that this presentation of the two prologs expresses Huser's own understanding of their possible status. The title provided by Huser on the present page (H 8:278), however, is more vague; it is presumably the one directly printed by Huser from the manuscript.

2 The uninformed reader of this prolog could gain the impression that in P.'s time the study of philosophy or medical theory was proscribed by puritanical orthodoxy. This was hardly the case. The understanding of ancient philosophy was instead shifting, with Aristotle's reputation in decline and Plato's in the ascendancy and with biblical exegesis and theology assuming the role of leading sciences. Here, P. would associate himself as closely as possible with the Christian sciences, without, however, denying the independence of medicine or philosophy and thereby taking on the role of a mere faith healer. At the same time, eschatology, religious certainty of the beginning and ending of all things circumscribes and informs medical knowledge.

3 Used in a prolog, this word addresses the reader, not an imaginary audience—let alone a real one.

4 P. means here the very beginning and the very end of the world.

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vnnd was auß jhnen geboren wirdt : Dann das Gesicht das betreugt do nicht / vnd das Erfaren. Worauß aber die *Corpora* gemacht seindt / das wissen wir auch : Worauß aber dieselbige gemacht ist / oder genommen / dz wissen wir nicht. Darumb so lassen wir stahn dasselbig / vnnd Meteorisieren von dem / das wir durch die Frücht erkennen / vnd werck vnd anzeigen / als ein Vatter durch sein Kindt. Dieses will vns nicht noth sein zu setzen in die Geschrifft / oder zu glauben. Das ist / Glauben vnd Erfahren / stehndt also : Das wir wissen / das ein Geschöpff ist / vom selbigen wirdt mehr geredt auß der Erfahrung der
279 Augen vnd der Ohren. So lassen wir | die Schöpffung in diesen Büchern ruhen / vnnd Philosophieren von dem / dz do geschaffen ist / vnd verschweigen vnd stummen in dem / als ein beschlossner Mund / wie es beschaffen ist worden. Aber dieweil wir von den Geschöpffen reden / soll vns dasselbige ein Philosophey sein / deren ein theil ist *Meteororum :* Wann wir haben deß ein Wissen / vnd kein Glauben. Auff solches ist vns billich zu Philosophiren / vnd erlaubt / dieselbige ohn schaden oder Einwurff vnsers Tractirens von andern gegentheilen / alles das zuerkleren / so weith vns die Natur anzeigt / vnderweist / lerndt vnd gibt.

Nun möcht vns einer wol fürwerffen / vnd vns ein Heiden achten / dz die Erste theilung ist / als ob wir als ein vnglaubiger tractiren / vnd dieweil wir ein Glaubiger sind / auß dem Glauben solten reden : Will vns dz gar ein stoltz geachte Rede / mit gar kleinen Weißheiten / ansehen. Wir reden ein solchs auff die Einrede / dz ein jedlicher Weiser deß Glaubens soll ein *Philosophus* sein : Vnd welcher ein Glaubiger ist / vnd kein *Philosophus*, der ist kein Weiser im Glauben. Sich gebürt eim Glaubigen zu sein ein Weiß Mann / vnd ein Kunstreich Mann / damit vnd er wisse / wz er glaube. Ein Thor / der do glaubet / der ist todt in seinem Glauben : Wann vrsachen / die Werck machen den Glauben / dz ist / die Werck der Natur / der Zeichen / der Wunder. Dieweil nun der Glaub kommt auß den Zeichen / auß den Wercken / auß den Mirackeln : So ist vns das billich zu Philosophieren als ein Glaubiger / vnd nichts als ein Heyd / vnd nennen vns ein Christen. Wir setzen aber do ein vnderscheid / im Glauben / vnd Wissen / also. Welcher der ist / der do glauben will / der muß wissen. Wann

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and give rise to. Our sense of sight and experience do not err in this. What they are made of we likewise know. But what this is in turn made of, or extracted from, we do not know.[1] Hence, let us let this rest and speculate meteorically about that which we recognize as shown by its fruits and works as a father is by his child. This will not necessitate establishing it on scripture or taking it on faith. That is to say that faith and experience have this relationship: Our knowing that a creature is, is something we speak of more from the experience of our eyes or ears. So, let us | put to rest the creation in these books and instead 279
speculate about what has been created and keep our mouth shut and be silent about how it has been constituted.[2] Yet as long as we are speaking of the creatures, this still should be a philosophy, a part of which is the philosophy of the *meteora*. For about such things we do have knowledge and not a faith. About such things, it is proper that we speculate and permissible without harm or objection to our treatment by opponents to explain whatever nature reveals to us, teaches and demonstrates to us.

Now someone might want to accuse us of being a heathen for describing the first division as if we were not a person of faith. Though we are indeed speaking thus from faith, yet we might be accused of speaking proudly with little wisdom. We speak as we do with the provision that any wise person of faith should be a *philosophus*. Moreover, anyone who is of faith and yet is not a *philosophus*, is not wise in his faith. It is proper for someone who holds faith to be a wise man, as well as a man of art, in order that he should know what it is he believes. A fool who simply believes is dead in his faith. The reason for this is that the works constitute the faith, that is, the works of nature, signs and wonders. Since faith comes from signs, works, and miracles, we must speculate as a person of faith, not as a heathen; and we must call ourselves Christians.[3] However, we propose a distinction of faith and knowledge in this sense: Whoever would claim to be of faith must have knowledge. For it is from knowledge, and in accordance with

1 "What they are made of": they are made of the three principles. What the three principles were extracted from, however, this P. insists we cannot know. He wants to preserve the mystery of the creation.

2 This is contradicted by P.'s own speculations about the origin of creation in almost all the treatises of the present book. P. wants to appear uninterested in those mysteries; yet he speculates on them whenever it suits him.

3 Notice that "works" are both creation itself in which God eclipses man and renders nature ultimately unknowable and human will void, as well as the works of charity in which human beings bear out their living faith. The former usage accords with Luther's widely read polemic against Erasmus, humanism, and their preference for freedom of the will and the efficacy of works (*De servo arbitrio*, 1525); the latter by the humanists' and dissenters' defense of freedom and insistence that faith without works is dead.

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auß dem Wissen / vnd nach dem er weist / glaubt er : Aber demnach so solchs Wissen auß der Philosophey kommt / vnd darnach der Glauben / vnd also ein Seliger wirdt / so mag wol ein Vnseliger auch darauß werden / als der ist / der do weist alle Zeichen Gottes / vnd Wunderwerck Gottes / vnnd glaubts alles : Aber die Frucht seines Wissens gehet herauß nicht / stirbt ab. Disen heissen wir ein Todten *Philosophum*. Dann welcher viel weist / der soll viel Frucht geben : Wo nicht / der soll für ein Lügner / vnd nit für ein *Philosophum* geacht werden. Wann Wissen / darnach Glauben / darnach die Frucht / das ist der Grund eines *Philosophi*.

280 Auff solches theilen wir *Philosophiam* in 3. Geschlecht / vnd in 3. Facultet[a] : In die *Philosophos*, die do Tractieren von der Geburt vnd Herkommen / vnd heissen *Philosophi Naturales*. In die *Philosophos*, die da Tractiren von Zerbrechung der dingen / vnd heissen die *Philosophos Medicos :* In die *Philosophos*, die do Tractiren von den Wundern wider die Natur / vnd heissen die *Philosophos Sanctos*.

Dieweil vnd also Christenlicher *Philosophiæ* drey seind / allein auff den Glauben dienendt : So wollent wir zwo vnderschied do machen : Eine / die do durch die Zeichen vnd Natur erkennen Gott / die andern die sie wissen vnd jhn nit erkennen / wissend nit / worzu die Werck gehörend. Ein Christlicher *Philosophus* der weist / das der Glaube auß dem Werck ist / die der thut vnd gethan hatt / in den man glauben soll. Also so wir enden sollen in Eim / vnd in dem / von dem die Werck kommen : Begegnen vns zweyerley Werck in der Philosophey : Die Gerechten / die Falschen. Die Gerechten / das ist / dz Laub vnd Graß wachst vnd alle Thier / vnd alles dergleichen / das die Todten Lebendig werden. Die Falschen seind die / als durch Zauberey ein Krancken machen / vnd wider gesund / gleichnuß vnd that der Vngewitter zu machen / vnd solcher mehr. In die ersten sollen wir Philosophiren vnd durch sie auch glauben : Durch die andern nix / noch durch den / der sie macht : Aber also in den / der denselbigen beschaffen hatt / der solchs kan.[b]

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a In the *Volumen Medicinae Paramirum* P. distinguishes five different *Faculteten* (H 1:1–3); in the prolog to the *Paragranum* he happens to describe his four columns as four faculties (H 2:11); in the *Astronomia magna* he speaks of nine (H 10:396); in *Ein ander Erklärung der Gantzen Astronomey*, of seven (H 10:443).

b P.'s *De causis morborum invisibilium* (*On the Invisible Diseases*) again struggles with the role of faith in medicine, whereby faith can be misused to evil purpose (see H 1:259–260; ETW 769–771).

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what one knows, that one believes. And since such knowledge stems from philosophy and with it one's faith, so that one is saved, yet an unsaved one can draw upon the same, becoming like one who knows all the signs and wonders of God, even believing them. Yet the fruit of his knowledge will not issue but rather perish. Such a one we call a dead *philosophus*. For whoever knows much should bear fruit. If he does not, he should be called a liar and not be regarded as a *philosophus*. First knowledge, then faith, and finally the fruit of these are the foundation of a *philosophus*.[1]

Accordingly, we divide *philosophia* into three species and three faculties: 280
There are those *philosophi* who treat of birth and origination who are called the *philosophi naturales*. There are those who treat of the destruction of things who are called *philosophi medici*. And there are those who treat of miracles occurring against nature who are called *philosophi sancti*.[2]

Though there are three Christian *philosophiae* that serve only faith, we nonetheless want to make two distinctions here: there is the ones who recognize God by signs and nature; and the others that know and yet do not recognize him, who therefore do not know to what the works pertain. A Christian *philosophus* indeed knows that faith comes from the work that God does or has done in whom one is to believe. Hence, we are to conclude with the One in whom and from whom the works issue. Thus, we encounter two kinds of works in philosophy: the just and the false ones. The just knows that leaves and grass grow, as do all animals and everything of the kind; that the dead come to life. The false ones are those who make someone ill and then whole with sorcery, who effect likenesses and storms and things of the kind. With the first, we should speculate and thereby believe as well. With the others, not at all, nor through him who effects such things. But rather in him who has created such a one who can do such things.[3]

1 In this prolog, the author echoes the long medieval rivalry between a knowledge-based faith (Dominican tradition) and a love- and works-based faith (Franciscan tradition). Here he seems to favor the former. In fact, he would prefer to affix himself to both traditions, a position refined by religious dissenters in his time who countered the *sola fidei* of the magisterial reformers with the caveat that faith without works is dead. The works of love are equated by P. elsewhere to art and ascribed to the true physician. See *Spital-Buch*—S 7:367–412; H C:309–323.

2 This odd division does not seem to occur in other works of P., nor does this notion of *philosophi sancti* ("holy philosophers").

3 This passage, which accords destructive and curative efficacy to the evil or diabolical magician must be read in the context of P.'s numerous and inconsistent characterizations of sorcery and medicine. See ETW 765, 769.

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PROLOGVS SECVNDVS.

Also soll vns billich sein / das wir ein glaubiger *Philosophus* seind / vnnd das wir tröstlichen auff die Werck der Natur gründen vnd studieren / vnd täglich Phantasiren. Dann jhe mehr Erkanntnuß der Werck Gottes / jhe grösser der Glaube / demnach die Seligkeit. Was da viel Werck der Natur verstaht / erkennt vnnd weist / der ist hoch im Glauben / wann der Schöpffer ist sein Lehrer. Welcher viel von den Wercken der Wunder weist / der ist der meriste in der Seligkeit : Als *Plato*,[a] den wir nicht allein ein Natürlichen achten / sondern auch einen in Mirackeln bekannt. Was macht *Petrum* Selig / dann die Wercke *Christi* / die jhn gleubig gemacht haben ? sonst wer der Glaube todt in jhm gewesen. Was den
281 *Naturalem ?* Die | Werck der Kreutter. Der gröste ist der / der die natur vnnd die Wunder weißt / lernt vnd erfahrt : Der nichts kan noch erfahrt noch weist / der ist todt. Solches alles wollen wir lassen stehn / vnd euch mit dem genug geantwortet haben / das vns billich zu der Seel sey / ein *Philosophus* zu sein / in der Natur vnd in Zeichen. Lassend wir die andern hie ruhen / vnd nemmen für vns die Wirckung der Natur / wie der erst *Prologus* anzeigt. Dieweil vnnd billich ist / vnnd sein soll ein jedlicher ein Weiß Mann / das ist / ein *Philosophus :* Wollen wir mehr anzeigen / das dem Leibe zu verstehn ist / vnnd auff jhn geredt / vnnd nicht auff die Seel / wie obsteht von den Wercken zu der Seligkeit. Wann die natürliche Wirckung an dem Menschen / vnnd die Wunderzeichen / seindt die Werck zu der Seligkeit / dordurch die Seel gen Himmel kommt : Wann durch dieselbigen kommt der Glaube. Aber Natürlich vns zu Philosophieren / zeigen wir euch also an / das nach dem Liecht der Natur billich ist zu Philosophieren eim jedlichen Gleubigen / damit das er wisse / was seins Leben ein Erlengerung sey oder ein Abbrechung / damit das er nicht weiche von dem täglichen erkennen Göttlicher Wunder / sondern das er leb / vber die zeit seiner Blindtheit / vber die zeit der Verlierung im Gehördt / also lange biß seine Zung stille stehet / sein Vernunfft ein Kind ist.

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a For the most part, Plato is written off with Aristotle and other heathen thinkers; but the special respect sometimes accorded him, as it is here by P. (or by Luther in the concluding philosophical theses of the 1518 Heidelberg disputation), is qualified in the *Liber de Inventione Artium* in characteristic terms of semination: "Das oben herab gborn [werden] ist / den Sahmen der Weißheit von oben herab nemmen. Nun aber zum andern mal geborn / ist / so einer der Seligkeit zu will in das Reich GOTTES / der muß zum andern mal geboren werden / das ist / sein Sahmen den er hatt von oben herab geboren / nemmen / vnd jhm Christo nachtragen / wie sein Creutz : Vnd Newgeboren / ist / daß die Alt Geburt nicht mehr do ist / das ist / ein lautter reiner Christ vnnd Gläubiger sein. Dann das wissend / ob gleichwol **Plato** vnnd andere von oben herab den Sahmen haben / vnd des Sahmens halben von oben herab geborn sindt worden / so sindt sie doch drumb nit gläubig" (H 9:184).

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PROLOGVS SECVNDVS.

Thus, it is proper to be a *philosophus* in faith so that we might with consolation ground ourselves on the works of nature and study them, invoking them to ourselves every day. For the greater the knowledge of God's works, the deeper the faith and with it the certainty of salvation. Whoever understands, recognizes, and knows many works of nature is exalted in faith; for his teacher is the Creator. Whoever knows much of the works of miracles is greater in blessedness: thus was *Plato* whom we regard not only as a natural philosopher, but also as one versed in miracles.[1]

What makes *Petrus* blessed if not the works of *Christus* which have rendered him faithful? For otherwise the faith would have been dead in him. What is it that constitutes the *naturalis*? The | work of herbs. Greatest of all is the one who 281
knows both nature and miracle, teaching and experiencing them. Whoever is capable of nothing, experiencing and knowing nothing, is dead. All this we should leave unto itself, having given you a sufficient answer that it is conducive to the soul to be a *philosophus* in nature and signs. Let us say no more of this and turn to the action of nature as indicated in the *Prologus*. Since it is proper and should be the case that everyone should be wise or a *philosophus*, we intend to reveal more about the understanding of the body, addressing it rather than the soul, as indicated above regarding the works of salvation. For the natural conditioning of the human being as well as the miraculous signs are the works that serve salvation, by which the soul ascends to heaven. For through them arises faith. But the manner of philosophizing in the natural mode is what we will demonstrate to you here. To philosophize in accordance with the light of nature is proper for every believer so that he might know what lengthens his life or terminates it, so that he might not deviate from a daily contemplation of divine wonders but rather live beyond the time of his blindness, beyond the time of his deafness, until that time when his tongue is still, and his reason becomes childlike.

1 On the status of Plato and other philosophers in P., see ETW 116, note c on the context of the above passage. Before and during P.'s formative decade there was a reevaluation of Plato against Aristotle: Raphael's *School of Athens* (1511) contrasts a Plato pointing up at the heavens with the earth-bound Aristotle. Luther's concluding arguments in the Heidelberg Disputation of 1518 vindicate the transcendently-oriented Plato while lambasting the short-sighted and confusing Aristotle. See Parker 2013.

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Auff solchs soll ein jedlicher Gleubiger ein *Philosophus* sein / oder ein Nachbarn haben der Einer sey / damit er wisse / was in seim Leben sein Gesundt behalt vnnd bestett : Dieweil jhm Gott die Artzney gegeben hatt / allein zuerfahren dieselbig / noth ist. Er soll wissen / was er Eß vnd Trinck[a] / was es wirck vnnd trag / was jhm dorauß entspringen mag / zu Erlengerung seins Lebens. Dann die Werck die einer thut / zu Lengerung seines Lebens / das ist Eins auß den Wercken gen Himmel : Was einer jsset zu seiner Gesundtheit / vnnd meidt das / dardurch jhm nicht Abbrechung am Leben beschehen mag / der ist / der rechte Faster : Wann alle vnser ding soll sein zum Langen Leben.[b] Er soll auch erkennen alle *Impressiones*, damit er weist was dem müglich gewesen sey / auß Nichten zu machen. Als von dem Firmament / das er wisse dasselbige in seim Effect : von der Erden / was do wachst : vom Meer vnnd Lufft / damit er in allen
282 dingen sein Schöpffer erkennt. Der ist ein Lahmer | Erkenner / der do glaubt / das Gott beschaffen hatt / vnd erstickt also. Der ist Reich / der jhn erkennt auß seinen Wercken / vnnd glaubet auß denen in jhn. Nicht als ein Blinder in ein Farben : Dann Gott will / das man jhn wol erkenne / vnnd nicht truncken vnd wenig.

Es ist ein gewaltige vrsach seines Zukunffts auff die Erden / das die Menschen jhn wol erkennen : Wann alle Seligkeit ligt in der Erkanntnuß / die steht in Wercken die er thon hatt. Gott hatt dem Menschen den Verstandt geben zu vrteln vber das / das er sicht : Warzu ist er sunst nutz / anderst / dann zu vrteln die Werck Gottes in vnser Erkanntnuß / das wir wissen durch vnser eigen Vrteil / wer der Gott ist / was Er ist / wie Er ist / vnd gantz / nit Wenen oder Meynen. Für nichten ist vns der Verstand sonst gutt / dann zu dem Werck Gottes / die dordurch zu erkennen vnnd zu wegen / vns zu guttem / in den zu glauben der vns die gibt vnnd geben hatt. Darumb ist vns billich deß Leibs Not-

a P. is alluding here to the common medical remedy of diet or *regimen sanitatis* which he opposes to false humoral medicine: "Dieweil nuhn ein jegkliche Kranckheit nit vertreiben wirdt durch die Elementische arht / sonder durch die Tugendt: Was ist nun nutz das wir betrachten wöllen / ob die kranckheit Heiß oder Kalt sey / als leiblich ein Exempel. Das Fieber ist heiß / die keltin aber mags nicht vertreiben / allein die Tugend. Die Tugendt ist die Artzney / die Keltin das **Regiment** / vnd **Diaet** der Speiß / oder die Werm / ein Diaet in Kalten kranckheiten" (*Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:74c).

b Echoing the resounding medical optimism of his time and the German or Latin titles of several of his own productions, *Die grosse Wundartzney* makes this claim for his alchemical medicine as well: "In dem Suchen / wie sie also in der Alchimey gefüret haben / ist es darzu kommen / daß sie so vil Wunderbarlichs gesehen haben / mit täglicher Erfarnuß der Artzney / so zu dem **Langen Leben** gedient haben / vnd vnder andern auch dise nachfolgende Stuck / in welchen sie grosse Wunderwerck erfaren haben / vnnd nemlich Ein Stuck / das sie Tincturam geheissen haben" (H C:101b).

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It follows from this that every believer should be a *philosophus*, or at least have a neighbor who is one, in order to know what in his life keeps and solidifies his health. For God has given him medicine for no other reason but to ascertain what is needed for this. He should know what he is to eat and drink, work and wear, and what will serve the prolongation of his life. Working toward the prolongation of our life is indeed one of the works directed toward heaven:[1] what one should eat to be healthy and what one should avoid, so that there is no shortening of life—who does so is the one who fasts properly. For all our actions should serve for a long life. Moreover, he should be acquainted with all the *impressiones*,[2] in order to know what it is possible to make out of nothing. As for the firmament: he should know its effects; and of the earth, what grows in it; likewise, of the sea and the air in order to recognize his creator in all things. He is a lame | knower who thinks that God has made such things for 282
us to perish in them. He is rich who knows God from his works and from them believes in him. One should not do so as a blind man in one color alone. For God wants us to know him well, not drunkenly or hardly at all.

It serves as a mighty factor in his return to this world when human beings know him well. For all blessedness resides in the knowledge that abides in the works he has brought into being. God has given the human being understanding in order to assess what he sees. What other purpose would be served but to assess the works of God in a knowledge through which we know from our own judgment who God is, what he is, how he is, and this thoroughly, not by guessing and supposing. No other purpose is served by our understanding but that of the works of God, thus recognized and assessed to our benefit, so that we believe in him who has granted them and given them to us. Hence, it is proper

1 A possible echo, or further development, of that idea can be found in *De vita longa* (1527), book 1, chap. 2: we should learn to properly sustain and preserve our body, "for the body is nothing else than the subject in which the long life of the eternal body grows" ("quod corpus vt corpus conseruandum est, interueniente corpore, quod extrinsecus conualescit : Inde enim conseruari potest. Nihil enim aliud est corpus, nisi subiectum, in quo Longa Vita corporis aeterni gliscit."—H 6:140).—On *De vita longa* and the topic of prolongation of life more generally, see Kahn 2018.

2 See ETW 352–353, notes d, 5. The word "impressions" was widely used to designate the influence of the celestial bodies on terrestrial life. The definition of Martin Ruland, coined in Paracelsian terminology, expresses it clearly: *Impressiones sunt fructus invisibiles, vt stellarum in inferioribus, non Solis & Lunae, Vnsichtbare Frucht des Gestirns*—"Celestial impressions are invisible fruits, as for example of the stars on the inferior bodies, not of the Sun and Moon".

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turfft / Nutz vnnd Fürderung zu wissen / dergleichen der Seele / das alles durch die Werck Gottes beschicht / die vns Selig machen.

Also wollen wir von den vier Elementen anfenglich setzen / vnnd von dem / was sie in jhnen haben vnnd geberen / vnnd alle jhre *Impressiones* erzehlen / was do geboren wirdt auß demselbigen / als dem Menschen zu Nutz seines Leibs : oder seiner Seel / als ein Werck Gottes in der Erkanntnuß deß Menschen thut.

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that we understand the needs of the body in order to know what is useful and good for it, as well as for the soul, since everything happens through God's works to bring about our salvation.

Therefore, we should set forth first the four elements, what they contain and generate; and we should recount all *impressiones* and what is born from them for the benefit of the human body or the soul, all of this done as a divine work in the knowledge of the human being.

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Das Erste Buch *METEORORVM, THEOPHRASTI HOHENHEIMENSIS, Philosophi Germani, de Elemento Aeris, Volumen primum.*

Anfenglich dancken wir Gott / das wir ein geborner Deutscher Mann seindt[a] / vnd loben jhn der Gnaden / das wir in Armut vnd Hunger vnser Jugent verzeert haben / vnd frewen vns deß Tags deß Ends vnser Arbeitt vnd der Ruhe. Wir dancken auch Gott / das er vns so güttiglichen befohlen hatt der Jungfrawen[b] / die da vollkommen macht die Heylige Dreyfaltigkeit / vns zu einem Beschirm / vnd der Gebererin verordnet hatt / in deren Gnaden / Lehr / vnd Nammen wir anfahen vnser *Philosophiam* der 4. Bücher *Meteororum* von den 4. Elementen / getheilt in 2. *Paragraphos*, vnd jedlichen in zwey Bücher : Einen sondern *Paragraphum* zu den Eussern Elementen / vnd Einen besondern zu der Globul. Diese wollen wir vollenden vnnd Philosophieren in jhrer Barmhertzigkeit : Darzu täglich betrachten das Ewige nach diesem Leben / also das die Welt vnnd der Leib zergehen werden. Darauff bitten wir *Christum*, vns bey zustohn / als seinem Glaubigen / vnnd euch allen. Amen.

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a P. is always proud of being a German, as exemplified in the beginning of the *Astronomia magna*: "Ich schreib Christenlich / vnd bin kein Heyde / ein Teutscher / nicht ein Welscher / ein Interpres, nit ein Sophist / etc." (H 10:8). See also this surprising excerpt from the *Chronica des Landts Kärnten*: "As it happens, it is in Germany that the first art of medicine was practiced in the most subtle way, as demonstrated by the most ancient German booklets, which have been read all together before the birth of Christ, and it is in those times that the extraction of quintessence begun" (H 2:154: "Sich befindt auch / dz in Germanien die ersten künst in der Artzney am subtilisten da fürgenommen seind worden. Denn das beweisen die gar alten Teutsche Büchlein / die vor Christi geburt zusammen gelesen sind worden / vnd zu denselbigen zeiten die Extraction Quintae Essentiae angefangen ist worden"). Yet the statement of *De Elemento Aëris* shows extreme enthusiasm, reminding us of the letter to Christoph Clauser (Nov. 1527) where P. declares that "the most fruitful Germany herself has chosen him to be its necessary physician" (H 7:A5^{v}: "ipsa me Germania fœlicissima in suum Medicum necessarium delegit"). However, the religious nature of our statement has no equivalent in P.'s works. On P.'s "nationalism," see Leprêtre 2021, 362–366.

b P. expressed his devotion to the Virgin Mary in several periods of his life and authorial career (see Gantenbein 2020), even still in the *Astronomia Magna*: "Auß der **Iungfrawen** gehet die newe Geburt / vnd nicht auß der Frawen. Auß dem folgt nuhn / daß die Iungfraw / auß der außgangen vnd geboren ist die New geburt / ein Tochter ist gewesen von Abraham nach der Verheischung / vnd nicht auß Adam : dz ist / sie ist gewesen von Abraham ohn Männlichen Sahmen geboren / in krafft der Verheischung / ohn alle tödtliche Natur" (*Astronomia Magna*—H 10:273).

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The First Book *METEORORVM, THEOPHRASTI HOHENHEIMENSIS Philosophi Germani, de Elemento AERIS, Volumen primum*.

[The First Book of Meteors by Theophrastus von Hohenheim, German Philosopher, First Volume: on the Element of Air.]

First of all, we give thanks to God that we have been born a German man and we give praise to his grace for our having passed our youth in poverty and hunger, and we look forward to the last day of our labors and to our rest.[1] Moreover, we praise God for having so graciously commended us to the Virgin[2] who made the Holy Trinity complete for our protection and for the birth-giving lady in whose grace, instruction, and name we begin our *philosophia* of the four books *meteororum* concerning the four elements, divided into two *paragraphi* and each of the latter into two books: one separate *paragraphus* for the outer elements and another for the globe.[3] These we intend to complete while speculating in her mercy, even while daily contemplating the afterlife that follows this life when the world and body have passed away. To this end, we beseech *Christus* to assist us, a believer,[4] and to assist all of you[5] as well. Amen.

1 [This footnote incorporates a comment made by an anonymous reviewer. We reproduce it thankfully.] The terms used for German and Germany at the time of P. do not correspond to today's language understanding. Unlike France and England, Germany as a unified state is an invention of the 19th century. Before that, the corresponding geographical area was fragmented into countless larger and smaller independent states, loosely united only by the Holy Roman Empire (since 1512, "of the German Nation"). The Swiss Confederation was a solid part of the Holy Roman Empire until 1648. That's why Paracelsus considered himself a subject of the empire and therefore as a German, even though in his *Grosse Wundarzney* he stated: "I am from Einsiedeln, of the land a Swiss" (H C:56a). It was precisely this misunderstanding and these quotes that led the Nazi regime to claim Paracelsus as a "true German physician" for their propaganda.

2 On this passage see our Introduction, on 36.

3 Like the *Philosophy of the Elements*, this treatise is supposed to comprise four parts, each on one element. As in the *Philosophy of the Elements*, there seems to be two globes: one comprising air and fire (the "outer elements"), the other earth and water ("the globe"). However the *Philosophy of the Elements* is not divided into two parts (each subdivided into two books) devoted to each of the two globes. This outline of the current treatise is similar, thus, yet not identical, to the *Philosophy of the Elements*.

4 Here again P. insists to be "a believer", just as he did in the prologs.

5 Here again we can see that P. addresses an audience. See above, H 8:278.

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Das ist ein recht wolergründte Philosophey / so wir sprechen / das nur zwey Element sein / das Warme vnd das Kaltte. Bey dem Warmen wirdt allmahl das Truckne verstanden / bey der Kältte die Feuchte / vnd also wird Ein *Materia* begriffen mit zweyen Tugenden. Vngeschlacht ist der *Philosophus*, der von vieren sagt / als von Heiß vnd Trucken / Heiß vnd Feuchte / oder von Kaltt vnd
284 Feucht / Kaltt vnd Trucken : Als stünden vier Element / das nicht ist : Nur zwey | seindt : Nässe vnnd Hitze sein nicht bey einander / Kältte vnnd Trückne dergleichen nicht. Es ist ein solche Gleichnuß / als ein Fraw vnd ein Mann / die 2. nur Ein Mensch / jetweders allein ist kein Mensch / aber sie beyde machen den gantzen Menschen / vnd bleiben in einer Menschheit : Also in Elementen zu wissen ist / daß das Fewr vnnd Lufft Eins ist / Erden vnnd Wasser auch Eins.

Wiewol das ist / das wir Philosophieren von der Complexion der Elementen : Will doch dasselb nicht noth sein zu mehrer begnügung. Dann wir mögen Philosophirn / daß das Fewr vnd der Lufft kein Complex haben / dergleichen die Erden vnnd das Wasser auch nicht / vnnd das also. Die Hitz vom Fewr ist ein Frucht deß Fewrs / deren die Creaturen leben / deß Luffts auch : Die Kältti der Erden ist auch ein Frucht / zu nutz der Creaturen. Also was das Fewr außgetrucknet hatt durch den Sommer / dasselb wirdt durch den Winter wieder gefeucht auff nächst Fruchtbarkeit zukünfftig : Vnd sonst keinerley Philosophey ist nutz / dann allein die Philosophey der Kältti / als von der Kältti angezeigt wirdt in seinem Capitel. Wiewol mehr vnnd minder Kältt vnnd Hitz erfunden werden in der Globul : Noch so muß eins auff das ander gohn / vnd eins das ander bereitten. Also mehr Philosophisch ist nichts von Complexion zu reden / allein vom Hauß / darinn alle *Philosophi* liegend vnd grünen.

Das ist ein Element / das gewalt hatt zu kältten oder zu wärmen. Als der Himmel ist ein Element allein / Wiewol er zwifach ist : Die Erden ist auch

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It is a firmly grounded philosophy when we state that there are only two elements: the warm and the cold.[1] In association with the warm the dry is included; with the cold the moist, so that only one *materia* with two virtues is conceived. Uncouth is the *philosophus* who speaks of four,[2] that is, hot and dry, hot and moist, or cold and moist, cold and dry, as if there abided four elements. That is not the case. Only two | exist. Moist and hot do not cohabit, nor do cold 284
and dry.[3] It can be compared to a woman and a man who are but the single human being. Each alone is not the human being. Only together do they constitute the human whole, abiding in one humanity. So, too, with the elements it should be understood that fire and air are but one, as are earth and water.

Though we speculate concerning the complexion of the elements, we need not do so in order to attain our goals. For we can instead posit that fire and air are without complexion, as are earth and water without, and to be sure in this sense. The heat of the fire is its fruit whose creatures are alive. The same can be said of the air. The frigidity of the earth is likewise a fruit to benefit its creatures. Thus, what has been dried by the fire through the summer is made moist again through the winter with a prospect of its future fertility. No other philosophy is needed but the philosophy of cold, as will be shown concerning the latter in the appropriate chapter. Though greater and lesser degrees of cold and heat are found on the globe, the one must relate to the other; the one must make way for the other. We do not need to speak more philosophically with respect to complexion, but only with respect to the dwelling in which all *philosophi* reside and flourish.

An element is that which has the power to render cold or warm.[4] Thus, the heavens are an element unto themselves, even though it is twofold. Earth is

1 Elsewhere, P. is at pains to disassociate the elements from a fixed identification with the qualities. Here, he binds them firmly to two of the four qualities in a way that is reminiscent of a younger Italian contemporary, Bernardino Telesio (1509–1588), of whom Copleston writes, "the fundamental causes of natural events are the warm and cold elements, the opposition between which is concretely represented by the traditional antithesis between heaven and earth." There is a longstanding tendency of German scholars to ignore the parallels linking P. to Italian intellectual developments such as the simultaneous study of syphilis. One must consider that the loss of authority of Aristotle and scholasticism occurred without having broken with all the assumptions concerning the traditional elements and qualities of nature. See Copleston 1963, 60.

2 This statement has striking, contrasting parallels in both the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:60) and *De Meteoris* (H 8:186). See above the Introduction, on 31.

3 These assertions should be compared with those of the last version of *De Gradibus* (H 7:346), where P. maintains, however, the four elements and states that each is composed of the three principles.

4 Compare this definition of an element (complete with the last sentence of this same page) with those in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:56) and *De Meteoris* (H 8:178). On these definitions, see above, Introduction, 5–6; Kahn 2016, 107–108.

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ein Element / ist auch zwifach. Aber zu erkennen ist diese *Philosophia*, das vmderschiedliche Frücht geboren werden / in jedlichen besonderbar / in Wasser vnd in der Erden. Auß der vrsach werden zwey Element verstanden / aber nur in Früchten / nicht in der Natur. Auff solches werden zwey Bücher erkännt / vnnd gsetzt auff die zwey Element : Als von eim Mann allein / vnnd eins der Frawen / ist nur Ein Mensch / aber zwo Frücht auß jhnen folgt / als die Geberung der Menschen außweist. Dieweil nun also zwo Früchte kommen auß den zwey Elementen / Wasser vnnd Erden : So werden sie für Elementen billich erkennt. Wann was die Frücht gibt der Creaturn zu leben / vnd dz die Creaturn haben müssen / dasselbig seind Element.

285 *Cœlum* sein zwey Element / *Terra* auch zwey / das mehrer wirdt genommen als ein Mann / das ander als ein Fraw verstanden soll werden / jeglichs in Einer Complex. Wann das ist alls Frucht / Gewechs : vnnd wie die Stein vom Wasser wachsen / vnd der Regen von Sternen / vnd die Kreutter von der Erden : Also wächst Kälti auß der Globul / vnd Wärme auß dem Himmel. Also sein die Element nuhr Häuser / in welchem das *Arcanum* wohnet / welchs die Tugend ist / auß der alle Frücht wachsen / daß der *Philosophus* verstehen soll.

Vnd endtlich ist das die *Philosophia*, das nur in der Wärmi vnd Kältin die Element sein / vnnd nicht in der Feuchti vnd Tröckni. Wann kein heiß ding ist feucht / kein kalts trocken im Element. Die Tröckni ist *in Cœlo*, gleich wie ein Gesicht im Auge / vnd die Feuchti im Wasser auch also. Dz Gesicht macht das Auge nicht / das Auge macht das Gesicht. Also hatt ein jeglichs Element sein gespanen / dadurch es gantz wirdt / als ein Auge das durch das Gesicht vollkommen wirdt. Also wirdt die Hitz durch die Tröckne vollkommen / vnd dieweil es Feuchte hat / so ist kein Wärmi nicht da. Als wenig / als ein Auge ist ohn Gesehen / vnd als wenig durch das Aug gehöret mag werden / vnd durch die Ohren gesehen / als wenig ist müglich / daß die Kälte trocken sey / vnnd die Hitze naß. In diesen haben die Alten der Philosophey gejrret / setzen Heiß vnd Feucht in Ein Element / dz kein Element nit sein mag. Wol mag ein *Thermes*[a]

a P. used the word *thermes* on one other occasion (H C:676b, a mere mention of *thermes naturales*, i.e. hot spring waters, with no further elaboration). The singular used here with the Latin plural form *thermes* is disturbing. So is the verb "wachsen" oddly used in this context—but P. tended to use it for stones and for rain a few lines before, according to his vegetal model explaining the whole elemental world, "for all is fruit and growth" (see a few lines above: "Wann das ist alls Frucht / Gewechs").

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likewise an element and likewise twofold. It must be known to this *philosophia* that various fruits arise, in each its kind, in water and in earth. This is why two distinct elements are posited, but only in respect to their fruits, not within nature itself.[1] Hence, two books are called for, assigned to the two elements. As if one for a man and one for a woman, who, together, make up one human being, whereby different fruits arise from them, as the generation of the human being can demonstrate. Even though two kinds of fruit come from the two elements, from water and earth, they are properly regarded as one single element. Their fruits are given to sustain the creatures which cannot do without them:[2] this is what constitutes the element.

Two elements constitute *cœlum*, two constitute *terra*. The greater is taken in 285
the sense of a man, the other whole in the sense of a woman, each in a single complexion.[3] For all is fruit and growth. Just as stones grow from water, rain from the stars, and herbs from the earth, so, too, do cold grow from the globe and warmth from the heavens. Thus, the elements are but domiciles where the *arcanum* dwells, which is the virtue from which all fruits sprout: this is what the *philosophus* must understand.[4]

In conclusion, the true *philosophia* recognizes that the elements abide solely in warmth and cold, not in the moist and the dry. For no hot thing is moist, no cold thing dry in the element. The dry resides in the *coelum* as seeing resides in the eye; and, likewise, the moist in the water. Seeing does not constitute the eye; the eye constitutes the seeing. Thus, each element has its complement by which it becomes whole, as an eye by seeing becomes complete. So it is that the warm is made complete by the dry; for as long as it is moist, there is no warmth. No more than there can be an eye without vision or an eye by hearing or an ear by seeing, just as little is it possible for cold to be dry or heat to be moist. In these connections, the ancients were in error in their philosophy in associating hot and moist in a single element for there can be no such element. It is true that a

1 In other words, the globe (water and earth) is only one element in nature, but in terms of fruits there are two elements to consider separately.

2 This is very close to the definition of an element in *De Meteoris*.

3 The reader will notice the consistent intention of P. to translate a physics of (in his view) passive, inert materialism into the terms of organic growth and gendered reproduction generally associated with alchemy.

4 This notion of *arcanum* evokes that of the "yliaster" in *De Meteoris* (H 8:206). It also resonates with the notion of *arcanum* in the *Philosophia ad Athenienses*, although the *arcanum* is a power above the elements in the latter treatise (H 8:30). Given that its author had access to the autographs of P., it is not absurd to think that he may have come across *De Elemento Aeris* as well as the *Philosophy of the Elements*.

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wachsen / das Warm ist vnd Trocken : aber das ist Essentialisch[a] vnd nit Elementisch. Aber ettliche der *Philosophi* plärren / die Substantialisch Complex *Elementum* heissend : vnd nichts ist Elementirt / wann es ist der gröste Lügen eine / der Alten vnd der Newen Philosophen.

DE AERE.

Zu reden aber von dem Element Lufft / so wissent / daß der Lufft alle Element vnd Geschöpff enthält / daß sie in jhrem Gang bleiben / vnd im *Centro*, das ist / im Circkel vnd im Ring verharren : vnd das also. Die Erden vnd das Meer / als zwey Element / seind die mittelsten der Geschöpff / als der *Centrum* deß Circkels / von dem dz Element Lufft außgehet : [Solchs] wirdt in jhm selber so
286 rotund / als ein *Centrum*, nit enthalten / |wann nit ettwas wer / dz dasselb enthielte / also zuverstehen. Die Erden vnd Meer ist Ein Globul vnd ein Sphær / die auff nichten nit ligt / sondern zu allen orten frey ligt / ohn alle anbindung oder aufflegung. Sich soll aber der *Philosophus* darumb nit verwundern / daß nit gen boden fällt vnd zerbricht / dieweil es nicht enthalten wirt : Auch soll sich der *Physicus* nit wundern dorab / als ob es wunderbarlich erhalten werde von Gott / als wann ein Stein in der höhe enthalten wirdt / der nimmermehr aufflege / dann frey im Lufft schwebet. Solchs ist nicht also / sondern also : Die Globul der zweyen Elementen mag nicht fallen / nicht darumb / daß auff Stützen lig / oder darumb das wunderbarlich hang : Entweders nicht / sonder auß der vrsachen stehet sie frey ohn wunder vnd auffligen / vnd mag nienent hinfallen : dann vmb sie gehet das Element *Aër*, dasselbe ist also nichts / dann ein lautter Lufft / einer dicken sichtlichen Substantz / als ein treffliches *Chaos*, durch welchs nicht zu sehen ist / das die vnerfarnen den Himmel heissen. Dasselbig *Chaos* ist der Baum deß Luffts Element[b] / auß welchen der Lufft gehet / in alle Geschöpff / das ist rotund / gehet vmb die gantze Sphær / Globul / also das er gar eingefast wird / was von den andern dreyen Elementen begriffen wirt / vnd also darinnen verschlossen : Vnd ausserhalb dem *Chaos* ist kein Geschöpff mehr / das den Elementen vnterworffen wer / sonder alles im *Chaos* verschlossen vnd vmbgeben : solcher *Chaos* helt die Erden vnd dz

a *"vel* Substiantialisch" (variant reading given by Huser in the margin).

b This is an especially vivid definition among the many offered for *chaos;* the latter acquires a striking profile when applied to the microcosm of the body in which case the inner *chaos* of the body feeds on the outer air: "Das den Leib erhalt in seinem Zirckel / das ist der **Chaos**. Nun begert der **Chaos** sein Speiß / sein Speiß ist der Lufft / darauß nimpt er sein Narung. Nun ist die Lungen dieselbig / dardurch er sein Narung entpfahet" (*Von Vrsprung, Herkommen vnd Anfang der Frantzosen Acht Bücher*—H C:198b).

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thermes can develop which is warm and dry; but that is something substantial,[1] rather than elemental. Yet some *philosophi* carry on that the substantial complexion is the same as *elementum*.[2] However, no such thing becomes elemental; and this is the greatest lie of ancient and modern philosophers.

DE AERE.[3]

Speaking of the element air, be advised that it contains all the elements and creatures so that they should remain in their courses within the *centrum*, that is, they must abide in the circle and ring as follows. The earth and the sea, as two elements, are the most central of creation: the *centrum* of the circle from which the element air proceeds. [This] becomes rotund in itself, as a *centrum*, and we must understand that it would not be contained | were there not be 286
something that contained it. Earth and sea are a single globe and sphere that rests on nothing but instead lies freely in all places without anything tying it or sustaining it. However, the *philosophus* should not be amazed that it does not fall to earth and shatter, being contained by nothing, nor should the *physicus* be surprised, as if it were only miraculously sustained by God, as if a stone were suspended in the height that rests on nothing but hovers freely in the air. Such is not the case. Rather it is like this: the globe of those two elements cannot fall, not because it rests on supports or is miraculously suspended from something. Neither the one nor the other; but it is rather suspended freely and does not fall without miracle or placement for the reason that it is surrounded by the element *aër* which is like nothing but a pure air, [not] like a thick visible substance but rather an excellent *chaos*, of which nothing is visible, which is what the inexperienced ones call the heavens. This very *chaos* is the tree of the element air from which the air proceeds into all creatures. It is rotund, surrounding the entire sphere or globe, so that it is entirely encircling, encompassing the other three elements and enclosing them therein. Outside of the *chaos* there is no creature subject to the elements; rather, all is enclosed within it and encompassed by it. This very *chaos* sustains the earth and the sea, so that

1 Huser gave "substantial" as an alternate reading in the margin. We consider it the more sensible reading in English.

2 It is difficult to guess which philosophers exactly P. had in mind.

3 The whole chapter division of *De Elemento Aeris* is inconsistent. See esp. H 8:291.

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Meer / daß in seim *Centro* bleibt / vnd nit darauß weicht. Also verstand das : Wie das Gelbe im Ey die Schalen nicht anrüret / durch enthaltung deß Claars / der darzwischen ligt : Also zu gleicher weiß liget ein Claar zwischem Element *Aër* vnnd der Erden / in welchem die Sphæraglobul[a] getragen wirdt / daß sie stille liget / wie der Dotter im Ey / der auff kein seitten sich verwendet / zu fallen oder zu bewegen. Vnd wiewol das / so die Wasserglobul enthelt / nicht sichtig ist / als der Eyerklar / der greifflich vnd sichtig ist : vrsacht das / daß das ander ein Element ist / das ist / vom *Chaos* geboren / welches also in seiner ordnung stehet in der gestalt. Vom Element Lufft / (das ist von dem Circkel / der alle Geschöpff beschleust / oder *Chaos* genannt) gehet auß der Claar / der da enthelt die Sphæraglobul / vnd gehet vom *Chaos* biß auff die Sphæraglobul / vnd enthelt also / das nichts auß Sphæraglobul fall / noch geruckt mag werden. | Darumb dieweil also der Lufft beschleust alle andre Element / vnnd was
287 darinnen ist : Durch dasselb beschliessen gehet alle sein Operation hinein auff sein *Centrum*, das ist / auff die Sphæraglobul. Diese Operatz ist der Claar / der die Sphæraglobul enthalt. Vnd dieweil der Lufft also ein *Chaos* bleibet / gantz vnnd starck / so ist keine brechung in der Welt : Aber so das Element *Aër* in seim *Chaos* ein Bruch nehme / der in Gottes gewalt stehet : als dann wirt der Claar ein außgang haben. Auff das folget die Zerstörung der Elementen / vnd die zerbrechung aller dingen / vnd sonst nicht. Dieweil das Element gantz ist / dieweil ist der Claar gantz : also mag nichtzit fallen / vnnd also steht die Sphæraglobul im mittel deß Elements *Aër*, als ein *Centrum* desselbigen Circkels.

Aber weitter zu Philosophiren / warumb alle Geschöpff vbersich stohnd / also das alle Geschöpff achten / sie standen oben / die andern vnden / nach außweisung der Sphæraglobul : ist ein solche vrsach / das alle ding vom *Centro* gegem Circkel am nechsten zugohn. Als wann ein Circkel gemacht wirt / vnd der *Centrum* darinn / also dann gehen vil hundert strich nach der Linien vom *Centro* an Ring / wie ein jeglichs am nechsten hatt. Dasselbige das also alle Gewächs vnd Thier gen Himmel sehen / sehen nuhr dem nechsten in der Linien gegem *Chaos*, beseits oder vndersich. Also alles das / so auff der *Sphæra* ist / dasselb stehet in der Linien gegem *Chaos*, vnd hatt kein ander enthaltung / daß nit vmbfalle / dann den Claar : Wann es stehet alles nach der seitten vnd vndersich. Das aber solchs nit für vndersich / oder für ein seitten geacht wirt / ist ein Geschöpff vnd ein Werck Gottes. Wann vrsachen / die vnter der Sphæraglobul sind / henckent jhre Köpff vndersich / vnd dz fallt nit / sie hangen. Das aber solchs jhnen für nit vntersich / sonder für vbersich geschicht / vnd die wirckung in jnen vbersich stehet vnd in nichts steht : Dasselbe ist ein sonder Werck Gottes / daruon nichts zu Philosophirn ist / sonder also geordnet / das

a This strange compounded word only appears in this chapter *De Elemento Aeris*, along with its counterpart "Wasserglobul" two lines farther.

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it all remains in its *centrum* and does not escape it. Look at it like this. It is just as the yolk does not touch the shell because it is encompassed by the albumen in-between: in the same way, the albumen lies between the element *aër* and the earth, in which the sphere-like globe is borne, so that it rests easy like the yolk in the egg which does not turn to fall or move to any side. And even though that which sustains the watery globe is not visible, as is the tangible and visible albumen, the reason is that the other is an element, meaning that it is born of the *chaos* which remains in its order in that form. From the element air (which is the circle encompassing all creatures; called *chaos*), there proceeds the albumen that contains the sphere-like globe; and from the *chaos* to the sphere-like globe, thereby containing all, so that nothing falls from the globe, nor can anything be displaced. | Therefore, since the air encompasses all the other elements 287
as well as whatever lies within them, it is through this enclosure that all its operations are directed toward its *centrum*, which is to say, toward the sphere-like globe. This operation is the albumen which encompasses the sphere-like globe. Moreover, since the air remains such a *chaos*, complete and potent, there is no fragmentation in the world. However, if the element *aër* in its *chaos* were to spring a leak, which would reside in the power of God, the albumen would escape. What would follow is the destruction of the elements and of all things. Otherwise, this would not happen. As long as the element is whole, the albumen is whole; and nothing can fall out and the sphere-like globe resides in the middle of the element *aër* as a *centrum* of its circle.

But to continue to speculate as to why all created things are held up so that it appears as if they were aloft with others below them in the order of the spheric globe, the explanation is this: all things proceed from the *centrum* toward the circle as close to it as possible. So it is that when a circle is fashioned with a *centrum* in the middle, many hundreds of tangents pass linearly from the *centrum* to the ring, each by the shortest path. So it is, too, that all vegetation and animals are directed toward the heavens, inclining by the shortest path toward the *chaos* whether sideways or downward. So, too, everything upon the *sphaera* stands in a line directed toward the *chaos* with nothing else to support it and keep it from falling but the albumen. For it all stands sideways or upside down. Yet that these directions do not appear as such is entirely a creation and effect of God. For those things which are at the bottom of the spheric globe have their heads suspended downwards, yet they do not fall, but rather hang there. If they do not see this as downward but rather as upward and if the effect is the same as if this were the case, while being suspended in nothing—this is a particular work of God, about which one cannot offer a natural explanation. Rather, it has been ordained that all things appear to be directed upward in their entire being. Any *philosophia* that would explain this is unseemly, for example, that

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alle ding werden gesehen vbersich mit allem Wesen. Vnd ist ein vnbehobelti *Philosophia*, die do Philosophiren / die Sonn die zeuchts an sich / vnd also was die Sonn an sich zeucht / das steht vber sich. Do bleibt viel vnverantwort vnnd vergessen / hatt ein schmales Ansehen bey dem grund der Philosophey. Dann
288 kein gewalt ist in solchem anzihen bey den | Astris[a] oder Firmament / jhres anzeigens halben. Vns verwundert / wie sie es doch verantwortten wollen / daß die *Astra* die Gewechs nicht gar auffziehen / waß doch hinder ? Aber der Geist treibt sein Narren.

CAPVT V.

Vnd wiewol wir gesetzt haben / wie Gott die Elementen auß Nichten gesetzt hatt vnnd gemacht / als ein Gott : Wöllen wir Philosophiren / wo er das hingethon hatt / das vormals an der statt gewesen ist / vnnd die statt besessen : demselbigen nach das Element *Aër* weitter beschreiben. An der statt / da die vier Element stehnd / ist gewesen / das darauß verstossen ist worden in die Hellen / vnnd hatt die statt besessen mit sampt einem Anhang Dann das ist der Himmel / auß welchem er verstossen ist worden : vnd ist die statt / darinnen die vier Element begriffen werden : Vnd was am selben orth nicht verstossen ist worden in die Hellen / dasselbe ist an dem ende / das vorbehalten ist vor der zergengligkeit / das ist das Paradyß / die ander statt ist der Elementen. Nuhn seind die Elementen wesenlich beschaffen vnd erfüllt / durch den Kreiß auß / dz weitter kein statt ist / die da Himmlisch mag sein in jhr / oder Hellisch :

a This Latin word only occurs in the present treatise among all the meteorological writings, contrary to its German counterpart "Stern." Even used in the singular form *astrum* it designates the stars, the "Gestirn" (H 8:293).—*Astrum, Astra*, a concept that has become sufficiently established to need no explanation in the writings of 1530–1531, evolves freely in the syphilis writings of the late 1520s and is laboriously configured in the *Volumen Medicinae Paramirum* where the characterization is both concrete, as an effusion of the stars, and ambivalent, capable of having good or ill effects: "Also solt jhr mercken / das die Gestirn nichts incliniren : allein vergifften durch jhren dunst das M. [Mysterium?] durch welches wir dann vergifftet werden vnd geschwecht. Vnnd also ist Ens **Astrale**, das vnsern Leib / endert zum guten oder bösen / durch ein solchen weg. Welcher mensch der ist / der also genaturt ist / auß seim natürlichen Blutt / demselbigen dunst wiederwertig / der wird kranck : der aber nicht wider das genaturt ist / dem schadts nichts" (H 1:19–20). In a syphilis writing which rejects the humors and confirms the multiplicity of diseases and their external causes, P. distinguishes between the corpus of the stars and their "nature" or powers of influence: "Haben jhr nie verstanden / warumb der Astronomus das **Astrum** declariert / so er sagt von der Natur der Planeten / der Ascendenten. Conjunctionibus, Cometen / vnd dergleichen ? Meinend jhrer red vom Corpus, das ist / von dem das den Namen hat? [...] Sie nemmen die Natur vnd lond dz Corpus still stehn" (*Von den Blatern* [...] *vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen*—H C:264c; cf. 264b).

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the sun attracts to itself, so that through this attraction things appear directed upward. That leaves much unexplained and ignored; and it merits little respect in any foundational philosophy.[1] For there is no manifest force in the attraction as it appears to us in the | *astra* or in the firmament. So, we would be surprised 288
how they would attempt to explain that the *astra* do not draw vegetation all the way up. What would stop it? But the spirit inspires its fools.

CAPVT V.[2]

Though we have established that God instituted and created the elements from nothing, as the God that he is, we still want to speculate where he put what was there before this, occupying that same location; describing it in accordance with the element *aër*. In the location where the four elements now stand resided the one who has been expelled from it into hell, occupying the place with all that pertained to him. For it was heaven from which he was expelled, which became the place in which the four elements are encompassed. And whatever in that place was not expelled into hell is in that part preserved from death, which is the paradise; the remaining place is that of the elements.[3] Now the elements have been created substantially, filling out the circle, so that no place remains that could remain paradisiacal or infernal. Not unless it is in those places uninhabited and uninhabitable by anything human that might encompass the hell in which those abide who have been expelled. Otherwise, they are below us,[4] without any force or joy, or banished into the substance of the elements and bound by them. For no hell is greater than being bound to dwell in the transient rather than where they were before in their kingdom.[5] For such

1 In speculating on the sustainability of living on the opposite side of the earth, P. resumes a speculation that extends back at least to the antipodes addressed by Saint Augustine (*City of God*, Bk. 16, ch. 9), a topic of speculation soon to acquire new relevance in the wake of Copernicus. The mystery and relativity of up and down are relevant as well to the social order which was perceived as one with the natural order.

2 Obviously the previous chapters are missing.

3 We have relied on Palthen's Latin translation for this sentence.

4 Likely under the earth.

5 Medieval physics and cosmology-meteorology were inextricably linked to (a) eschatology, and (b) issues of divine justice and punishment, as indeed they had been from Hildegard of Bingen and Dante to Luther and Jacob Boehme.—Just as Adam was not banished from Paradise, but the latter was transformed into the physical world under his feet (see above, H 8:58), the same can be said of Lucifer. The only place preserved from corruption was the edge of heaven, that is, Paradise: the rest contains the elements, materially created. See also above, H 8:54, 57–58, and mostly below, H 8:295–296.

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Es wer dann ettwas an den enden vnd ortten / da Menschlichs nichts ist noch sein mag / darinn die Hell verschlossen were / darinn die liegend / die verstossen sein / oder sie müssen sein vnter vns / ohn allen gewalt vnd Freud / oder in die Substantz der Elementen gebannt vnnd gebunden. Wann das ist die gröste Helle / daß sie in dem zergänglichen sollen sein vnd wohnen / vnd nicht wie sie gewesen seind in jhrem Reich. Wann solchs ist wol ein Hell zu rechnen / wann ein Engel deß Paradeiß herauß gestossen wirdt in die Welt / vnd beraubet deß Paradeiß. Grösser möcht sein Hell nit sein / wann dem / das da ewig ist / vnnd nichts zergenglichs an jhm hatt / so dasselbige soll wohnen im zergänglichen : grösser Pein mag es nicht haben. Also beschliessen wir / daß die statt der vier Elementen gewesen ist / der Himmel deß Lucifers : vnnd ist darauß nicht gestossen / sonder derselbige Himmel ist zergenglich / vnd in die Element gesetzt : das ist seine Straffe / dz er darinnen bleiben muß. Deß er sich
289 nit versehen hette / dz Gott ein solchen | Himmel / ein solchen lust / würde zu Elementen machen : sonder er vermeinte / er müste allezeit also im Himmel bleiben / darumb mochte jhm nichts abgohn. Da nuh also Gott die vier Element beschuff ohne sein vnd ander Redt / da war diß Beschaffen vnd dz Geschöpfft / sein verstossen in die Hellen : das ist / auß dem Liecht deß Himmels in die Finsternuß / das ist / in die zergengliche Welt. Darumb ettliche seiner geselschafft im Fewr wohnen / im Lufft / in der Erden / im Wasser : vnd kein Teuffel wohnet ausserhalb den Elementen / alle in den vier Elementen. Vnd so es zur zergängnüß der Welt kompt / so wirt Ein Schaffstall werden aller deren / so in den vier Elementen beschlossen sein. Also ist der anfang der vier Elementen auß Nichten beschaffen : Dann vrsach / die statt / da sie jetzt seind / in derselben ist nichts zergengliches gewesen / darauß das zergengliche hett mögen beschaffen werden. Darumb hat das vnzergengliche müssen weichen in das Paradeiß / vnd an die statt ist das zergengliche beschaffen von Gott : Anfenglich der Himmel / das ist / der *Chaos*, das ist / das Element Lufft / wie oben stehet / demnach die andern Element wie obstehet. Darumb in der Tröckne deß Luffts widerreden wir nit / daß der Geiste viel sind / auch im Egest deß Luffts / zwischen dem *Chaos* vnd der Globul : Aber solchs ist den Elementen ohne nachtheil. Vnd wie angezeigt ist / wie das Element Lufft in drey Materia beschaffen ist / vnd in drey stuck gesetzt : wie nuh dieselbigen drey stucke jhre wirckung verbringen / dasselbe folgt hernach.

CAPVT VI.

Zu reden von dem Element Lufft / so wissent / daß der Lufft alle ander Element vnd alle Geschöpff beschleußt in sich / vnd enthelt / daß sie in jrer geordneten ordnung bleiben / wie sie beschaffen seind. Dann der Lufft ist der / in welches

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a condition is hell enough when an angel is expelled from paradise into the world and deprived of paradise. No hell could be worse than when an eternal being that lacks all transience must dwell within the latter. Greater torment there is none. So, we may conclude that the place of the four elements had once been the heaven of Lucifer; nor was he expelled from it. Rather, that heaven is now transient, transposed into the elements. That is his punishment: to remain therein. He did not anticipate that God | would turn such a heaven into 289
the base elements. He rather thought that he would abide for all time in heaven, deprived of nothing. So when God created the four elements without his or anyone's advice, this creation as well as the creation itself amounted to his expulsion into hell, out of the light of heaven into the darkness, meaning, into the transient world. For this reason, some of his companions dwell in the fire, in air, in the earth, in water.[1] No devil dwells outside the elements; all devils in the four elements. So it is that the beginning of the four elements were created out of nothing. The explanation for this is that the place where they now abide is the same one where before there was nothing perishable from which the transient could have been made. Hence, the imperishable had to relocate into paradise and in its place the transient had to be made by God: first of all, the heavens, which are *chaos* or the element of air, as recounted above. Therefore, we do not deny that in the dryness of the air there are many spirits,[2] as well as in the egest of air between the *chaos* and the globe. This does no harm to the elements. And as has been demonstrated, the element of air is created in three components,[3] and instituted in three parts. As to how the three exercise their powers, that follows here.

CAPVT VI.

Speaking of the element of air: be aware that the air encloses all other elements and all created things within it, containing them so that they remain in their ordained order as they have been created. For air is the one in whose power

1 P. does not speak here of the elemental beings, but of demons. He never describes elemental beings as demonic : to the contrary, they can be subjected to demonic possession. Demons live in the four elements because they are bound to the transient as their punishment.

2 Air was the traditional location of spirits (Diogenes Laërtius, VIII, 31, 32; Augustine, *City of God*, VIII, 14; see below, H 8:309). See e.g. ch. 21 of the 1587 *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* ("Jn diesem tunckeln Lufft wohnen wir Geister vnnd Teuffel"), or throughout the *Theatrum Diabolorum*. The world was a perpetual horror scenario (cf. Delumeau 1978).

3 The three principles. This may have been demonstrated in missing chapters.

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gewalt die andren drey Element sein / also daß sie vom Lufft enthalten werden. Wie ein Hauß auff ein grund gesetzt wird / also sind die Element in den Lufft gesetzt / der sie heben vnnd tragen muß.

Dieweil nuhn also der Lufft die andern Element tregt / daß sie bleiben in jren stetten : Ist zu Philosophiren / was den Lufft hebt vnd tregt. Derselbig gewalt der jhn hebt / ist der ausserthalbe theil deß Elements / darinnen Gott wohnet in der Trinitet / der hebt den Lufft / das er nit weicht / noch weichen mag / mag
290 auch nicht | brechen. Dann vnmüglich ist / daß das zergängliche solt fallen in das vnzergengliche. Auch mag es nit fallen / wann vrsache / es stehet alles vbersich / vnd nichts vnder sich / hatt kein boden oder tieffe. Also gewaltig wirdt der Lufft compactirt / vnd im Circkel behalten / das als wenig möglich / das er breche oder zerfahre / als wenig das eusser Reich zergehn mag. So es aber zergehn soll / oder zerbrechen / so ist kein ander zerbrechen nit da / dann das alles in *Centrum* fallen soll vnd wird : das ist / der Lufft / vnd die Sternen / werden in die Globul fallen / vnd die Globul wirt von jnen verzehrt werden / das keine Aschen da bleiben wirt. Also stehet die zerbrechung deß zergenglichen Himmels vnd der Erden / vnd aller Elementen / nit hinauß zufallen / sondern hinein in *Centrum*. Wann das ist dz höchste in der heimligkeit der Philosophey zu suchen / das der Ring *in Centrum* fallen soll : auß vrsachen / das da keine Tieffe sein soll / hinauß zu fallen / nur hinein : Vnd das nichts an diesem vntersich stehet / hinauß werts : vnd innwendig alles hineinwerts vntersich stehet / vnd nichts vbersich : also daß der Vnder Himmel gleich so wol *in Centro* stehet / als der Ober Himmel. Also ist der Himmel im gantzen Circkel oben / vnd nichts vnten / wiewol er im Circkel vnten vnd oben stehet.

CAPVT VII.
Vom Element Fewr / *quomodo transit*.

Aber zu Philosophiren gebürt sich / wie sich die inwendige Element theilen in benanntem Circkel / vnd das also. Der Lufft ist der Erste Gang / vnd das ausserist : darnach ist dz Fewr / das ist / das Firmament : die zwey halten den *Chaos* in / vmbgeben die Globul vnd Sphaeren. Die Erden vnd dz Wasser geben die Globul / vnder einander gemischt vnnd gemenget : doch jeglichs in seiner statt / eines vollkommenen Elements. Die obern zwey geben jhr Impression auff die vndern zwey / das ist / auff die Globul / die zwey in der Globul behalten jhr *Impressiones* bey jhnen / werffents nit auß / sonder tragen sie / vnd nemmens

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the other three elements abide, to be contained by the air. Just as a house is placed onto a foundation, the elements are founded upon the air which must hold them up and bear them. Since the air bears the other three elements so that they remain in their places, we need to speculate as to what holds up and bears the air. The power that holds it is the outer part of the element in which God dwells in the Trinity—this is what holds up the air so that it does not and cannot lapse or | break. For it is impossible for the transient to fall into the eter- 290
nal. Nor can it do so, because everything rises above its footing, having nothing below it, neither floor nor depth. The air is compacted so firmly and maintained in the circle that it is not possible for it to fragment or dissipate just as the exterior kingdom cannot pass away. However, should it pass away or fragment, there is no other fragmentation than that it all must and shall fall into the *centrum:* the air and the stars will fall into the globe and the latter will be consumed by them until no ash remains.[1] This is how it is with the fragmentation of the transient heavens and earth and all the elements: they will not fall outward but collapse within in the *centrum*. For this is the most exalted thing to be sought in philosophy: the ring will collapse into the *centrum*. The reason for this is that there are not outer depths into which it all could fall out: it can only fall inward. Moreover, everything extends down inwardly and nothing outwardly, so that the lower heavens likewise extend toward the *centrum* as do the upper heavens. So it is that the entire circle of the heavens are above with nothing below, even though above and below together form a circle.

CAPVT VII.
Concerning the Element Fire / *quomodo transit* [How It Moves].[2]

But it is proper to speculate as to how the internal elements separate in the aforesaid circle. It is like this. The air is the first and outermost course. Next comes the fire, which is the firmament. These two restrain the *chaos* surrounding the globe and sphere. Earth and water make up the globe, being mixed up together and interspersed, yet each is in its proper place, of a complete element. The upper two exert their impression on the lower two, that is, on the globe. The two in the globe retain their *impressio* without ejecting it; instead, they bear

1 P. appears to offer a less mythic equivalent of the stars swept to earth by the dragon of the Apocalypse (Rev 12:4).

2 Perhaps the fact that P. inconsistently deals with fire in the part entirely devoted to air, before turning to another part entirely devoted to fire, is one of the reasons why this whole treatise was abandoned and left unfinished.

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wider an : Wie die Capitel de *Impressionibus* außweisen / von jeglichem in sonderheit. So ist also anfenglich zu Philosophiern / wie sich dieselbigen Element
291 halten / daß sie nit | auß jhrem Circkel kommen : der Lufft fellt hinauß nit / wie obsteht / allein hinein / vnd ist also in Circkel verordnet / das nichts jnfallen mag : dann die Globul ligt zu vnderist / vnd der Himmel zu obrist. Wiewol er vnten auch ist / vnderhalb der Globul / dz lassen wir ein Wunder Gottes sein : Aber natürlich der Philosophey ist das / wie die Globul enthalten werde / vnd das also.

Das Fewr ist also von Gott in ein Gang gericht / vnd getheilt in Stern / daß auß dem Gang nit kompt / gleich wie ein Pfeil vom Stahel : daß es aber nicht fallt auff die Globul / ist das die vrsachen / das Gott vnder den Lufft verordnet hatt wie die Globul im *Centro*, vnd enthalt sich vom Lufft / gleich als ein Vogel. Aber die Globul / die zwey Element innerhalb die schweristen vnd Materialischen vnd Substantialischen gantz Compact / was das sey / daß dasselbig halt / das die vntern Meer vnnd die vntern Erden nit fallen / ist also : daß der Lufft also gewaltig in seim Gefeß ligt / das ist / in allen Elementen / also das er *in Centrum* so starck gaht / daß die vntern Erden nicht fallen mag / oder die Globul. Dann was zwischen der Globuln vnd dem *Chaos* ist / das ist so starck Element / vnd als vollkommen in seinem Element / dz es tregt / wie die Erden ein Felsen auff jhr. Vnd gleich in der gestalt wie die Erden Compact ist in jhr / in derselbigen gestallt / vnd last nichts in sich gahn : also ist auch der Lufft.

Das der Himmel nicht vmblaufft / vnd das er seudt vom Element Fewr / vnnd gibt den Claar vnd Lufft. *CAPVT II.*

Aber zu Philosophiren vom Element *Aër*, was sich darinnen bewegt / oder was das sey / das dasselbige beweget / oder ob es sich bewegt oder nicht / ist ein solchs. Demnach vnd ettliche achten / daß der Lufft / das ist / der Himmel vmbgang / dz ist nit also / das er für vnd für sich Circkelweise vmbkehre. Wann da ist seines ruckens vnd vmbwendens ab statt nit / sondern still vnd fix bleibendt an Einem orth. Der Lufft aber / der von jhm | außgeht auff die Welt /
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it and receive it again. This is demonstrated in the chapters *de Impressionibus*, each in particular.[1] So it is that one should speculate how those elements are maintained so that they do not | come out of the circle. Air does not fall out, 291
as demonstrated above; it only falls inward; and it is consigned to the circle so that nothing can fall out. For the globe constitutes below and the heavens above. Though indeed they are also down below the globe, that must remain among the wonders of God. But it pertains to natural philosophy to ask how the globe is maintained. It is like this.

The fire has been directed by God into a particular course, distributed among stars, so that it does not deviate from its course; it is like a projectile of steel.[2] That it does not fall onto the globe has this explanation: God has placed below it the air, as the globe is in the *centrum*, so that it is maintained by the air as is a bird. But as for the globe, as for the two elements within it, the heaviest and substantially quite compact ones—what it is in their case that maintains them so that the lower seas and earth do not fall—that is as follows: the air is so forcefully contained in its vessel, namely in all the elements, that it moves so powerfully toward the center so that the lower earth cannot fall, nor can the globe. For what lies between the globe and the *chaos* is such a strong element and one so complete in its elemental essence that it can bear like a cliff the earth on itself. And it is compact within, like the earth itself, having the same form and refusing to allow anything to enter into it. No less so is the air.

That the heavens do not turn,
and that they seethe from the fiery element,
and yield the albumen and air.
CAPVT II.[3]

Now to speculate concerning the element of *aër*, as to what moves within it, or as to what moves it, and indeed whether or not it does move, this must be said. Given that some people think that the air or heavens revolve, it must be noted that it is not the case that it revolves in a circle. For it does not shift from its place and rotate but remains at rest abiding in a single place. However, the air that proceeds from it | to the world amounts to the albumen which holds it in place. 292

1 These chapters have not come down to us, except those pertaining to the element of fire (*Liber Tertius, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis*, below, 604–653).

2 We followed the literal meaning of "Pfeil" and "Stahl" as Palthen did, although "Stahel", according to Grimm, has an archaic sense of structural support. This and the words "auß dem Gang nit kompt" suggest an alternate reading, an allusion to the wheel of the zodiac to which the stars are affixed.

3 Obviously there is a gap between this chapter and the previous one.

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das ist der Claar / der die helt / derselbige nimpt sich auß seim *Chaos*, das ist / auß dem Circkel deß Elements *Aëris :* Aber nit durch sein Gehen / oder Steigen / Lauffen / als ettliche meinen / sondern er nimpt sich auß der Egestion deß *Chaos*, also das in dem Element ein auffsieden ist / vnd ein digestion / dieselbig macht von jhr den Dunst / der vns auff der Welt den Lufft gibt / vnd ist ein Claar der Welt / zu hebenden *Centrum*.

Aber damit vnd jhr erkennent die Philosophey von einander / also daß der Himmel lauffen soll oder stille stohn / ist ein solchs. So der Himmel lieffe in eim Circkel vmb / vnd darnach derselbe Circkel Lauff solt machen den Lufft in die Welt / ist nit. Wann wenn solchs also wer / was gibt den Claar / warauff stünde die Welt vnd das Meer : Auch so macht Lauffen nuhr ein Wind / kein Lufft / vnd der Wind hat andere vrsprünge / vnd der Lufft andere. Dann zweyerley ist / der Lufft vnd der Wind. Aber das er stille stehet / das ist noht vnd ohne schaden : dann so er stille stehet in seiner Egestion / so gibt er gleichen Lufft / als die Welt haben muß / vnnd nit minder oder mehr : Wann in seiner Rotunditet gibt er gleich *in Centrum* Eine wirckung. Also wann der Mensch auß dem obern theil deß Centrums kompt auff die Nebenseitten / da minder Lufft ist / gleich so vil Lufft hat als auff dem *Centro*, da am meristen Lufft ist / vnd das merck also. Wie der *Centrum* in mitten liget / das ist / die Welt vnd Meer / vnd darnach solt der Himmel lauffen darumb : So mercke / das derselb Wind / so vom Himmel soll kommen / vnnd den Lufft machen / vngleich gieng : wann die Nebenseitten der Sphæraglobul hetten minder Lufft / dann die Linien deß Vmblauffs : Also müsten die Nebenseiten ersticken Luffts halben / daß sie jhn nit genug hetten / vnd die auff der Linien deß Luffts hangend / hetten zu viel / mag nit also sein.

Aber also : So der *Chaos* ebulliert / vnd druckt von jhm den Dunst / als ein siedender Haff / derselbige Dunst gehet nach der Linien auff den *Centrum*, das ist / auff der Linien / in der dz Gewechs der Welt gen Himmel sihet. Vnd also gehet auß dem *Chaos* ein gleicher Dunst auff die Welt : das ist / der klare Wind entspringt allein auß dem auffwallen vnd sieden / so in jhm ist : Solches auffsieden deß Dunsts kommt nit auß eigner Form / Krafft / oder Tugent deß *Chaos*, also dz es auß jhm selber also süde / sondern Ein Element hangt im
293 andern / vnd mag keins ohne dz ander nit sein. | Also das Element Fewr / dz das nechst vnder dem Lufft ligt / dz ist das *Astrum* vnnd Firmament / dasselbige durch sein Fewr / das ist / als ein Element / macht sieden das Obere *Chaos*. Vnd nicht also / so an eim orth mehr oder viel Sternen werendt / dann am andern / sollte darumb mehr sieden / als dann käme auch mehr Luffts darauß : Aber also ist das sieden / wie ein Haffen seudet von vier Fewren / oder 4. an eim jedlichen orth ein besonders / so seudt doch nur Ein Haffen. Also ist die Außtheilung deß Element Fewrs nicht gemacht / auff allein anzünden

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It in turn comes from its *chaos*, namely from the circle of the element of *aër*. But not through its movement, ascent, or coursing, as some people think, but rather it derives from the egestion of the *chaos* which involves the seething within the element, as well as a digestion which causes a vapor that provides the air to us in the world; this is an albumen of the world which holds up the *centrum*.

Let it be said for the sake of the philosophical distinction as to whether the heavens turn or remain stationary: it cannot be the case that the heavens turn in a circle which creates the air found in this world. For if this were the case, what would constitute the albumen upon which the world and the seas rest? Such a circulation would only cause a wind, not air; and wind has other origins; and the air in turn its own. For these two are distinct: air and wind. But for it to stand still happens necessarily and without harm. For while standing still in its egestion, it yields the air which the world must have, not less and not more. In its rotundity, it directs its action to the *centrum*. Thus, if one were to proceed from the upper part of the *centrum* to the lateral part where there should be less air, one would have as much air as in the *centrum* where there is the most air. Note this. Since the *centrum* lies in the middle, that is, the world and the sea, and after that comes the heavens which are supposed to revolve, take note that the wind that is supposed to proceed from the heavens stimulating the air would move irregularly. The laterals of the global sphere would have more air than in the lines of rotation. The laterals would have to be choked of air which they would lack, and those parts impacted by the line of the air would have too much. This cannot be the case.

It is rather like this. When the *chaos* surges up and pushes out the vapor like a boiling pot, the vapor follows the line toward the *centrum*, that is, along the line through which growth on earth looks toward the heavens. And so it is that this sort of vapor proceeds from the *chaos* onto the world. The transparent wind arises solely from the surging up and seething that is in it. This sort of surging up does not come from a particular form, force, or virtue of the *chaos*, it is not as if it boiled of itself. Rather, the one element adheres to the other; neither can act or be without the other. | So it is with the element of fire which lies first 293
beneath the air and is the *astrum*[1] and firmament. By virtue of its fire, that is, as an element, it causes the upper *chaos* to seethe. It is not the case that in this place or that one there are more stars than in another; if it were to seethe more, more air would result. But the boiling is as if it were being heated by four fires or four in each place in particular, yet it is only one pot that boils. The distribution of the element of fire is not such that there is merely the ignition for

1 Here *astrum* seems to be used in the sense of "Gestirn": the stars.

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zu sieden / dann von wegen Hoffart oder Bedeuttung / sondern von wegen der Notturfft die darauß gewirckt wirdt. Also ist das Element Fewr ein vrsach deß siedens im *Chaos*, auß welchem der Dunst gehet / das ist der Claar / der Lufft / der die Welt im *Centrum* tregt / vnnd dem Menschen sein Athem gibt / als für ein theil / das der Mensch leben muß auff das Endt / das alle ding gnug haben / vnd zergehet nicht / biß alle Element zergehn sollen : Vnd seudt nur Ein mahl / das weredt für vnd für. In gleicher Operation / wie ein siedend Wasser / das nicht heisser kan werden noch höher gradiert : Zu gleicherweiß also seudt das auch.

Aber zu mercken ist / das Gott das Element Fewr zu Sternen gemacht hatt / vnd getheilt durch den gantzen Himmel auß / gleich wie ein Glutt vmb den Haffen. Also ist ein Stern nur ein Koll / von welchen Kohlen das Element Lufft seudt. Vnd wiewol sie vmbgehnd / vnd nicht bleibendt an Eim orth still stohn / sondern wechßlen jhr Stett vmb : So ist diese theilung / also frey / das kein mangel zu allen orthen am Himmel ist / es seind an allen enden Kohlen / die den Himmel wärmen. Vnd wiewol etliche Kohlen heisser scheinen zu einer zeit dann zu der andern / dieselbig Hitz kommt auß dem Sommer : Das ist ein Egest / wie vom Winter vnnd Sommer angezeigt wirdt : Die all seindt Eins Grads / nimbt ein Stern ab / so nimbt der ander auff / erlescht Ein Kohl / so brennt ein andere.

Deficiunt quædam.

Vnd nicht einer auff der Nebenseitten / auff mittler Lini / [etc.] Solchsist aber nicht / wann vrsachen / die vnder der Globul / neben der Globul / vnd auff ligen / haben allein gleichen Lufft / vnd kein Wind / vnnd leben deß Luffts / als die vier Element / vnd nicht deß Winds.

294 Also ist gnugsam angezeigt / dz der Himmel ein Element ist / vnnd der Lufft ist der Himmel / vnnd das er still steht / vmb viel mehr vrsachen / die Verdruß halben vermitten bleiben. Dergleichen auch das der Wind kein Element ist / sondern ein Impression / vnd das die Lebendigen keins Winds geleben / allein deß Luffts. Wiewol vns herwider gebürt noch Eins zu resoluieren / vnd ist das /

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boiling on account of pride or betokening, but rather on account of the need that arises from them. Thus, the fiery element is a cause of the seething in the *chaos* from which the vapor proceeds: this is the albumen, the air which keeps the world in the *centrum* and gives breath to human beings, which is part of what requires the human being to live until the end when all things are sufficient, without perishing until all elements are destined to do so. It seethes only once, but through and through. It is the same action as with boiling water which cannot become any hotter nor reach a higher degree. So, too, does that of which we speak seethe.

But it must be stated that God made the fiery element into stars, distributing them throughout the entire heavens, like burning coals around the pot. So it is that a star is but a mere coal from among the many that keep the element of air seething. This is true even though they surround it and do not remain stationary in one place but instead change position. Moreover, the distribution is in flux so that there is no shortage in any part of the heavens. Everywhere, there are coals to warm the heavens. And even if certain coals seem hotter at one time than at another, the same heat proceeds from the summer. It is an egest, as is demonstrated by summer and winter. They all possess the same degree, so that if this star decreases, another increases; or if this coal goes out, another burns.

Deficiunt quaedam.
[Some is missing.]

And not one on the adjacent side halfway on the line [etc.] But this is not the case, the reason being that beneath the globe, alongside and lying upon it, they have but the same air and no wind, and they live from the air, as from these four elements, not from the wind.

So it has been sufficiently demonstrated that the heavens are an element 294
and that the air is the heavens[1] which is stationary, along with many other reasons that would be tedious to recount. The same for the wind not being an element but rather an impression and that the living creatures do not live[2] from any wind but only from the air. However, there is but one other point that we should settle: some dreamers claim that the celestial course gives rise to a

1 Here we can see how P. was prepared to consider the heavens as one of the four elements, although it is not the case here that the heavens are substituted to fire as an element. See our introduction, 15 and n. 47.

2 See Grimm, geleben 1b.

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das etlich Traumisten setzen / das auß dem Himmlischen Lauff ein Gesang geboren wirdt / deßgleichen nimmermehr keins erdicht noch erhört wirdt / geben jhm ein ehrlichen Nammen / heist *Cœlestis Symphonia :* Gedencken wir / sie thuns von wegen der Kinder / das jhn das Greinen vergang. Solt der Himmel lauffen wie sie setzen / so gibt er ein Sausen / vnnd nicht ein Gesang : Dann es wer kein ander Liedt in der Himmlischen Symphoney / dann wie in einer Müeli / vnd ein Müeli / vnnd an Steinichen Bächen / die geben alle ein solchen Schall vnd Rauschen.

DE COLORIBVS.[a]

Wie nuhn obstehet vom Element deß Luffts vnd vom *Chaos*, das ist / der Ring der alle Behausung beschleust / vnd das auß Wolcken der Lufft entspringt : So sein viel der Alten gewesen vnd der Newen / die den *Chaos* ein Himmel nennen / vnd haben nicht betracht / das er zergänglich ist / das dann der Himmel in jhm nicht hatt. Etlich schätzen jhn Grün an der Farben / etlich Blaw / nach dem vnd sie Augen haben. Die Farben deß *Chaos* oder deß zergenglichen Himmels / ist Weiß vnd fast Claar : Wann der Himmel oder das Element Lufft stehet in der Weisse der dreyen Ersten / wie das Fewr in der Rötte der dreyen Ersten / vnnd die Erden in der Schwärtze der dreyen Ersten / das Wasser in der Grüne der dreyen Ersten. Wiewol nuhn aber die Weisse nicht ersehen wirdt / als sie ist / sondern ein Grüne oder Bläwe / nach gestalt der Augen : Ist ein solche vrsachen / das die Räuche der Sternen vnd jhr Dunst / der von jhnen außgeht / die weite zwischem *Chaos* vnd vns / entferbet nach jhrer Arth / also das jhr Rauch vom Saltz vbertrifft in die Breune / Bläwe / vnd Grüne : Blawe /
295 vnd Grüne am meristen : Vnd also ist ein besonder *Chaos* | zwischen dem rechten *Chaos* vnd vns / das ist Blaw vnd Grün geferbt / nach dem vnnd die Sternen jhren Glantz darein geben / vnd nach dem vnd das Gewülck vnderlaufft / die

a The colors of the heavens are no less integral to the digestive symptoms of the human microcosm effected by celestial impressions upon fecal matter passing through its *emunctorium:* "Auff solches solt jhr acht haben / vnnd darbey wissen / das per anum vil virtutes digestiuae sich reinigen / dergleichen vil virtutes digestiuae sich im vrina reinigen / also das ein jegliche virtus digestiua sein sonder emunctorium hatt zum Menschen auß / aber wol sein sonder emunctorium auß seiner Region / darumb so mögen sich die stercora in mancherley wege erzeigen / so die nutrimenta vndigeriert mitlauffen. So ist auch in solchen dingen zu wissen / daß die zeit vnd der **Himmel** solche **colores** gibt / in der gestalt / dieweil die Impression sein ist / in den dingen des Leibs Microcosmi" (*De Modo Pharmacandi*—H 5A:208).

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singing, which has never been composed or heard; and they assign it a forthright name, calling it *coelestis symphonia*. Assumedly they say this on account of their children in order that their bawling will cease. If the heavens were to act the way they claim, the result would not be a song but rather a rushing sound. For there would arise no other song in the celestial symphony but a sound like that of a mill, and indeed it is a mill: all stony brooks produce this sort of sound and rushing.[1]

DE COLORIBVS.

As has been stated above concerning the air and the *chaos* which is the ring that encloses the whole domicile, and the air arising from clouds, there are many ancients as well as moderns who call the *chaos* a heaven without noting that it is perishable, which is not something that can be said regarding the heavens.[2] Some consider its color green, some say blue, depending on what their eyes register. The colors of the *chaos* or of the transient heavens is white and almost translucent. For the heavens or element of air abide in the whiteness of the three principles, as fire abides in their redness, earth in their blackness, and water in their green. However, the white is not registered for what it is but instead as green or blue depending on one's eyes. The reason for this is that the vapors of the stars and the haze proceeding out of them discolor the expanse between us and the *chaos* in their own fashion, so that their vapor from the salt heightens the brown to blue or green, the latter two colors most of all.[3] Moreover, there is a special *chaos* | between the true *chaos* and us, which is 295
colored blue and green, depending on how the stars refract their gleam into it and in accordance with how the cloud formations pass below, making the

1 The ancient Platonic concept of the music of the spheres derives from mathematical regularities and harmonies. P.'s vision of a cosmos in which the alchemy of the stars boils as in a cauldron is the opposite of that harmonious mathematical cosmology, yet in its own way as expressive as the famous nocturnal visions of Vincent van Gogh.—Like Aristotle in *De Caelo* (II, IX, 291 a–b), P. denies harmony of the spheres. For Aristotle, if such a phenomenon did exist it would amount to an enormous noise; for P. it would not be a song but a mere rushing sound. Thus here P. favors Aristotle over Plato and the Pythagoricians.

2 This mention shows that P. speaks here of the celestial heavens, the realm of God. See above, H 8:286, where P. already criticises "the inexperienced ones" for confusing what he names "chaos" with the heavens.—The Roman polymath Varro, in one of his weird etymologies, derived the word *caelum* from the Greek *chaos* via the Latin *cavum* (*De lingua latina*, a best-seller of the age of printing, on V, III, 19).

3 In the *Philosophy of the Elements* P. describes the *chaos* as invisible, yet green (H 8:62). See also *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8:262).

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machen den Blawen Himmel : Vnd ist nichts vom Himmel dann der Saltzdunst von den Sternen / der also außgehet. Wiewol etliche melden / das der Himmel Grün sey / vnnd von wegen der weiten Blaw erscheine. Sie haben nicht wol betracht / warauß der Himmel gemacht sey / vnd daß ein *Chaos* ist vnd der *Aër*, vnd ein Element / vnnd nicht der Himmel : Dergleichen worauß das Element *Aër* gemacht wirdt vnd ist / vnd in welchem es stehet. Aber wie nuhn der Himmel an jhm selber also ist in seinn Farben / Weiß vnd Claar vnd Dick / von wegen der dreyen Ersten / so er in jhm hatt : So vrsachet er doch nicht die Farben der lebendigen dingen der Erden.

Folget
Ein Fragment / welches villeicht auch
zu diser Philosophey de Aere gehörig.

Der Stoß *Luciferi* ist nicht / das er auß seim Reich gestossen sey in ein anders Reich der Sphær / sondern es ist also.[a] Er ist blieben in seiner statt : Aber dieselbig statt ist jhm verwandlet worden in die aller Vnreinigist / wieder sein Wesen / das ist / Zergenglich. Vnd also muß er / als ein Engel / in der zweyerley statt wohnen / das kein grösser Wiederwertigkeit hatt / dann Ewig vnnd Zergenglichs in Eim verschlossen.

Der *Adam* ist nicht also auß dem Paradeiß gestossen / als ob er von Eim Land in das ander gejagt sey : Sondern also ist er außgestossen / das jhm daß Paradeiß genommen ist / vnnd jhm verwandlet vnder seinen Füssen / vnnd Augen / in die Zergenglich Welt / in den tödtlichen Leib / in den Krancken / in die Wiederwertigkeit. Er ist blieben an seiner Statt / aber die Statt ist geendert worden.

Die Hell ist nit ausserthalb deß Centrums / sondern im *Centro* an den enden vnd orthen / do der Mensch wohnet. Aber ein ander ist do / so die Seel vom
296 Leib scheidt / do bleibt sie / do der | Leib gewesen ist / vnnd fahrt nicht tausent Meil vbersich / oder vndersich. Ist sie Selig / so bleibts : Ist sie Infernisch / so bleibts : Dann do seindt Frewd vnd Leid / an Einer Statt. Was behalten ist / das ist in Frewden an der Statt : Was verdammt ist / ist bey diesen : Deß Frewd ist deß andern Greynen.

a There is an inconsistency in the notion of Lucifer's "expulsion." Most commonly, P. writes of his expulsion from heaven ("Das Außjagen [of Adam from Paradise] ist schier gleich einem Verstossen / wie **Lucifer** vom Himmel"—*Fragmentum Libri de Daemoniacis et Obsessis*—H 9:264). However, here as well as in the pseudo-Paracelsian writings and in successors such as Valentin Weigel or Jacob Boehme, the reverse is the case: Lucifer remains in his realm which coincides with our world. See the same treatment of Paradise in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:54, 58).

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heavens seem blue. This does not come from the heavens but rather from the saline vapor that proceeds out of the stars. Some people say, however, that the heavens are green and only appear blue on account of the distance. They have not considered carefully what the heavens are made of, nor that there is a *chaos* and *aër* and an element which is not the heavens. Nor have they considered of what the element of *aër* consists, nor in what it abides. Since, however, the heavens are in itself thus in color—white, translucent, and thick—on account of the three principles that the heavens bear within them, they do not cause the colors of living creatures on earth.

There follows
a fragment which may also pertain
to the Philosophy *de Aëre*.

The expulsion of *Luciferus* did not occur in the sense that he was expelled from his realm into another realm of the sphere. It happened rather this way. He remained in his place, but the place was transformed into the most unclean place of all, opposed to his being, in other words transient. Thus, though an angel, he has to dwell in an ambiguous place which contains a vast incoherence insofar as eternal and transient are encompassed in one.

Adam was not expelled from paradise in the sense of being exiled from one land into another. He was expelled in the sense that paradise was taken from him, transformed under his very feet and before his eyes into the transient world, into the perishable body, into sickness and incoherence. He remained where he had been; but the place was transformed.

Hell is not located outside the *centrum* but rather within it, in the very places where the human being dwells. But it is another place when the soul parts from the body: it remains where the | body had been. It does not journey a 296
thousand miles upward or downward. Whether it is blessed and saved, or infernal, it remains there. For sorrow and joy are in the same place. What is saved stays in joy at this place. What is damned stays there as well. The joy of the one is the sorrow of the other.

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Vnd zu dem Beschluß zu reden / ist ein solche Außlegung / dz alles das / so mit Himmel vnd Erden das *Centrum* begreifft / das Paradeiß gewesen ist / vnd also verwandlet in das / so angezeigt ist. Vnd so Himmel vnd Erden zergehn werden / als dann ist es wieder das Paradeiß gantz vnd gar / vnnd ist ein Wesen / das ist Ewig / vnnd nichts Zergenglichs darinnen. Wieder vns do zu Philosophieren / ist schwer / auch vns bey zu stohn : Es sey dann sach / das der Sophist lese vnnd wol mercke / das Herkommen deß Zergenglichen dings / vnd die Herkommen der Menschen : Als dann mag wol ein verwilligung beschehen / das einem *Philosopho* zuverstehn / auff was wir doreden : Weisen wir sie in vnsere Bücher *de Lapsu Luciferi, Expulsione Adæ*, oder *Regno Cœlesti & Infernali :* Domit alle dinge mit dem kürtzesten beschliessen / euch wol zuverstehn. Dann dieselbigen Bücher heben an / vom ersten Wesen / vnd Tractieren biß in die Geschöpff der Zergenglichen dingen / Himmel vnd Erden / vnd deß Menschen / do enden sie. Als dann hebt diese vnsere *Philosophia* an / von den vier Elementen. Darumb wir billich auch weisen / in die Anfeng / auß welchem diese *Philosophia* fleust / vnd ein Grund nimbt. Vnd ob er schon den Sophisten mit seim Liecht der Natur nicht schmeckti / wird doch kein Loch do durch sehen. Wann wir geben euch zuverstohn / das im Anfang der Menschen gejrret ist worden vom rechten Grundt deß verstoßnen *Luciferi*, vnd deß Außjagen *Adæ* vnd deß Paradeiß : Vnd auff derselbigen Jrrung / also für vnd für verharret / vnd noch / vnnd nur auff der Jrrung liegen / zu Commentieren / vnnd zu Questionieren : Vnnd keiner will betrachten / ob der Text / den er Commentiert / recht an Tag sey kommen / oder nicht : Oder ob er etlichs theils in euch verstanden / oder nicht. Dann solches alles muß allein der *Philosophus* Probieren / vnnd nicht der Sophist / der dermassen leugt / wie er es in seim Kalender sindt / der aller Jrrung voll steckt.

297 *LIBER II. METEORORVM,*
Welches zu diesen gehörig / ist nicht
fürhanden gewesen.

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In conclusion, it must be said that everything that encompasses the *centrum* with heavens and earth had been paradise, and was then transformed as we have said. Moreover, when the heavens and earth shall be destroyed, they will again be paradise through and through, as it is an essence which is eternal with nothing of the transient within it. To philosophize against us in this is not easy, nor is it easy to support us. Not unless the sophist happens to read this and remark on the origin of that which is transient and of the human beings. Then a philosopher might come to an agreement with that of which we speak. We then refer them to our books *De lapsu Luciferi, Expulsione Adae* or *De Regno Coelesti & Infernali*,[1] this being said in order to bring all of this to a brief conclusion comprehensible to you. For those books begin with the first being and continue by discussing the transient creatures, the heavens and earth, and they end with human beings. This our *philosophia* finds its point of departure with respect to the four elements. For this reason, we refer to the beginnings from which our *philosophia* flows and takes its foundation. Even if this is not to the taste of the sophists with its light of nature, there will be no hole in it through which one could peer. For we submit to you that in the beginning the human beings fell into error concerning the true foundation of the expulsion of *Luciferus* and the exile of *Adam* from paradise. Moreover, in this same error one continued to abide, even now in the same deception in commentaries and inquiries. Moreover, no one cares to reflect whether the text being commented upon came to light properly or not, or whether you would be able to understand part of it or not. For indeed, all of this must be tested by the *philosophus*, not by the sophist who lies in the above sense in accordance with what is in his calender which is full of error.

LIBER II. METEORORVM, 297
Which belongs to these but was
not available.

1 These books "On Lucifer's Fall," "On Adam's Expulsion," "On the celestial and infernal realm" have not come down to us. They might have been an earlier draft, or project, of book four of *Astronomia magna* (see H 10:379–381). On these topics see also above, H 8:54, 57–58, 288–289.

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Folget

LIBER TERTIVS METEORORVM,
THEOPHRASTI HOHENHEIMENSIS, Philosophi Teutonis,
DE METEORICIS EX ELEMENTO Ignis,
& Impressionibus eorundem.

Ein Einführung oder Vorred *THEOPHRASTI*,
der Impression deß Element Fewrs /
das ist / auß dem Firmament.

Wie wir dann in den ersten Vorreden gemeldt haben / von den dreyen Ersten / wie alle ding der Meteorischen Wirckung in jhnen steht / vnd durch sie gewirckt wirdt : Das Firmament vnd die Elementen stehendt in jhnen / die Impression kommen auß jhnen. So ist dasselbig in dz Dritt Buch *Meteororum* nicht zu setzen / wann die ersten haben solchs begriffen. Auff das ist hie zuverstehen / dz alle *Impressiones* jhren Vrsprung haben auß den Sternen vnd Elementen / wie sie dann in dem hernach gemelt vnd begriffen werden. Wie
298 aber dieselbigen *Impressiones* auß jhnen geboren werden / dasselb | wöllen wir in disem *Meteororum* erzehlen. Wie das ist / dz andre Meteorische Scribenten vnsers fürnemens vnd vnser Philosophey nit mitteilig sind gewesen vnd noch / sondere *Meteorica* beschriben : Vrsacht villeicht der Geist / der solch jhr *Meteororum* geticht hatt / vnd etlichs theils jhr Geduncken zum Ziel geschossen. Will vns doch nicht gebüren eines ertichten Geists Sinns genugsam zu sein / seiner zufallenden Tichterey Philosophisch zu folgen / zuachten : Allein die Natur geb dann den rechten Geist / das ist / auß der gewissen Experientz jhren grundt / sonst wirdt kein *Philosophus* geboren. Wann der *Philosophus* gebieret sich in der Natur / vnd wird durch die Experientz bewehret / vnd nicht in dem Scharffsinnigen Geist der Phantasey / der in seim Phantasiren spilt sein kurtzweil. Einer der da will ein *Philosophus* sein / der soll mit vns ein freundtliches Auffschen haben / in solcher gestalt / das die Vnleiblichen Geist nicht anders sein gegen vns allen / dann wie die Herrn vber jhre Diener vnd Volck : Vnd also soll das verstanden werden. Die Herren schaffen vnnd gebietten / das-

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There follows

LIBER TERTIVS METEORORVM,
THEOPHRASTI HOHENHEIMENSIS, Philosophi Teutonis,
DE METEORICIS EX ELEMENTO IGNIS,
& Impressionibus eorundem.
[Third Book of the Meteors by Theophrastus Von Hohenheim,
German Philosopher, on the Meteoric Phenomena Stemming
from the Element of Fire, and Their Impressions.][1]

An Introduction or Preface of *THEOPHRASTUS*
to the Impression of the Element of Fire,
That Is, from the Firmament.

As we have stated in the first prefaces regarding the three principles and how all the phenomena of meteorological action are brought about by them: the firmament and elements abide in them and the impressions result from them. Hence, the same need not be said in the third book of *meteora*, for that has been encompassed by the preceding ones. Beyond that, it must be understood in this place that all the *impressiones* have their origin in the stars and the elements, as will be shown and summarized below. How it is that those *impressiones* are born from them, | is what we intend to recount in these *meteora*. As for how 298
other meteorological authors in proposing the same without knowing our philosophy have delineated their particular *meteorica*, the reason for this may be that the spirit that concocted their works sometimes has in its opining shared our aim. It is certainly not appropriate for us to let a concocted spirit suffice by philosophically following the accidental sense of its invention. Nature has to lend its true spirit from the certain experience of its ground; for otherwise no *philosophus* can come into being. For he is generated in nature and validates himself through experience rather than just passing his time in the keen spirit of phantasy. Anyone who would be a *philosophus* needs an amicable relation with us in such a way that the incorporeal spirits comport themselves toward us no differently than the masters toward their servants and people. That should be understood in this sense. The masters act and command: what they say

1 The chapters of this third book systematically begin with the formula "Deß [Reiffs / Thaws / Trons, etc.] Vrsprung ist also." None other of the meteorological treatises has this distinctive feature, except some of the *Fragmenta Meteorica* which clearly are more refined versions of some of these chapters, as indicated below.

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selbig muß gehandelt werden : Also seindt die Diener nichtzig als Narren der Herren. Wann ein jedlicher möcht wol selber ein Herr sein / vnnd nicht ein Narr eines Herrn : Aber dieweil das verhengen do ist / so seindt auch Narrn da. Also die Vnleiblichen Geist machen sich vber vns zu Herrn / in dem werden wir zu Narren : Das ist / werden wir auß vnser Phantasey ertichte Weißheit brauchen / Kunst vnd Vernunfft / ohn alle Experientz / die vns soll eine Mutter sein vnser Vernunfft / Weißheit vnnd Künsten : Als dann seindt wir Narren der Geistern / schertzen mit vns wie ein Herr mit seinem Narrn / redt was er will / vnd dergleichen. Zu loben ist der Weise Mann / der seine Weißheit sucht auß der Experientz : Aber zuverachten ist der / der sich selber Weise macht / wann die Geiste vben jhre Narren. Also auff solchs mögen wir wol bekennen / das wir in dem Ofen nicht gewesen seindt vnd in dem Hafen[a] / auß welchem wir setzen die *Impressiones :* Will vns das nit ein notturfft sein zu erwandern / als durch ein Statt in die andere. Vns benügt / das wir die Vndere Natur erkennen / die vns Spiegel seind einer gewissen Experientz / die vns lehrnet der Obern Natur / Wesen vnd Eigenschafft. Darumb vns billich erkennt wirdt / zu
299 Meteorisieren auß einer Experientz in die ander : Dann die vnseren die andern | bedeutten vnnd anzeigen. Also ist vns billich / alle *Impressiones* einander nach zu beschreiben / nach jhrem Vrsprung / wie angezeigt wirdt.

Vom Reiff.[b]

Vrsprung deß Reiffs ist also. So die Sommerleuff deß Firmaments angehendt / mit den Orientischen oder Borealischen Winden vnd Lufft / in entpfindung Sommerlicher zeit : So ist die Natur der Winden vnnd Lufft so Frisch vnnd Kalt / das sie die *Materiam* deß Thaws Congeliert zu Eiß : Dann ein jedlicher Reiff ist nur ein gefrorner Thaw / vnnd hatt an jhm kein andern Anfang / dann den Thaw. Aber die vrsach / das der Reiff mit seiner gestalt nicht gleich ist eim gefrornen Wasser / wie dann das Thaw ligt / daß also ein glatti Gefrierung war / wie ein gefrornes Wasser. Wann der Reiff ist Granuliert / vnnd gerißlet : Das-

a Elsewhere, this allusion to a biblical metaphor is used in P.'s time to demonstrate that one must defer to divine judgment, God having created medicine and the doctor, the kiln and pot of the biblical-proverbial potter: "Darumb gedenckent : Hat Gott den Hafner vnd sein Leim **beschaffen** / der allein zum **Ofen** vnd **Hafen** dienet : Viel mehr den Artzt vnd sein Artzney / das ein mehrers ist / dann alle Künst vnd Handtwerck" (end of the preface to the *Grosse Wundartzney*—H C:A6^{v}).

b All such meteorological phenomena abide in analogy to microcosmic effects or symptoms: "Darauß begibt sich / das also im leib sein Corpus Elementi das auch gibt. Vnd wie zufäl sind auff der Erden / jtzt mit **Reiff** / jtzt mit der Sonnen / jtzt wärm / jtzt feuchte Ein / dem andern nit: Also auch hie ist im leib" (*Fragmenta de Morbo Gallico*—H C:637b).

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goes.[1] So it is that the servants are nothing but the fools of their masters. Everyone would like to be a master on his own, not some master's fool. But since such things are thus instituted, there will indeed also be the fools. So it is that the incorporeal spirits use us to become masters in that we become their fools. This means that from the concocted wisdom of our phantasy we make use of art and reason without the experience which should be the mother of our reason, wisdom, and arts. So we are the fools of the spirits that play tricks on us as a master does upon his fool, saying whatever he likes and so on. To be praised is the wise man who seeks wisdom from experience. But to be disdained is whoever makes himself seem wise, because the spirits are playing with their fool. Accordingly, we must confess that we have not been in the oven nor in the pot from which we posit the issuance of the *impressiones*. Nor do we consider it necessary to wander that path from one place to the other. It is enough for us to recognize the other nature that is a mirror of a certain experience that teaches us about the upper nature, its beings and properties. Therefore, it is only proper and fitting that we meteorically generalize from one experience to another. Our experiences | signify and indicate those others. For this reason, it is proper 299
that we should describe all the *impressiones* successively in accordance with their origin as will be indicated below.

Concerning Hoarfrost.[2]

This is the origin of hoarfrost. When the summer circulation of the firmament passes with the Oriental and Boreal winds and airs sensing the summer atmosphere, the nature of the winds is so fresh and cold that they congeal the *materia* of the dew to ice. For all hoarfrost is nothing but a frozen dew, containing no other source but that. There is a reason why hoarfrost does not look like frozen water when the dew spreads with a slick congelation like ice. Hoarfrost is granulated and sleeted. Hence, the dew is a resolved salt that has turned to

1 Though P. writes in a world ruled by authority rather than scientific method, he perhaps excels by attempting to rationalize the essence of authority as the ability to command voluntary obedience, a modern definition.

2 This chapter has its counterpart, slightly more developed, at the beginning of the *Fragmenta Meteorica* (H 8:323–324). The latter may have been a second redaction, meant to replace the present text. There as well as in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:75), hoarfrost is described as a frozen dew. In the *Philosophy of the Elements* its explanation is, however, well integrated within a discussion on dew resulting from the sweat of the stars. The present text does not fit in any such context and may thus represent a former stage of P.'s ideas. In *De Meteoris* the context is entirely different: hoarfrost, alike rain, snow, hail and lightning, is produced from the *tria prima* of the firmament by the *Vulcanus* of the element of heavens (H 8:204).

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selbig ist die vrsachen / das der Thaw ist ein Resoluierts Saltz / das zu Wasser geworden ist : Desselbigen Eigenschafft ist / so es zu der Congelierung bezwungen wirdt / auß eigner Natur oder zufallende von Künsten / oder vom Lauff der Mineral einfallen / so geht es zu Körnlin / vnnd in Eck vnd Steinliweiß : Auß solcher vrsachen / so die gefröst in den Thaw kommt / so zwingts den Thaw in die Congelierung : So gehts inn sein Natürliche Form / wie es in seiner Natur ist / zu Rißlen vnd Granulieren.

Vom Thaw.

Deß Thaws Vrsprung ist also. So die Firmaments Leuff lautter vnnd trucken jhren Gang führen / vnnd die Sonn die Erden lautter vberscheindt : Als dann auß solcher gewaltiger Schöni / reinigen sich die drey Ersten / vnd Depuriern sich also lautter vnd klar / als ein Redistillierts ding. Dieselbig Depuratz / geht in ein Congelierung / also daß zu einer Dürri kommt / vnnd gantz trucken werden. Aber solche Congelierte Dürri weret allein so lang / so lang die Hitz deß
300 Firmaments ist / welche sie in der Dürri behalten. | So dieselbigen jhr Hitz lassen / als wann die Sonn von jhnen kommt / vnd sie nichts berührt : Als dann so theilen sich die drey Ersten / was vom Saltz ist / dasselbige Resoluiert sich / vnd felt auff die Erden / also Subtil / daß nicht zu mercken ist / oder zu spüren / so lang biß die Erden berührt. Wann es ist ein Saltz also Klar / vnd durch die Sonn Rectificiert / das seins gleichen subtiler auß Saltz nicht gemerckt mag werden. Vnnd was von *Mercurio* vnd *Sulphure* ist / truckt die vnter Kältti in die Kältti. Dasselbig vermischt sich etlichs theils vnder das Saltz : Jedoch Prædominiert das Saltz. Vnd wz nicht gnugsam durch die Sonn / von den dreyen Ersten geleuttert ist / das bleibt *in mediis Interstitiis*. Darumb die vrsach ist / jhe mehr vnd gantzer die Sonn wirckt / jhe grösser Thaw. Also ist der Thaw ein ding / das nicht von Erden kommt / sondern als ein Saltz / auff die Erden / durch welches die Erden die Temperierung entpfacht / wie die Suppen den geschmack vom Saltz.

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water. Its property is such that its congelation is forced from its own nature or from accidental causes effected by art or the course of mineral accidents. It thus forms grains in angular and lapidary fashion. When the frost enters the dew, it is forced into congelation and enters into its natural form, sleet-like and granular, as is its wont.

Concerning Dew.[1]

Such is the origin of the dew. If the circulations of the firmament are pure and dry following their course with the sun casting its pure light across the earth, then the three principles purify and refine themselves in such powerful beauty, as pure and clear as a twice distilled substance. This purification, having passed into congelation, reaches a state of dryness and becomes desiccated, yet this congelated dryness only lasts as long as the heat of the firmament which maintains the desiccation. | When they release their warmth, when the sun 300
which comes from them comes in contact with nothing, the three principles then separate. What pertains to the salt resolves itself and descends to earth in such a subtle form that it cannot be noticed or sensed until it comes in contact with the ground. It is such a transparent salt, rectified by the sun, that no such subtle salt can be detected. What is of the *mercurius* and *sulphur* presses the lower coldness into frigidity. This then gets mixed into the salt to a degree, yet the latter predominates. Whatever of the three principles is not sufficiently purified by the sun remains *in mediis interstitiis*. Hence, the longer and more fully the sun acts, the more the dew. Thus, dew does not proceed from the earth, but rather from a salt on the earth through which the earth is tempered, just as soup receives its taste from the salt.

1 This chapter clearly differs from the excerpts on dew in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:75). The reader might usefully compare them. Regardless of the *Philosophy of the Elements*, it also has its counterpart, slightly more developed, at the beginning of the *Fragmenta Meteorica* (H 8:323–324). Like the chapter on hoarfrost, the aforesaid fragment may have been a second redaction of the present chapter, meant to replace the present text.

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Vom Tron.[a]

Deß Trons Vrsprung ist also / wie von der Leutterung deß Thawes erzellt ist / also gleichförmig / so die Sonn den *Mercurium* durchgeht vnd durchleuttert / als in den dreyen Ersten mit dem Schweffel vnd Saltz / derselbig *Mercurius* tregt sich vor der Firmament Hitz in der Küli wie der Thaw. So dieselbig von jhm kommt / als dann mag sich der *Mercurius* nimmen enthaltten : Wann die Küli last jhn fallen / wann sie tregt nit. Vnd ob er schon die gantz Nacht enthalten wird wie der Thaw / so ist doch die Morgenkälti zu viel auff jhm / das er darnach in derselbigen falt auff die Erden : Nicht außgespreytt wie der Thaw / sondern auff etlich Flecken / vnd auff ander nit : Auß der vrsachen / das der *Mercurius* schwer ist / lest sich nicht außeinander treiben oder wehen vom Lufft / wie der Thaw thut / derselbig ist leicht / falt gemache / nach dem vnd er gesubtilirt ist : Der *Mercurius* aber nit / wiewol er im Thaw vermischt ligt. Dasselbige ist ein Wesen von *Mercurio* ohn Substantz / in dz Saltz gefasset. Als der Tron ist ein Substantz / vnd ein Materien / dergleichen nichts Süsser ist vnder allen / so von oben herab / auff Erden kommt / dicklecht / vnd ettwas zäch / wolgeferbt / auff
301 lautter Weiß Dann wißt / er ist gescheiden | von anderen zweyen. Der Thaw fallt für sich selber / allein auß dem Saltz : der Tron auß dem *Mercurio :* der *Sulphur* verbrinnt in seiner Substantz. Was aber Wesen in jhm hatt / seind / dieselbigen mischen sich vnter die andern.

Vom Nebel.[b]

Deß Nebels vrsprung ist also / so der *Sulphur* der dreyen Ersten auß feuchte deß Saltzs / von der Hitz der Sonnen nit verbrennt mag werden / oder verzehrt / vnd geht in ein Substantz / das ist / das er besundert wirt von den anderen zweyen. Wann was zu einer Substantz kompt / dz ist nun ein geborens ding / vnd was

a "Tron" counts among the sweet substances associated with a celestial or aerial precipitation: "Item thereniabin, sed magis conuenit mulieribus, quam viris. Item thereniabin, id est **Tron** / id quod cadit in Maio, ist Gelb auff den Blettern / ist zech," *Scholia in libros Paragraphorum*—H 5:267. In the *Archidoxis* (S 3:191; H 6:89), the mysterious term "tron"—missing in this sense in Grimm—occurs in a list of sweet substances in the alchemical context of the generations of an "*elixir salis*": "Nach dem vnd vns wissen ist / das durch die *Dulcedines* behalten werden die *Corpora* vor allem verjesen / vnnd für Feüle : Auß was krafft aber diß geschicht / das setzen wir *de Generationibus Mellis, Zucchari, Mannae, Troni*, vnd dergleichen" (cf. ETW 130, n. d; 131 n. 5, on the potent and sweet properties of manna and other natural substances that partake of the celestial realm).

b Fog can figure into a complex equation of meteorological and pathological phenomena involving thunder, clouds, and fog: "Also ist das ein anfang vnd ein vorbott des Paroxysmi im

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Concerning "Throne"[1]

The origin of the "throne" is the same as has been recounted for the purification of dew and of the same configuration: when the sun penetrates the *mercurius* and purifies it, as with the three principles with the sulphur and salt, the *mercurius* is borne away from the heat of the firmament into the cool as is the dew. When it departs, the *mercurius* is no longer sustainable since the cool lets it descend, for it can no longer sustain it. Even if it has been sustained all night like the dew, the morning freshness bears too much upon it, so that it descends with the latter to earth. It is not distributed like the dew but appears in some places and in others not. Because the *mercurius* is heavy, it is not broken up or blown by the wind as is the dew which is light and falls gently in accordance with its subtlety. But not the *mercurius*, even though it is mixed in with the dew. It is an essence of *mercurius* without substance, bound by the salt. Thus, the "throne" is a substance and material than which nothing is sweeter among all that descend to earth from above: thick and somewhat gummy, well colored to a pure white; for be aware that it is distinct | from the other two. The dew 301
falls on its own, merely from the salt; but the "throne" from the *mercurius*. The *sulphur* burns off in its substance. But the essences that are within it, mix in with the others.

Concerning Fog.[2]

Such is the origin of fog. When it happens that the *sulphur* of the three principles cannot be burned off or consumed by the heat of the sun on account of the dampness of the salt and passes over into a substance, it gets separated from the other two. For whatever becomes a substance is a generated entity and as such

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Hinfallenden Siechtagen / der do gleich ist des **Donners** geberung. Vnd was an dem orth mit dem Fewrischen Donner verstanden soll werden / ist allein ein Exempel / das in dem andern auch also beschicht : Allein dz sich do scheiden / von einander / die Form / vnnd sonder Arth der Elementen. Wie jhr nuhn weiter auch sehen / das nach solchem anfang das **Gewülck** antritt / vnd ist doch nichts von der rechten Materien: Also auch im Menschen tretten **Nebel** vor den Augen / Dummen / des Gesichts schweche / ein anfallend Schlaff" (*De Caducis*—H 4:336).

1 *Tron* is another name for tereniabin (cf. H 5:267, H 7:362: "Tereniabin dicitur **tron**") and as such is always related to the element of air (in the spurious *Philosophia ad Athenienses* it is related to earth—H 8:30). On tereniabin see above, H 8:242.

2 This chapter, like that on dew, clearly differs from the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:75–76). Again, the reader might instructedly compare them. In the latter fog is said to be an immature dew.

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ein geborens ding ist / das ist geschieden von dem vngebornen. Also wie die drey Ersten vngeboren seind *in mediis Interstitiis*, vnder einander versamblet / welches vnter jhnen ein Substantz durch das Firmament empfacht / dasselbig ist ein anders Kind der dreyen Ersten. Als der Taw / ein Kind deß Saltzs / der Thron ein Kind deß *Mercurij*. Wann sie seind also geboren / zu einer Substantz / durch die Firmamentischen Läuff. Darumb sie von der vngebornen die ersten fallen.

Also ist der Nebel ein Kind deß Schwebels / wie angezeigt ist. Er mag zu keim Taw nit gerahten / wann er ist zu grob / last sich nit Klären : Zu keim Thron auch nit / wann er ist nit der Resoluierung in ein safftigs ding / aber ein groben Dunst zu geben / das ist jhm wesentlich inn. Auff solchs so die Firmaments Läuff in jhm ettwas gebären / so wirt auß demselbigen allein ein Nebel. Wann vrsachen / das Saltz leßt jhn nicht außverzehrt werden / so scheidt er sich von den vngebornen nider / vnd falt vff die Erden gen Boden / mit einer Trübin / Dickin / Gestanck / vnd ettwas naß / dz jhm vom Saltz kompt. Vnd gleich wie dz Saltz in Eigenschafft ist deß Thaws Mutter : Also ist der Schwebel deß Nebels Mutter / vnnd also gebären sich die drey gebornen / von den drey vngebornen / jeglichs gestalt nach Eigenschafft seines Herkommens. Solche Nebel haben kein erhalten im Lufft / noch von der Hitz / sonder sie fallen alle stund / so bald sie geboren werden. Wiewol dz ist / dz ettlich Nebel / so mit wenigem Schwefel geboren sind / daß sie auff der Erden nit gespürt werden /
302 oder fast wenig : Aber auff dem Wasser wol / wann dz Wasser feucht | das Saltz im Schwefel / daß zu einer Dicki kompt / wann das widerwertig vom Saltz / das ist sein Feuchti / treibt den Schwefel / sonst wer er ohn die feuchte deß Saltzs nicht so trüb / vnd ist (* particularisch)[a] nach theilung der dreyen Ersten / auff die Boden vnd Wasser.

NVBES.

Deß Gewülchs vrsprung ist also : In den Firmamenten Sternen ist ein widerwertige Natur / dieselbige so sie an einander stoßt / vnd widereinander geht / so werden geberung darauß / die zu Gewülchen gerahten / vnd das also. Die Natur der Sulphurischen form / so dieselbigen gohnd in die wesen der Sulphurischen Sternen / oder Mercurischen Sternen : Als do werden die versamblung der

a This word seems to be a hypothetical reading by Huser.

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separate from that which is not generated. Thus, as the three principles are still unresolved and aggregated *in mediis interstitiis* [in the intermediary spaces], if one of them receives a substance from the firmament, the result is a distinct offspring of the three principles, just as dew is an offspring of salt and "throne" of *mercurius*. For all have been generated to substance by the coursing of the firmament and therefore depart from the unresolved.

Thus, fog is the offspring of the sulphur as indicated.[1] It cannot turn into dew, for it is too coarse and not susceptible to refinement. Nor can it turn into a "throne," for it is not part of the resolution to a syrupy substance; but it does have within it to become a coarse vapor. Hence, if the coursings of the firmament generate anything in it, it becomes a mere fog. The reason is that the salt does not allow for its being consumed, so that it separates from the entities not generated, descending to earth with a dark, thick, foul smell and moisture from the salt. Moreover, just as the salt has the quality that gives birth to dew, the sulphur does the same for the fog. Hence, the three generated things are born from the three which are not, each being in a form that accords with its source. Fogs of this kind cannot sustain themselves in the air, nor can they persist in heat. Rather, they perpetually drop away as soon as they come into being. It can of course happen that some fogs are born with very little sulphur so that they are barely noticed on earth, almost not at all. On water, they are, however; for the water moistens | the salt in the sulphur, thickening it. For the counteraction 302
of the salt is its moisture which activates the sulphur. Without the moisture of the salt, the sulphur would become so turgid, and it is thus [particularly] after the separation of the three principles onto soil or water.

NVBES.
[Clouds][2]

Such is the origin of clouds. In certain stars of the firmament there is a contrary nature that may make them they collide and come up against one another so that a generation results which issues in cloud formations. It happens like this. When the nature of the sulphurous forms passes over into the essence of the sulphurous or mercurial stars, there is an aggregation of the three principles

1 To sum it up, dew comes from salt, "throne" from mercury, and fog from sulphur.

2 This explanation of the formation of clouds differs from both the *Philosophy of the Elements* and *De Meteoris*. Although in both texts clouds result from the interaction of the three principles, in the former they are a vaporous egestion of the stars (H 8:77); in the latter, a vaporous blossoming of them (H 8:216).

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dreyen Ersten / in widerwertigkeit : dise widerwertige versamlung ist ein vrsach der Gewülch / also. Die Sternen seind in dreyen Naturen / in *Sale, Sulphure* vnd *Mercurio :* vnd ein jeglicher Stern gewaltig in sein Ersten / vnd vollkommen. So nun der Gang der Saltzstern geht in die Gäng deß Sulphursternen[a] / do werden zwo widerwertigkeit verstanden / dann der Schwefel der brinnt in sein Sternen / der Salpeter der seudt in sein Sternen. So also die zwen zusammen tretten / so zündt der Schwefelstern[b] den Sulphurstern an / vnd gebiert sich darnach auß den Sternen / nach Eigenschafft der zweyen Sternen / ein Gewitter : Ist es ein kalte entzündung / also daß der Schwefel nit lauter im Salniter ist / so mag er nicht starck angezündt werden / sonder etlichs theils. Gleich als so ein Arsenick in ein Fewr gelegt wirdt / derselbig ist ein Saltz / aber ein todt Saltz / thut nichts dann riechen : der Spißglaß dergleichen / vnd ander mehr : Also wie hie mancherley der Todten vnnd Lebendigen Saltz seind / also mancherley sind auch der Sternen Natur. Auff solchs so die Schwefelstern antzünden ein Saltzstern / nach dem vnd der Stern ist : gebiert sich ein Rauch / der ein Gewülch heist : dann ein jeglichs Gewülch / ist nuhr ein Rauch seines Sterns. Also ist die geburt der Gewülch nichts anderst / dann ein anzündung vom Schwefelstern / in die Saltz vnd Mercuristernen : dann vnter den dreyen sind alle Sternen.

303 *PLVVIÆ.*

Der Regen vrsprung ist also : wie angezeigt ist der anfang der Gewülch / also ist der anfang der Regen / die mancherley arth der Gewülch. Als ein Arsenick gewülch gibt kein Regen / allein grawes dicks Gewülch / das wider zer geht ohn nässi. Solcher Arsenick gewülch seind viel / lautter vnnd dunckelweiß / vnnd von dergleichen andern Farben / nach dem vnd der Arsenick viel oder wenig ist / vnd dergleichen ander Saltzisch arth / die dann solch Gewülch geben. Aber dz Gewülch zum Regen ist also : welche Stern Schwefel sind / dieselbigen seind alle nach der Sonnen mehr heiß / mehr brennens / mehr anzündens / nach dem vnd die Sonn die Stern leuttert vnd anzündt. So also die Sonn die Schwefelstern wol anzündt / vnnd in brennen last gehend : als dann seind die Stern

a "Saltzstern" or "Salnitrischenstern," "Sulphur-" or "Schwefelstern," and (in the end of this chapter) "Mercuristern" are specific words rarely used by P. For other occurrences see *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:84–85); *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8:264), and the medical tract, *Eilff Tractat: Vom Schlag* (H 4:153). As already explained in our introduction, meteorology is often a model for the functioning of the microcosm—the human body.

b "Schwefelstern" and "Sulphurstern" are the same. We assume that this is an unintended equivocation from P.: as it seems, one of those stars has to be a salt star.

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in opposition. This opposing aggregation is the cause of the clouds. There are three natures in the stars, *sal, sulphur*, and *mercurius*, each star powerful in its principle and complete. As soon as the path of a salt star crosses the path of a sulphurous star, we can assume two oppositions: the sulphur burns in its star while the saltpeter seethes in its star. When the two collide, the sulphurous star ignites the other so that from them in accordance with the properties of the two a storm is generated. If it is a cold ignition in which the sulphur is not pure in the salniter, it may not be ignited fully but rather in part like an arsenic cast into a fire, which is a salt, but a dead salt that only smells. The same is true of antimony and other things besides. So, just as there are various kinds of dead and living salts, so, too, various are the natures of the stars. So, it follows that when the sulphurous stars ignite a saline star in accordance with its nature, a vapor is generated which we call a cloud. For all cloud formations are nothing but the smoke of their stars. The birth of the clouds is nothing other than an inflammation of the sulphurous star in the path of the saline and mercurial stars; for all of them are among these three.

PLVVIAE. 303
[Rains][1]

Such is the origin of rains. As indicated for the source of clouds, so, too, is the source of rains, as various as the natures of cloud formations. For example, an arsenic cloud yields no rain, only gray thick formations that disintegrate without moisture. These arsenic clouds are aggregated, pure, and whitish on the dark side, as well other colors, depending on the quantity of arsenic present in them, as well as the additional saline nature which produces them. In contrast, rain clouds are as follows. The stars which are sulphur stars are, depending on the sun, hotter, more incendiary and more inflammable whenever the sun purifies and ignites them. When the sun does this, causing the sulphurous stars to burn, they become the cause of all cloud formations and storms. Thus, when a star in the nature of the other two principles comes in contact with a sulphurous star, the material of the latter burns; and depending upon its innate *esse*

1 Compare with the corresponding chapter of the *Philosophy of the Elements*, H 8:78–79.

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aller Gewülch vnnd Gewitter vrsachen. Also wo ein Stern / in Natur der andern zweyen ersten berürt dise Stern / so brinnt diser Stern in seiner Matery / vnd wie sein *Esse* ist an jhm / nach dem folgt die Wirckung hernach. Als so es Saltz anzündt / das ist / die Saltzsternen / so geht es in ein naß Gewülch : dasselbige Gewülch ist ein lautter Saltz / das do kompt auß den Saltzsternen. Vnd so bald es von den vngebornen zu einer geburt wirdt / so ist es gescheiden / von den Sternen herauß / als dann weet es der Wind : vnd so bald es herauß kompt von Sternen / so ist es schwer / vnd fallt gen Erden zu / oder gar auff die Erden / so es deß schweren nit wol gekochts Saltz ist. Vnd so es also im mittel Himmel steht / vnd vor Leichti / Windts oder Luffts halben nit auff die Erden kompt / so hebts an zu Resoluiren / vnd Resoluiert sich im mittel Himmel zu Wasser / wie ein geflossen oder ein Wasser Saltz auff den Marmel thut : nit miteinander / sonder gemechlich / eines dem andern nach. Vnd was sich von der Substantz deß Gewülchs resoluiert / dasselbig fallt vff die Erden / dann es hat kein Wind in jhm : vnd von dem hohen fallen herab vom mittel Himmel vff die Erden / zerschütt es sich / vnd zerfellt von einander durch den Lufft vnd Wind / den es jm selber gibt im schweren Fall / dz zu Tropffen kommt / als wann einer ein Schaff mit Wasser von einen Thurn geust herab / dz fallt nit hauffenweiß herab
304 wie es außgossen wirt / sonder es zerstrewt sich von einander zu tropffen : | Also resoluirt sich dz Gewülch so lang / biß das naß Saltz alls herauß kompt. Dann vil Gewülck seind / die mehr als zehenerley Stern haben in jhn / Naß vnd Trocken : was naß ist / das fellt / was trocken ist / das bleibt ein Gewülch.

Wolckenbruch.[a]

Die vrsprüng der Wolckenbrüch seind also : So der Schweffelstern anzündt ein gewaltigen Saltzsternen / ein Arsenick / vnnd Antimonische arth : So nun also dieselbig geberung vom Stern geschieden wird herauß / also das so er ein gantzer Saltzstern ist gewesen / so hat er kein Lufft in jhm / vnd welch Gewülch nit Lufft in jhn tragen / dieselbigen bleiben nit im mittel Himmel / sonder sie fallen gen Boden.

Aber alle andere Gewülch / so nit gen Boden in Platzregenweiß fallen / dieselbigen haben in jhn Arsenick / *Antimonium*, vnnd dergleichen / dieselbigen lassents nit fallen / sonder was sich vnter jhnen zu Wassergewülch macht / das

a Here, too, the precipitousness of the thunder shower is isomorphic with the action of the salve: "Wo es aber die Tieffe vnd Weite het / magst wol die obgeschrieben Salben durch Einstrich mit Meissein einlegen / vnd das Pflaster auff dasselbig / so heylest all Schäden nach solcher art erstanden / wie ein **Wolckenbruch** vom Himmel pflätzlichen kompt / vnd wider auffhört," *Drey Bücher der Wundtartzney* (H C:513c).

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[essence] there will be a corresponding effect. Thus, when it ignites salt, meaning the saline stars, this passes into a moist cloud formation, which is a pure salt that results from the saline stars. As soon as the salt develops from unborn conditions to yield a birth, it is parted forth from the stars, and the wind then blows it abroad; as soon as it emerges from them, it is heavy and falls toward, or indeed to earth, being made of a ponderous, not well processed salt. If it stands in the middle region of heavens and cannot reach earth on account of its lightness, wind, or air, it then begins to resolve itself, doing so until it produces water in that part of the heavens, as an emulsified or aqueous salt does on the marble. But not altogether, rather gradually in succession. Whatever is resolved from the substance of the cloud formation falls to earth, for it has no wind in it; from its height and from the middle region of heavens it falls to earth, dispersing and precipitating apart through the air and wind which, by its heavy descent, it causes itself, thus yielding drops, like the effect when one disperses a jar of water from a tower, so that it does not come down in one mass the way it was poured but rather dispersed in drops. | Thus, does the cloud formation 304
resolve itself until all of its liquid has been shed. For there are many clouds with more than a tenfold starry force within them, wet and dry. Whatever is wet falls. Whatever is dry remains in the cloud.

Cloud Bursts.

Such is the origin of cloud bursts. When the sulphurous star ignites a powerful saline star of an arsenic and antimonian kind, this generation separates outward from the star which is now nothing but a saline star, since it contains no air; and any cloud formation that has no air does not remain in the middle region of heavens but instead sinks to earth.

However, any other cloud formations that do not precipitate in cloud bursts contain arsenic, *antimonium*, and similar substances which prevent this. Instead, what becomes from them to rain clouds falls successively after resolution. Hence, the cloud bursts are nothing but salt well processed by the sulphurous

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fallt einander nach herab / nach der Resoluierung. Darumb so seind die Wolckenbrüch nichts anders / dann ein wolbereit Saltz durch den Schwefelstern / vnd durch das Firmament : dasselbige ist auß aller andern Genera der Saltz vnd Stern : vnd so bald es begreifft den Lufft / das ist / so bald es vom Stern kompt in Lufft / so hatt es nichts das es hebt : wann es ist ein compacts resoluierts Wasser in Ein hauffen : Als dann so fallt es mit einander schwer gen boden / wann vrsachen / es ist ein eilende Resolutz / auff Ein mal beschehen / vnd nicht nach einander / wie ander Regen / deßgleichen auch von allen anderen geschlechten der drey Ersten.

Blitzen / Donnern.

Der Donnern vrsprung ist also / wie gemelt ist von den Eigenschafften der Stern / das ettlich seind gantz noch im Schwefel / ettlich im Saltz / ettlich im *Mercurio :* Also begibt sich / so ein Schwefelstern zustreicht eim Salnitrischen Stern / vnd ehe die zwen zusammen kommen *Substantialiter* mit jhren Materien / so haben sie widerwertigkeit gegen einander / dann der Schwefel
305 vnd Salniter bleiben nit | bey einander. Auff solchs mercken / so die Sonn den Schwefel durch jhr Hitz anzündt im Sommer / oder der Schwefel / so er leichtlich brinnt / im Winter angezündt wirdt / vnnd also zubricht ein Salnitrischer Stern. Anfenglich / so geben sie Rauch / das ist / ein Gewülck / das da außgeht auß dem Salniter / ehe vnd er reucht / zu entzündung kompt : demnach so sie nit zusammen reichen / so mehret sich das Gewülch : demnach so treibt der Schwebel den Salniter also starck in die bewegung / daß ein Windt durch jhr widerwertigs faren geboren wirt : vnnd so sie von einander weichen / so gehts also mit dem Wind auß. So aber sie zusammen reichen / so treibt der Schwefel in Saltz / je lenger je mehr / je neher er sich nehert vnd jhn begreifft / so wachsen also die Gewülch / vnd wirt je lenger je stercker : dann solchs erwechst alls auß solcher widerwertigkeit. Demnach / so er den Schwefel so gewaltig infallt in Salniter / so gibt der Salniter ein Stoß von jhm / vnnd treibt den brennenden Schwefel von jhm auß / durch das Gewülch / auff Ein Stoß oder zwen / oder mehr : So ein solchs blojen / vnd mehren / vnd Stoß vom Salniter beschicht / als dann ist Blitzen geboren. Wann Blitzen ist nichts / dann ein zu ruck geschlagner Schwefel vom Salniter / auff Ein Stoß / oder mehr / vnd nit durch den Stoß wider auß. Auff das merck / hatt der Salpeter nichts in seiner feiste empfangen vom Schwefel / also das er nit brinnt / so gahts also mit Himmlitzen auß : Empfacht er aber ein Brand in sich / vnd schlecht also den Schweffel zu blitzen / durch dz Gewülch / so bricht er in jhm selber auch / vnd die widerwertigkeit deren zweyen zerstossen sich von einander vnd im selbigen Stoß entspringt das Donnern. Vnd so der Donner beschehen ist / so resoluiert sich das Gewülch

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star and by the firmament. It consists of all other genera of salt and stars. As soon as it touches the air, that is, as soon as it proceeds from the star into the air, there is nothing that can elevate it, since it is a compact resolved water in a single mass. It falls quite heavily toward the ground; for it is a precipitous resolution which takes place all at once, not successively as with other rains. The same applies to all other manifestations of the three principles.

Lightning, Thunder[1]

Such is the origin of thunder. As has been stated concerning the qualities of the stars, that some of them entirely stay in sulphur, some in salt, and some in *mercurius*, it can happen that a sulphurous star grazes a salnitrous one, and even before they meet *substantialiter* with their materials, they are mutually repulsive; for sulphur and salniter do not | abide together. Observe what hap- 305
pens when the sun ignites the sulphur with its heat in summer, or the readily flammable sulphur is ignited in winter so that it breaks a salnitrous star. At first, they give off smoke, a cloud mass proceeding from the salniter before it reaches ignition while giving off smoke. If they do not then meet together, the cloud increases. Then the sulphur stirs the salniter so powerfully that a wind results from their opposing motion; and when they separate, the wind issues forth.[2] But when they interpenetrate, the sulphur pushes into the salt, ever more powerfully as it comes closer and seizes it. This is how such clouds grow: the longer, the more powerful. For it all results from the aforesaid opposition. Afterward when it thrusts the sulphur so forcefully into the salniter, the latter gives off a propulsion and expels from itself the burning sulphur through the cloud, with one blow or two or even more. If this expansion, increase, and thrust from the salniter occurs, a lightning flash is then born. For lightning is nothing but a sulphur kicked back by the salniter in one blow, or more, and not by an outward impulse. Be it noted that if the saltpeter did not receive anything from the sulphur in its fatness, so that it does not burn, it sets off as a lightning flash. But if it receives an inflammation in itself and strikes the sulphur to flash through the cloud formation, it shatters in itself as well, so that the opposition of the two repel one another and in the same thrust arises thunder. And when the thunder has taken place, the cloud is resolved into rain in accordance with

1 This chapter may be compared with those on thunder and lightning in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:80–82). In our opinion, the present chapter represents a former stage of development. However, it is safe to recommend further study.

2 The same idea is found in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:81).

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zu Regen / nach Eigenschafft deß Saltzs : Also erlescht der Schwefel in seim Brandt / vnnd zergeht der Salpeter auch / vnnd folgt ein Schöne hernach.

Auch begibt sich dergleichen / das in solchen widerwertigen Wirckungen deß Schwefels vnnd deß Salniters in dem Gewülch ein Regen zufallt. So ein solcher Regen sich oberthalb erhebt der zweyen Ersten / vnd berürt den Kampff / darauß werden die grösten Donner / vnd die mercklichsten : dann das Wasser in solchem Fewr ist das gröst widerwertigs. Also dergleichen so ein Mercurialischer Stern darzu kompt / so sterckend sich die | Donnern vnd die Blitzen / je
306 lenger je stercker : dann darinn ist nichts / dann die widerwertigkeit der dreyen Ersten / so sie ein ander treffen in Einem Gang / vnnd keins mag bey dem andern stahn / so sie in jhren Sudt gehnd oder Brunst. Das ist jhr Brunst / so die Sonn sie anzündt vnd heiß macht / daß sie gleich / als ob dem Fewr südten : vnd so sie also heiß zusammen kommen / so zünden sie leichtlich einander an / vnnd so es zu vermischen geht / so zerbrechens einander.

Haglen.[a]
(Vrsprung deß Hagels ist also. So ein Sulphurischer Stern begreifft ein Salnitrischen Stern / etc.)

Vrsprung der Hagel ist also. Wie angezeigt ist von Eigenschafften der Stern / also mercken / so ein Saltzstern vnter der Sonnen in ein gewaltigen Gang geht / vnd die Sonn gewaltig jhren Schein in jhn treibt / auß dem folgt / daß die Saltz Matery digerirt [wirt] durch die Wärme der Sonnen. Also ist in der Natur deß Saltzs / daß es sich in aller Digestion Coaguliert zu Körnlin. So nuhn solch Digestion beschicht / so treibt das Saltz sich selbst zu Steinlin / nach dem vnd das in seim Wesen ist / gutt oder böß Saltz / Naß oder Trocken / Räß oder Süß / nach seiner Qualitet. So nuhn solchs in der geberung steht / so wirt es nit vollendt / allein es sey dann / das ein Schwefelbrand darein kommt / der mit dem Donner vnd Blitzgen angang : Als dann im selbigen anzünden / wie vom Don-

a Hail and other precipitations understood as the fruit of a "meteoric seed" are the true key to medical understanding, not the false books of the ancients: "So du aber sagest / es ist ein Meteorisch Semen, der wirdt zu einem Regen / der Regen stillirt von oben herab / auß den Mediis Interstitiis in die vndern theil / vnd wird also auß dem Sahmen / ein Wasser / ein Teycht / ein See: So hetst du es troffen. Dann wie jhr sehen ein lautern schönen Himmel / in dem kein gewülck ist: Gleich in einem augenblick / so erhebt sich ein kleines Wölcklin / das wechst auff vnd nimpt zu / das in einer stundt ein grosser Regen / **Hagel** / Schawer / etc. darauß wird. Also müssen wir Theoricirn / von dem grund der Medicin / in der kranckheit / wie gemelt ist. Vnd der also Theoricirn wil / der muß die Bücher der Artzney wol lesen: Nit Tantalorum, Galeni, Auicennae, Auerrois, Drusiani, Guidonis, Rogerij, etc. Sonder die Bücher so Gott selbst geschriben hat / die seind gerecht / gantz / volkommen vnd ohn falsch" (*Labyrinthus Medicorum*—H 2:227).

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the property of the salt. So is the burning sulphur extinguished, and the saltpeter dissolves as well with a clearing up in consequence.

It can also happen that in these opposing actions of the sulphur and salniter in the cloud formations rain results. If a rain of this kind surges above the two principles and touches upon their struggle, the greatest and most remarkable thunderclaps occur.[1] For water occurring within a fire of this kind is the greatest opposition. If, then, a mercurial star comes along as well, there is a strengthening of the | thunderclaps and lightning bolts: the longer, the more violent. For 306
what resides in the mix is nothing but the opposition of the three principles coming up against one another in a single course;[2] none of them would abide with any other when they come to a boil or enter into convulsion. The latter occurs when the sun ignites them and heats them so that they boil as if over a fire. When they clash so hot, they ignite one another; when they mix, they shatter one another.

Hail.[3]
(Such is the origin of hail: when a sulphurous
star overtakes a salnitrous one, etc.)[4]

Such is the origin of hail. As has been shown concerning the properties of the stars, note that if a saline star passes below the sun in a powerful course and the sun forcefully thrusts its radiance into the star, it follows that the saline material will [be] digested by the warmth of the sun. It is the nature of the salt to coagulate to tiny grains in any digestion. If such digestion takes place, the salt casts itself into small pebbles in accordance with its nature as good or bad salt, moist or dry, harsh or sweet, depending on its quality. If the process of generation is taking place, it will not reach completion unless a sulphurous fire enters into it, initiated by thunder and lightning. In this ignition as explained regarding

1 The same idea occurs ibid., H 8:81–82.

2 See likewise H 8:81.

3 See the corresponding chapter in *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8:272–273), which clearly differs from this one.—An obvious reference to the present chapter is found in *Von den Natürlichen Wassern*, below, H 8:427.

4 This aborted beginning seems to actually belong to the previous chapter, despite the mention of hail.

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ner steht / schlecht sich der Salniter von einander : vnd wiewol er noch nicht zu Steinen oder Körner vollkommen gemacht ist / so beschicht das im Fall herab / das also / das also / wz der Saltz arth ist in der Coagulierung.

So aber nuhr ein Salniter Stern der Eigenschafft ist in die Coagulierung / vnd die Sonn durch jhr Hitz vnnd Einfall den Schein einnemmen / denselbigen ohn ein Schwefelstern anzündt / vnd doch nit zum brennen : dann die Stern zünden nichts an zum brennen in den dreyen Ersten / als allein den Schwefel. Auff solchs so der Stern also in der Sonnen hitz im Sudt ist / vnnd gleich von Hitz / als sied er / so gebiert sich do ein vollkommen Wirckung im Saltz allein / vnd
307 granuliert sich zu Steinen / nach arth vnd | gestallt desselbigen Saltzs / wie es dann in seiner Qualitet ist. Aber die Feuchte so noch bey dem Salpetter ist / last die Coagulierung nit vollkommen werden / sonder hindert die. Aber so bald ein Schwefelstern sich do verfügt / vnnd betrifft mit seim Fewr den Salpeterstern / so geht es an gleich wie vom Blitzen vnd Donnern gesagt ist. Vnnd so bald der Salpeter den Flammen vom Schwefel entpfacht / so zerschlecht er sich von einander auß ettlich mal / vnd als offt ein mal / als offt ist das ein Donner. Vnd so also die zerbrechung auß ist / mit der anzündung vnnd Donnern / so fallend die Wirckung herab / was die Saltznatur hatt an jhm / das verbrennt sich zu Steinen durch den Saltzbrand / das ander resoluiert sich zu Wasser : vnd fallen also Hagel vnd Regen mit einander / auß Eim Gewülch. Dann es ist ein Materien / welche gekocht ist worden von dem brinnenden Schwefel / allein im Saltzgestirn / vnd beschicht nimmer / dann allein in grosser Hitz : auß vrsachen / daß die Sonn das gewaltig muß digeriren.

Straal / Schawr.[a]

Vrsach deß Straals ist also. Wie angezeigt ist von den dreyerley Stern für sich selbs / so wissent / so die zu sammenfügung der dreyer Stern zusammen kompt

a While the *tria prima* underlie all things and link microcosm to macrocosm, in the discussion of lightning and rain, they are cited particularly to integrate the heavens and earth and by extension the stars and pathology or medicine: "Die Materia von der das Donnerfewer / oder **Straalfewer** wirdt / ist ein Firmamentischer Salpeter / Schwefel. Dann zu gleicher weiß wie auß der Erden der Schwefel vnd Salniter wächßt / vnd darnach zusammen geordnet wirdt in ein Maß vnd Substantz : Also auch seind Himlische Materien die dem gleich seind. Dann ein Exempel : Mag im Himmel Wasser wachsen / das auff die Erden fällt / so mag auch Fewer wachsen in jhm. Mag Schnee im Himmel wachsen / so mag auch Salniter vnd ander ding / darauß Fewer wirdt / wachsen: Also auff solches sollen wir wissen / daß der **Straal** Fewr vom Himmel allein ein Firmamentische Composition ist / auß der gleichen Materien / wie von der Erden entspringen / vnd durch das Gestirn geordnet / in einem solchen Wandel vnd Wesen," *Die grosse Wundartzney* (H C:52c).

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thunder the salniter explodes. Although it is not yet turned fully into stones or grains, this happens in its descent, in this way or that way, in accordance with the nature of the salt in its coagulation.

If, however, a salniter star has the required quality of coagulation, and the sun with its heat and penetration shines into it, causing the ignition without a sulphurous star and without having it burn—for the stars ignite nothing to the point of burning in the primary three except the sulphur—if then the star comes to a boil in the heat of the sun, a complete operation takes place in the salt in and of itself, granulating to stones according to its nature and | its inclination and quality. Yet the moisture which still accrues to the saltpeter does not quite allow the coagulation to reach perfection but hinders it. As soon as a sulphurous star comes into operation, striking the saltpeter star with its fire, there is the lightning and thunder as discussed above. As soon as the saltpeter receives the flames of the sulphur, it detonates several times, each with a thunderclap. When it is over with the igniting and thunder, the operation releases that which the salinity bears within it burned to stones by the salt-fire with the rest being resolved to water. Thus, do hail and rain fall together from a single cloud. It is a material cooked by the burning sulphur in the salt star alone; and it only takes place under conditions of great heat, since the sun must digest this powerfully. 307

Lightning, Showers

Such is the cause of lightning. As we have explained regarding the three kinds of stars in themselves, be aware that the three converge in an orbit and circle

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in Ein Gang vnd Circkel / mit gewaltigem Sudt / wie oben gemelt ist / vnd doch der Schwefel nit brinnt. Als dann so leiten sie die vorigen zusammen / daß in Ein Materien kommen / der Schwefel / das *Sal*, vnd der *Mercurius*. Als dann durch die grosse gewaltige Hitz der Sonnen / so vereinigen sie sich in ein vermischung : vnd wiewol sie doch ohn widerwertigkeit nicht bey einander stohnd / so ist doch dieselbig nicht schedlich / wann es geht in Gewülch / vnnd in ein Windt : oder so es ein Wasser Saltz von jhm scheidet / oder ein Arsenick / das geht zum Regen.

Aber so sie also in der Wirckung stohnd in einem Wasser / so ist jhr *Materia* also / daß sie durch die großmechtig Hitz von jhm werff alles / so zu Wasser oder Regen werden mag : vnd bleiben also Stern in jhn selbs / als dann wirdt auß denn ein Compacti versammlung / die do Compreß inn einander gefaßt ist / mit grosser bewegung. Auff solchs so die Sonn durch jhr mechtig Hitz den
308 Sulphur anzündt in der Compaction / | als dann schlecht der *Mercurius*, der Salpeter vnd der Schwefel mit einander / von Eim orth in das ander / in mitteln Himmel / vnd zerbricht nit von einander / sonder jhr zusammen compacti Congelierung bleibt vest in Eim : vnd obs schon zerbricht / so bleiben doch die stucke bey einander fewri vnd brennts. So ist also die vngestümmigkeit deß Salpeters vnd *Mercurij*, also gewaltig in jhrem brinnen / daß sie so vnglaublich ein Schnall thut / von seiner statt auß auff einander / daß es alles Gewülch vnd Regen vor jhm hinweg treibt : Nimbt es den Schnall der höhi zu / so wirdts auff der Erden nit gemerckt also wie er ist / dann er erstickt in der höhi / vnd ohn kundtbaren Brand / vnnd erlöscht vnd fallt vndersich ohn vngestümmigkeit. Aber so er durch den Regen fallt / so schlecht er wider / dann das Wasser im Regen vnd sein grosse Hitz / die widerwertigen einander / das er wider zu schlahen kompt / vnd schlecht auff die Erden / nach dem vnd er bewegt wird von der widerwertigkeit : vnd nach dem vnd er fast heiß ist / demnach wirckt er : vnd heist also ein kalter Straal / oder so er Fewrin ist / vnd lescht sich im Regengewülch ab / so ist er auch kalt vnd nit fewri. Aber anfenglich seind sie alle fewrin / vnd schlahnd vnd stossent / nach dem vnd sie in jhr gewaltigen Compacten verfügt werden / vnd durch jhr widerwertigs. Aber so er fewri bleibt vnd schlecht gen Thal / zündt er an vnd brennt / stost vnd schlecht / das seins gleichen keim Menschen möglich ist : dann es ist die gröste widerwertigkeit in Einer Compaction beyeinander / das grösser widerwertigkeit nit mag erfunden werden / dann die drey Ersten seind / vnnd kein zerbrechung in jhr Compaction / oder zu schmeltzung. Also vbertreffend hatts die Sonn zusammen gebunden / das mehr von solchem Zeichen zuschreiben wer / vnd Geschichten / dann von andern beschreibungen der Menschen.

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causing powerful boiling as explained above, without the sulphur burning just yet. They interact in such a way that there is one material of sulphur, *sal*, and *mercurius*. Through the powerful heat of the sun they unite in a mixture. Even though they cannot coexist without reciprocal repulsion, they do not separate; for the material comes into a cloud and is absorbed by wind. Or else it gives off an aqueous salt or arsenic which yields rain. But when it is being processed in a mass of water, its *materia* is such that the great heat makes it expel everything that can issue as water or rain. If the stars keep to themselves, a compact aggregate compressed together results with great motility. Whereupon, if the sun's powerful heat ignites the sulphur in the compaction |, the 308
mercurius, saltpeter, and sulphur collide and hurl from a place in the middle region of heavens without breaking apart, so that their compacted congelation holds firmly as one. Even if it does shatter, the components remain close and fiery. The volatility of the saltpeter and *mercurius* burns so powerfully that there is an unbelievable flash from one place to another driving forth all the clouds and rain. If the flash is higher, it is not observable as such on earth: it is stifled up there, extinguishing and falling down without violence. But if it passes through the rain, it reverberates; for the water of the rain and its own great heat are contrary to one another, so that it strikes again and strikes the earth, propelled by the contrary force and by extreme heat to act in this way. This is called a cold flash, for when it is fiery, it extinguishes itself in the rain clouds, making it cold rather than fiery. Initially these flashes are always incendiary, striking and thrusting because they are wrought in their powerful compaction by their contrary forces. But if they remain fiery and strike down, they start fires and burn, thrust, and jolt in a way impossible for the human creature. This happens from their great constricted compaction. Nothing is more contrary than the three principles in their compaction or dissolution. So supremely has the sun bound them together that one could say more about such signs than the other descriptions given by people.

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Von Hexenwettern.[a]

Der vrsprung der Hexenwetter ist also : Wiewol die Hexenwetter nit natürlich sind / darumb so wollen wir vnser *Meteororum* nit mit jhren künsten beflecken :
309 Aber so viel vnd antrifft die Natur / ist billich zu Meteorieren / | vnd dz also. Der erst Anfang solcher Wetter nimbt den Vrsprung im Menschen / dz lassen wir bleiben : Zum andern wollen wir mercken ein solches / das die Infernalischen Geist[b] dieselbigen Wetter vben vnnd machen : Auß was vrsachen aber sie das dem Menschen zugefallen thun / wöllen wir hie nit öffnen. Aber also ist jhr Wirckung / das sie selber nichts anderst seindt dann Schweffel vnd Pech vnd Saltz / vnd *Mercurius*, vnd dz in viel hundert Form. Auff solches ist die vrsachen also gesetzt / dz dieselbigen Geist / die also dem Menschen sein Willen verbringen vnd ersettigen / auß jhren stetten vnd orthen / in den Mitlen Himmel kommen / vnd endtbören sich in solcher gestalt. Dann die klar Sonn vnd dz heitter Firmament lest sie nicht bleiben / schlecht sie allemahl von jhnen auß dem Mittel Himmel jhr statt zu. Aber jhr wehren ist also starck hinwieder / das sie ein Rausch thund / vnd ein Widerstand / der in die lenge nicht bleiben mag : dieser Rausch ist / in jhrem Gewalt / das sie selber auß jhrem eigen Schweffel / *Sale* vnd *Mercurio* / ein Rauch / Gewülck / Regen vnd dergleichen / machen. Dann wie wir von Sternn anzeigen jhr *Digestiones*, vnnd wie auß denselbigen *Egestiones* kommen : Also in den Infernalischen Geisten ist dergleichen ein solche Digestion[c] / die jhr Egest gibt / dieselbig Egest ist jhr eigen Herberg : vnd also so sie auß jhrer Herberg kommen vnder den Himmel / als dann so lassen sie jhr *Egestiones* vnd Wirckung / die in jhrer Natur ist / auß von jhnen / dz ist nichts als Wind / Hagel / Schaur vnd Strall / vnd viel vppiger vnd schedli-

a "Hexen," witches, and their male consorts (Hexenbuler) occur often enough in P.'s works to leave no doubt about their physical presence, recognizability, and malice. The *Fragmentum Libri de Sagis et earum Operibus*—H 9:248 ff. was to be devoted to them. **Hexenwetter**, on the other hand, is not a theme of his works for reasons explained here.

b "Infernal spirits" embody malice and are kindred of dishonest professionals in astronomy, medicine, or law, so that this supernatural discourse aims at the technical magic and malice of the professional class: "Dann solchen Nichts sollenden Creaturen ist angeborne arth /was sie doch nit nütze / daß doch eim andern schade. Also ist den **Infernalischen Geistern** also auch / wie einem bösen Menschen / deren arth sie auch sind. Auß dem folgt nun / daß die natürlichen Künst so sie können / (wiewol sie jhnen nichts nütze seind) doch gebrauchen wider den Menschen. Als sie sind Astronomi, darumb haben sie deß Himmels Verstandt : Also daß sie den Menschen / der ein Astronomus ist / abführen / verführen / hindern / jrren / abwenden / verkehrend / damit er / wie sie / ein Lügner werde. Also seind sie Artzt in der gestalt / daß sie den Artzt anders lernen vnd vnderrichten / dann die recht Kunst an jhr selbst

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Hexed Storms[1]

Such is the origin of the hexed storms. Let it be said that since they are not natural, we should not soil our *Meteororum liber* with their arts; but this much can be said of their nature appropriately for a meteorological work. | The pri- 309
mary source of such weather is in the human being: into that we shall not delve. Nonetheless, we should note that it is the infernal spirits that cause and govern these weather conditions.[2] They do this to please us human beings: we will not disclose why. But such is their effect that they are nothing but sulphur and tar and salt and *mercurius* in many hundreds of forms. It may be assumed that they are caused when these spirits issue from their place in the middle heavens[3] to fulfill and please the will of human beings by manifesting themselves in such a way. The bright sun and clear firmament do not abide them and hurl them from the middle heavens toward their own place. But they fight back so furiously that they institute a turbulence and resistance which cannot last long. The turbulence lies in their power so that with their sulphur, *sal*, and *mercurius* they bring about smoke, clouds, rain, and the like. Just as we have shown how the *digestiones* of the stars yield *egestiones*, so, too, there is in the infernal spirits a similar digestion which yields its own egest. This provides their own cover when they sally forth from beneath the heavens. They deposit their *egestiones* and the effects that pertain to their nature amount to wind, hail, showers, and

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ist. Damit daß sie mit Lügen vmbgangen / vnd durch solch Artzney die Krancken mörden vnd tödten / daß sie auch Mörder werden / als sie dann selbst sind Lügner vnd Diebe / etc. Also mit den Iuristen auch / er weiß wol was recht ist / aber er verführt den Iuristen vom rechten Weg / macht jhn schwetzig / gibt jhm viel Renck für / richt jhn auff Hader vnnd Zanck / führt jhn in Liegen vnd Betriegen / damit daß er jhm gleich ein Lügner werde. Also mit Kauffmanns händeln auch / vnd allen Handthierungen / führt ers alles nach seinem Willen / zum Wuchern / zum Falsch / zum Vbernemmen den Nehesten / vnd führt sie in Hoffart / Vbermut / Stöltzj / Vppigkeit / Laster / vnd in alles daß wider Gott ist" (*Astronomia Magna*—H 10:384).

c Equally relevant to medicine and healing, "digestion" figures in a single conceptual constellation along with alchemy, the *emunctorium*, and the *egest:* "das wir essen vnd trincken / das ist / gifft vnnd gut. Nach demselbigen so mercken weiter / wie die **Digestion** die ist / die da corruptio ist / so sie corrumpirt wirdt" (*Volumen Medicinae Paramirum*—H 1:34).

1 See Grimm, Hexenwetter for citations to Johannes Fischart, a notorious theorist of devilry and denouncer of witches, as well as to this passage.—This chapter has a counterpart in *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris*, H 8:256–257.

2 See likewise the *salamita* in *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (ibid.).

3 The demons were traditionally thought to dwell in the middle region of air. See above, *De Meteoris* (H 8:289).

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cher / dann ander Strall vom Firmament. Solche Wirckung der Infernalischen Geist geht auff *partes*, End vnd örther / zu machen Feindschafft / vnd endt sich bey demselbigen. Also ist das Hexenwerck nichts anderst / dann ein Egestion von den Infernischen Geisten / die dann gewalt haben auß jhrer Infernischen Natur / all solch Vngewitter zu machen / in dem sie Tag vnd Nacht voll liegendt. Was weither zu solchen Geisten verstanden soll werden / wollen wir *de Natura Spirituum* erkleren / vnd domit hie die vrsachen / dz ist / wie es zugeht im Hexenwetter / gnugsam gemeldt haben.

310 Vom Regenbogen.
Desideratur Principium.

* auff ein Halden / so last er die Füß auch vndersich gehen : Aber kein Circkel wirdt gantz / auß vrsachen / das der *Centrum* auff dem Bodem ligt / vnnd in die Höhi geht / vnd Tieffe / also mag er in die Tieffe nicht gehn / vnder sein *Centrum* hinauß : Der *Centrum* hangt dann an einem Baum / wie wir von Bergen geredt haben / oder auff einem Stein / oder Schroffen / als dann fellt er mit dem Fuß herab. Deßgleichen so er in das Wasser fellt / so ist er auch also / wie auff der Erden / aber der Circkel ist vollkommen vnnd gantzer / das ist / vber die halb theil / auß vrsachen deß Centrums der also gewaltig hoch ligt / vnnd sicht als ein liecht Saltz im Lufft. Wann offtermahls begibt sich ein kleiner Regenbogen / nicht der dritt theil : Auß vrsachen also / das der *Liquor Salis* auff dem Regenbogen nicht weiter treibt / dann so weith / von wegen seiner schweche : ist er groß der *Liquor* vnnd starck / so macht er ein grossen Ring / ist er klein / ein kleinen : Ist er schwach / so macht er kaum ein halben / oder das drit theil / oder jhn hindert ein Einfall vom Wasser oder der Sonnen / oder er zerschneidts an jhm selber zu baldt / oder er wirdt von der Erden eingezogen / das er nicht vollkommen wirdt. Aber am letsten / so er verschwindt / ist allein die vrsachen / das der *Centrum*, das ist der *Liquor*, verzehrt ist vnd zergangen. So aber zwen Regenbogen erscheinen / ist ein solche vrsachen / das sich der *Centrum* getheilt hatt / auff einandern / also dz zwey stuck seindt auff einander gefallen / gibt ein jedlichs sein Außtreiben. Also mag nicht mehr ersehen werden / dann als viel stuck fallen / auff das mehrist drey. Wiewol mehr wol

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lightning, whereby the latter is far more luxurious and harmful than other lightning from the firmament. The action of the infernal spirits touches *partes* and places, sowing discord, issuing in that very thing. The hexed storm is nothing but an egestion of the infernal spirits. They have it in the power of their infernal nature to bring about such foul weather conditions which they inhabit day and night. More can be comprehended about these spirits, which we intend to explain in *De Natura Spirituum* ["On the nature of spirits"], so that enough has been said here concerning the operation of the hexed storm.

Of the Rainbow.[1]

310

Desideratur Principium. [The beginning is missing.]

[...][2] on a slope, so that it also has its feet below it; but no circle can become complete since its center rests on the ground and it points upward and downward and cannot extend down beyond its center. Thus, the center is suspended from a tree, as we said before regarding mountains, or upon a stone or cliff, so that its foot would then fall down. By the same token, if it fell onto the water, it would be as if it were on the earth, but the circle would be complete and whole, that is to say, above the semicircle, on account of the center being situated so high, looking like a light salt in the air. For often there is a little rainbow without the third part. The reason is that the *liquor salis* does not extend itself further on the rainbow, but only so far due to its weakness.[3] If the *liquor* is great and powerful, it makes a large ring; if small a small one. If weak, then scarcely half or a third of one. Or it is prevented by falling into the water or by the sun, or it intersects too soon, or is absorbed by the earth and does not reach completion. Finally, however, when it disappears the reason for this is that the *centrum* or *liquor* has been consumed and dispersed.[4] If, however, two rainbows appear, this is because the *centrum* has divided and separated so that two segments have collided causing each to be pushed apart. Hence, what can be seen is but several segments falling away, at most three. Though more would be possible, it

1 Isolated details of this fragmentary chapter can be found in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:84) and in a fragment on rainbow (H 8:328–329). See our notes. Although the theory of salt producing the rainbow is shared by both the *Philosophy of the Elements* and the present chapter, the idea that the rainbow originates from its center seems specific to this chapter.

2 The truncated fragment begins in mid-sentence so that translating without a main clause or a context is guess work.

3 Instead of *liquor salis*, the *Philosophy of the Elements* mentions salt spirit (*spiritus salis*, "saltzgeist"). See our note on the Huser text, H 8:84.

4 This emphasis on the rainbow's "center" can be found again, to a much lesser degree, in an isolated fragment on rainbow (H 8:328–329).

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müglich wer / vnnd doch nicht beschicht / auß Vrsach / der *Liquor*, der nicht von einander kommt : Wann ein jedliche Region hatt nur Ein Liquor. Also als offt ein besonder Gewülck / als offt ein besonder *Centrum*. Dieser *Centrum* ist der Vberfluß / vnnd die Fixitet der Gewülck / die do kommt auß dem Nassen Saltz / vnd fallt auß dem Regen nider gen Boden : Als dann gibt sie von jhr / jhr Farben / eine der andern nach / auff das weittest als sein mag / dieseindt also vmb sie / biß jhr *Centrum* vergeht. Diser *Centrum* ist also in Farben gewidmet /
311 gleich als ein Saltz / | das im Fewr ligt / vnd vmb sich gibt sein Rauch / derselbig ist sein Dampff von allen Farben / wie das genaturt ist / also zuerzeigen sein Farben. Also ist der *Centrum* auch / wie dz Saltz im Fewr / vnd der Vmbkreiß sein Rauch / nach seim Circkel. Solch Regenbogen werden allein zu Warmen zeitten / dann in der Kältti bricht jhr *Centrum*, vnd als dann gibt er kein Farben mehr.

Blut / Fröschen vnd ander Thier zu Regen / Menschen (*vt* Riesen.)

Der Vrsprung der Regen / Blut / Frösch / vnd dergleichen von den Thieren / ist also. Ein jedlicher Stern ist ein Sahm deß Einen stucks / auß den dreyen Ersten / vnd ein jedlichs stuck auß den dreyen Ersten ist vielerley vnd in mancherley gestalt : als Holtz / deren mancherley sind / vnd ist doch nur Holtz / Stein vnd anderst dergleichen. Auß solchem kommt / dz in etlichen Stern geboren werden Rott Schweffel / Gelb *Arsenicum* auff alle Farben / *Mercurius* auff alle Farben. Vnd so sich begibt / dz ein Stern ein solchs in jhm hatt geboren auß seiner eigen Krafft : Als dann schüt er dz von jhm hinauß. Dann was do geboren ist / dz leidet es in jhm nimmer / vnd so also / auß der Geyle eines Sterns ein Rötti auß seim Sahmen geboren wirdt / es sey auß Schweffel arth / oder Mercuri arth : Als dann so geust derselbig Sternn dz von jhm : Als dann so fellt es gen Boden / vnd wirdt wie ein Regen von der Höhi herab zufallen gestreut / vnd erscheint also ein rotter Regen gleichsam Blut. Dises ist kein Regen / auch nit auß der Materien der Regen / wie dann die Regen entspringen / sondern es ist als ein vberflüssiger *Sperma* eines Sternn / der also sein Geyle außschüttet auff die Erden. Darauff zu mercken ist / so ein Sternn der Naturen ist zu Spermatisiren sein Geyle von jhm / dz jhr viel sind / die do geben ein Leych / auß welchem etwz lebendigs wachsen mag von gleichnuß der Würm / Frösch vnd ander dergleichen. Aber solch Gewechs mehret nichts / sondern stirbt ab. Auch müglich ist / dz die mehrern Stern Menschen geberen / aber ohn weitter Sahmen / also scheiden sich die Regen von den andern Regen in dem / das die rechten Regen ein Anzündung seind von Eim Stern in andern / durch jhr mancherley Natur : Aber solchs ist ein Geyle eines jedlichen Sterns besonder.

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does not happen because the *liquor* does not part. For every region has but one liquor. There is a particular cloud cover for every *centrum*. This *centrum* is the superfluity and fixity of the clouds stemming from the moist salt and descending from the rain toward the ground. In doing so, it yields its colors one after the other as far distant as possible, arraying themselves around it until their *centrum* disintegrates. The *centrum* is thus dedicated in colors like a salt | in 311
fire dispersing vapor around it, which is its multicolored steam as it pertains to its nature to display its colors. Hence, the *centrum* is like a salt in fire with vapor as its circumference in a circular pattern. Such rainbows appear only in times of warmth, for in cold weather their *centrum* breaks and no longer yields any colors.

Blood, Frogs, and Other Animals in Rain, Humans (*ut* Giants) [as Giants][1]

Such is the origin of rain, blood, frogs, and such kinds of animals. Every star is a seed of some one component from the three principles, and each of these in turn is diverse and manifold: for example, wood which comes in many kinds yet is always wood, the same for stone and so on. In accordance with this, it happens that in certain stars a red sulphur is born, yellow arsenic in all colors, *mercurius* in all colours. When it happens that a star bears this within it from its own force, it strews the same abroad. For what is thus born was something which it could no longer bear to contain, and thus is born from the rich content of a star, a red quality from its seed, be it from the nature of the sulphur or that of the mercury. The star then spews the same forth and it descends to the ground. It is like a rain falling from the height and spread around, so that it resembles a red rain like blood. This is not actually rain nor out of the same material that gives rise to rain but rather a superfluous *sperma* of a star which strews its rich fecundity abroad upon the ground. It is to be noted that when a star is of the kind to disseminate its richness as sperm, there will be many that yield eggs from which something animate will grow in the manner of worms, frogs, and creatures of that kind. Such things do not multiply but die off. Moreover, certain stars may generate humanoid creatures, but without a perpetuating seed. Those rains are distinguished from the others by the fact that the real rains result from an ignition of a star into another, by means of their manifold natures. However, this kind of rain is a rich fecundity of each particular star.

1 This chapter is quite close to that in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:87).

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312 Metallen Regen.

Vrsprung der Metallen Regen / ist also. In dem leeren orth deß Firmaments / zwischen den Stern im Firmament Himmel / ligend die drey Ersten / jedlichs zu seim Wesen / Natur vnnd Arth / anfenglich / von welchen all ander drey Ersten ausserthalb der Stern jhren Anfang suchen : Dann die seindt Mütter der ander dreyen Ersten / so im Mittel wohnen. In den Stern seind Eigenschafft /

Deficiunt Cætera huius Capitis.

Metallen vnd Steinfallen.

Vrsprung deß Steinfallens ist also. Welche Stern in jhm haben die lettich Arth vom Schweffel / das ist / den Saltzischen Schweffel / als die Sternen seind / die do gebern den Schweffel / vnnd den Saltzfluß : So also derselbig Stern die Materien in jhm gebiert / zu Endt seiner Wirckung / so wirfft er auß dieselbige von jhm : Auß solchem kommt der Sahm aller Stern. Dann die Geberung der Gestirn kommt nicht von Jrrdischer Natur / oder vom Wachsen von jhm selbs / oder einer vom andern / sondern sie kommen anfenglich von den Sternen / der sein Geyle also lest fallen / vnd deß also ein Exempel. So etwz Krauts wechst in eim Feldt / deß Sahm do nicht geseet ist worden : An diesem orth ist kein ander vrsach / dann das ein Stern sein Leych doher hatt lassen fallen / auß welchem ein solchs Krautt wechst / als vom anfang der Kreutter steht. Dann allein die Stern geberen sie anfenglich / als ein Sahm. Aber also merckt / dieweil das Krautt Sahmen gibt / der seins gleichen gebiert / vrsacht / das kein Stern ist / er hatt sein Anfang / etc.

Reliqua non habentur.

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Metallic Rain. 312

Such is the origin of metallic rain. In the empty place of the firmament between the stars in the heavenly firmament lie the three first things, each in its own essence, nature, and kind; so it is in the beginning. From them all the other variants of the three, except the stars, seek their beginning. For they are mothers of the other iterations of the three that dwell in the middle regions. In the stars there are qualities [...]

Deficiunt Caetera a huius Capitis.
[The rest of this chapter is missing.]

The descent of metals and stones.[1]

Such is the origin of the descent of stones. Those stars that have within them the clay nature of the sulphur, meaning the salinous sulphur, as are those stars that yield sulphur and the fluidity of salt—when these stars generate internally the materials to execute their operation, they expel them. This is what gives rise to a seed of a star. For the stellar generation does not arise from an earthly nature or from their internal growth or from one another, but rather from those very stars that let their rich fecundity descend. Here is an example. When vegetation grows in a field in which its seed has not been sown, there can be no other explanation than that a star has strewn its seed there. From it the vegetation has grown, as has been said regarding the origins of vegetation. For only the stars first give rise to them in the form of a seed. Indeed, note that the plant yields seeds that give rise to its kind, which implies that there is no star that has its own origin, etc.

Reliqua non habentur.
[We do not have the remainder.]

1 Note that a chapter with a similar title is placed in the same order in the *Philosophy of the Elements*, after the chapter on blood and frogs (H 8:87–88). The present chapter, however, along with the preceding fragment, does not deal with stones or anything metallic as far as we can know. Either the title and the first sentence were misplaced, or P. was distracted to a different topic, namely the origin of stars.

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Vom Erdbidmen.[a]
(*deest Principium.*)

313 Sandig vnd Rorig ist / oder einer Weichen Erden / als dann so | sich ein solch theil von Füssen schelt vom obertheil der Erden / als dann macht der Fall ein zittern am selbigen orth / do er sich nimbt / nach Viele vnd Schwere seins hauffens. Auch also so die Erden vnder jhr ein Hüli hett / vnnd ein Kröck : Wo am selbigen orth etwas von der Erden fiel in dieselbigen Hülen / als dann werden do auch Erdtbidem : Oder so zwen Kröck zusammen fallen / oder so sich die Erden setzt auff ein tieffern grund. Solchs seindt alles vrsachen Particular Erdbidem / vnnd dergleichen. Also so ein solchs sitzen der Erden / oder deß Fuß der Erden beschicht / oder ein theil vom Fuß hindann fellt / in das vnder Meer / oder ein Hüle erfüllt wirdt / oder Kröck in ein ander sitzen : Solches macht alles ein grossen Wind / welches von der obgenanten außgetruckt wirdt / vnnd von der statt zu weichen : Solcher Windt bricht jhm Gäng vnd Cataracten auff / das beschicht auch mit bewegung der Erden. Also werden auß solchen stucken allen Erdbidem / der Fäll halben / oder der Wind halben : Dann der nachtruck deß Winds ist groß vnnd starck von der Erden / oder von dem stück / das do fellt. Wann wo kein Fäll seindt / do thut es kein schaden. Aber wo groß Fäll seindt / do tringets den Wind mit gewalt in Erdtbidem. Solch Erdtbidem werden viel begegnen / so sich die Felsen / vnnd die gewaltigen Birg setzen werden / so jhr Füß sincken werden / die die gantz Welt empfinden werden.

Vom Lorindt.[b]

Vrsprung deß Lorindts ist also. Der Lorindt ist allein wie der Erdtbidem / vnd hatt ein solchen anfang. So vnder Schiffreichen grossen Wassern / Seen vnd Fliessenden / ein Cataracten gehet / vnd den Bodem deß Sees durchgrebt ein

a As usual, the external event of the earthquake is the key to the internal one of the ailment in *Paragranum:* "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" (H 2:31). The *Eilff Tractat* link the earthquake to colic and epilepsy (H 4:142, 190; cf. Intro, 7–8).

b The *Liber de Caducis* defines this term and associates it with the earthquake: "Nun aber das jhr vom Wasser mich hie verstehet / so wissend / in dem **Lorind**, das ist / das geschrey vnnd gethön des Wassers / nemlich in den stillstehenden Seen / mit erzittern vnnd erbidmen" (H 4:333). The spurious *De Pestilitate* offers a different definition: "darumb schwimmet es auff dem Wasser / vnnd durch die digestion Temporis & Solis wird ein Fisch darauß / das ist ein **Lorind** / jrrgang des Gestirns materialiter" (H 3:87); as does the disputed *De Natura Rerum:* "Hydromantia gibt seine Zeichen durch die Astra deß Wassers / mit Wellen / Vberlauff / Schwindung / Anlauff / Entferbung / **Lorindt** / newe Flüß / mit abwäschung aller

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Regarding the earthquake.
(*deest Principium.*)
[The beginning is missing.]

It is sandy and reed-yielding soil, or of a soft earth, so that | if the top layer of 313
the earth crumbles[1] underfoot the plunge causes trembling in that place depending on the quantity and weight of its mass. It can also be the case that below the earth there is a hollow or crevice. If in such a place something were to fall into the hollows an earthquake would result as well. Or if two crevices might collapse into one, or the earth settle onto a deeper ground. Those are causes of particular earthquakes, and things of the kind. They happen from the settling of the earth, or when the foundation settles, or a part of the latter falls away into the depth of the sea, or a hollow is filled, or one crevice settles into another. All such things cause a great wind to be forced out by the above noted events, thereby causing a displacement. The wind wreaks itself pathways and cataracts which involve a shifting of the earth. Thus, all earthquakes are caused by a falling or by wind.[2] For the power of the wind is great when it proceeds from the earth or from the layer that falls. If there is no fall, there is no damage. But wherever there is a great one, it propels the wind powerfully in the earthquake. Such earthquakes happen often when cliffs and mountains settle, causing their foundation to sink, which the whole world can then sense.

Concerning the Lorind.[3]

Such is the origin of the lorind. It is like the earthquake and has the same beginnings. In large waters frequented by boats, as well as lakes and flowing waters, when a cataract moves, excavating the bottom of the body of water, thereby

Jrrdischen dingen : In der Magica vnnd Nigromantia durch die Nymphen / Visiones, vnnd vbernatürliche Gesicht seind / es sey dann gutt oder böß" (H 6:361). The "lorindt" are associated with the elemental beings ("Pennates, Salamandrae [...] im Lufft / als die Syluestres : Der vierdt in der Erden / als Gnomi, Lemures, Pygmaei, Schrötlein vnd dergleichen") in the spurious *De Pestilitate* (H 3:87).

1 See Grimm, schälen (1, γ) "vom gestein, zerbröckeln, spalten."

2 This is not so different from Aristotle's opinion, although the latter's was based on his theory of exhalations. See e.g. Missiakoulis 2008. The present chapter is rather basic in its treatment of earthquakes.

3 Grimm defines lorind as a "Rohrdommel" (*ardea stellaris*), a kind of heron, named bittern in English, that frequents swamps and is known to cry like a steer in such a manner that its cry resonates far. See *Schweizerisches Idiotikon*, on "Lô(r)-." This is the origin of the word used by P. to describe a sort of whirlpool on the water and the noise associated with it.

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Loch / durch erweichung deß Wassers vom See in denselbigen Cataracten : Als dann fellt das Seewasser hindurch in das vnder Wasser : Vnnd im selbigen fallen / von wegen deß Luffts / last es Plump außgohn / gleich so einer ein Wasser geußt / auß einem engen Geschirr / das do klockt / also klockt dasselbig auch. Dieses klocken so es im Winter ist / so wirt es gehört : wann die Kältti gibt die
314 Resonantz der Wasser : Als | dann so endert sich die Stimm im Wasser / gleich als ob es ein ander Geschrey sey / als einer der in Hafen singt / versenckt im Wasser / deß Stimm ist vnbekanntlich / auch die statt seins sitzen vnwissent. Dergleichen so die Erdbiden der Wasser also beschehen in dem Weg / dz durch die Seewasser / oder ander grossen Wasser / solche Löcher werden : Als dann so rindt dz Wasser durch die Löcher / vnd was do rindt / dz gibt ein Stimm / nach dem vnd es starck oder schwach rindt. Ein solche Stimm geht auch durch dz Wasser / vnd ist ein Lorindt / der weret also lang / biß dz Loch wider verfellt. Also ist ein jedlicher Lorindt / ein rinnends Wasser vnter sich. Solche werden am meisten gehört im Winter / vnd in grosser Kältti : Auß vrsachen / dz der Sommer die Stimm nimbt / wann ein warmes Wasser bricht ein solche Stimm / jhe kältter jhe kleiner. Auch entspringen etliche Lorindt / so ein See gefreuret oben zu / oder etlichs theils : Als dann zwingt die groß Dempffi / die im Wasser ist vnder dem Eiß / daß das Eiß brechen muß / wo es dann am schwechisten ist. So also ein Loch wird / oder Spallt / so geht der Dunst vom Wasser vnder dem Eiß gegem selbigen Loch : Als dann so weith er herauß dringt / so weit schreit es : Auß vrsachen / der gröst *Impetus* bewegt den Lufft / der verschlossen ligt vnder dem Eiß / dz es mit gewalt muß gohn. Diser gewalt zum außgang / geht mit einem Geschrey auß / wie ein verdeckter Hafen der da seudt / der Dunst den Deckel zerbricht / vnd knellt. Also ist dem Dunst ein solche Krafft jnn / das es mit *Impetu* herauß geht / vnd von wegen der grossen Kältti / hatt es ein Kalts Geschren / vnder dem Eiß / biß an dasselbige Loch : Vnd jhe neher den Loch / jhe kleiner Geschrey / auß vrsachen der öffnung / sie wer dann klein. Also ist ein jedlicher Lorindt / der vom Dunst kommt / nichts dann wie ein Pfeiffen / dodurch der Wind gehet / vnd stimmt : Also ist dz auch ein Pfeiffen / zwischen Wasser vnd Eiß der Lufft verfaßt.

Vom Wind.

Vrsprung der Wind ist also. Im Vmbkreiß der Welt / auff jhr *Planitie*,[a] wie sich die Linien ziehen / stehen Stern [im] Firmament / dieselbigen seindt Fix vnd bestendig / vnnd haben jhr eigen Natur vnd Wesen / in den vier Complexionen /

a This term is geographical, but elsewhere P. integrates it into his organic model of digestion and nourishment which makes sense of the use of *emunctorium*: "Also wissent das ein jed-

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digging a hole by softening the bottom, with water invading the cataract, the lake water then plunges into a lower level of water. In plunging, the action of the air makes a dull plump as when you pour water from a narrow spout making a plumping sound. The same sound can be heard in this case as well. The sound is heard in winter when cold lends the water its resonance, so | that 314
the sound of the water is altered into something like a shout, as if someone in a vessel were sinking in water, whereby the voice is inarticulate and its source unknown. Thus, the earthquake of the waters happens in this way. In lakes or other large bodies of water, holes arise. The water then runs through these holes and in running produces a voice that varies with the power of the running water. The voice is emanated through the water, and it lasts until the hole collapses. Every lorind is therefore from a subsurface running water. They are usually heard in winter when it is extremely cold, for summer obliterates their voice. Warm water cancels it. The colder, the smaller. Some lorinds arise when a lake freezes on top or freezes in part. The great amount of vapor below the ice then breaks where it is weakest. When a hole or a crack occurs, the vapor below the surface proceeds toward the aperture. In pushing out, it causes the crying voice. The reason is that the great *impetus* moves the air shut in below the ice, so that it exits with force. This exiting force sounds like a scream, as if a concealed vessel were boiling so that the vapor breaks the lid and rings out. So much power inheres in the vapor that it exits with an *impetus*. On account of the great cold, there is a cold scream below the ice proceeding to the hole. The nearer the hole, the smaller the scream since the hole is then small. Thus, every lorind proceeding from vapor is no different from the whistling voice of the wind. It is a whistling between water and ice which encompasses air.

Concerning the Wind.[1]

Such is the origin of the wind. As there are lines drawn in the circumference of the world upon its *planities* [its flat land], so stars stand in the firmament which are fixed and permanent, having their own nature and essence in the four

licher Himmel in seinem Reich / sein Speiß zuverordnen hatt: Darumb so bleibt / was in **Planitie** ist / seinem obern Himmel: Was aber der jrrdische Himmel begreifft / das muß sein Diaet / das ist / sein Speiß vnd Tranck vom selben nemmen," *Von der Bergsucht*—H 5:22.

1 This chapter seems to be an early draft of the more refined chapter from the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:73–75).

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315 vnd seindt Elementischer Arth / also dz sie Elementischer | wirckung gleichnuß haben. Als Ein Wind der ist Warm / der ander Kalt / der dritt Feucht / der vierdt trucken / solches wird von jhnen geschriben. Diese Stern im Vmbkreiß der *Planities*, anhangend dem Firmament / habend jhr *Emunctorium* gegen der *Planitie*, vber die Erden vnd vber dz Meer zu streichen vber vnd vber. Also ist der Wind ein Geburt auß solchen Sternen / deren vast viel seindt im Circkel deß Vmbkreiß : Wann er gebiert sich auß jhnen / als ein Egest derselbigen Stern. Vnd ein jedlicher Wind ist nichts anderst / dann ein Egest / also geordnet : Wann sich die Stern reinigen von jhren Digestion / als dann so treiben sie von jhnen solche Wind : Vnd ein jedlicher Hauptwind ist ein Egest seins Sterns. Wiewol sonst viel Wind sind / die kommen auß dem Gewitter / wie von dem Wasser vnd Regen gesagt ist : Dasselbige sind Particular Wind vnd nit Hauptwind. Wann allein die Hauptwind sind die / die auß solchen Sternen jhren Vrsprung nemmen durch die Emunction / gegen dem Erdrich / vber dz Meer. Darumb so seinds der *Materia* Stern / vnd empfahen nichts an sich / als ob sie von deßwegen / dz sie vber Meer kommen / sollten Feucht sein / ist nichts : Oder das sie von Mitternacht kommen / sollten Kalt sein. Wiewol *Boreas* Kalt ist : Er ist aber nit Kalt von wegen der Mitternacht / sondern von wegen / dz er der Sternen nicht hatt / er wer sunst gleich als Warm / als *Eurus* vnd *Auster*. Aber die Natur so in Sternen ist / ist Kalt : Vnd ob er schon als viel Sonnen hett / als der *Auster*, noch wer er auß kaltter Natur : Die Sonn gibt jm kein Natur / sonder jhr Stern. Vnd ob es schon die Sonn ein Wind warm macht / oder wärmer dann er an jhm selber ist : Ist kein verenderung seiner Natur / allein der entpfindligkeit. Also auch dz Meer macht keinen Wind Feucht : Der Stern macht jhn Feucht. Wann die Stern sind also wesenlich genaturt / dz sie Regen mit jhn bringen vber Meer / ohn Hülff deß Meers / auß jhren Saltz / dz in jhnen ist. Dann ein jedlicher Windstern steht in der Widerwertikeit der dreyen Ersten gewaltig / in jhm selbs : Wie ander Stern / die do Gewitter machen / müssen alle mahl zwen sein oder mehr do ist es in Eim allein. Vnd wann die Digestion die Corruption macht / vnd zu eim Egest geratt herauß / so beschicht dz nicht mit kleinem Donner vnd Vngewitter : Aber die Ferre / vom selbigen orth biß hieher / nimmt den Donner
316 vnd dz Blitzen / dz wir allein den | Wind empfinden. Wiewol dz ist / das etlich Stern gutt Wind geben / als *Eurus*, vnd dergleichen : Vrsachen / das sie solche *Materia* in jhn nit bey dem stärck isten haben / sondern milt / ein jedlicher wirckt dann nach seiner Natur. Also gehnd solche Wind auß den Elementen der Sternn / als jhr Egest / also geordnet / vber dz *Facies* der Erden / biß verzehrt

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complexions; and they are of an elemental nature so that their effect is also | 315
elemental. So, one wind is warm, another cold, the third moist, the fourth dry; so it is written of them.[1] These stars in the circumference of the *planities*, which are dependent on the firmament, have their *emunctorium* directed toward the *planities* so that they pass over the earth and sea again and again. So, too, is the wind born of these stars, of which there are a great many in the circle of their circumference. The wind is born of them as their egest. Each wind is but an egest ordered in that way. When the stars purify their digestion, they cast such winds forth. And each main wind is the egest of a star. Though indeed there are many other winds, they arise from storms, as has been stated concerning water and rain. These are particular winds besides the main ones. It is only the main winds that have their origin in such a star through emunction toward the earthly realm across the sea. These are the *materia*-bearing stars, that receive nothing unto themselves: to say that because they cross the sea they are moist is nonsense; or that they are cold because they come from Midnight. Though *Boreas* is indeed cold, it is not so because of the Midnight north; but rather it is the case that if it did not have its quality from the stars, it would be as warm as *Euros* and *Auster*. The nature which is innate to those stars is cold. If they had as much sun as *Auster*, they would still be of a cold nature. The sun does not lend them their nature but rather their star does so. Even if the sun warms a wind, making it warmer than it would have been in itself, there is no change of its nature but only a susceptibility. By the same token, the sea does not make a wind moist. The star does so. For the stars have it so much in their innate nature, that they bring rain across the ocean without such help, from the salt that is their own. For every wind star abides in the contrariety of the three prime things quite powerfully and in itself. While the other stars that cause rainstorms must be double or more, the wind star has it in itself. When the digestion causes corruption, emitting it straightaway as an egest, this does not happen with a small amount of thunder and storming. Yet the distance from its place to this one diminishes the thunder and lightning so that we only | receive 316
the wind. It is true that some stars yield good winds like *Eurus* and others besides. The reason is that they do not bear their *materia* at its most potent but in a milder degree than is their custom. From the elements of the stars, as their egest, such winds proceed thus constituted across the *facies* [the surface] of

1 P. seems to have in mind some standard textbook, such as Johannes de Sacrobosco's thirteenth-century *De anni ratione sive de computo ecclesiastico*, in the section "*De quatuor temporibus anni*": "Istorum quidem quatuor anni temporum qualitatibus, quatuor mundi regiones, quatuor venti cardinales, quatuor Elementa, quatuor corporis humores, et quatuor hominis aetates, complexione convertuntur [...]."

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wird. Die andern Wind sind *Particulares*, werden hiemit begriffen. Solch Wind haben auch jhr zeit / nach der sie gehnd / einer früe / der ander spaht. Aber solchs ist nit außgetheilt nach zeit deß Jahrs / sondern allzeit haben sie jhr Gäng / wie sie betrifft jhr Egest. Aber dz sie Ein zeit furt auß mehr Kalt sind oder Warm / dann die andern / Ist ein solche vrsach / dz die Sonn Ein zeit den Wind baß Temperiert dann die ander : Dann dieselbigen Wärmi sind Accidentalisch / darumb sie nach der Sonn / vnd nach dem vnd sie dieselbigen haltten / Kalt oder Warm sind / vber dz / so jhr Natur ist. Dann die Sonn macht den Septentrion wärmer dann er ist in seiner Natur / vnd der Winter macht den *Eurum* kälter / dann er auch ist in seiner Natur. Also hatt der *Boreas* sein vollkommen Lauff im Winter / vnd der *Eurus* im Sommer / nach der zeit deß Jahrs. Wiewol sie doch widersinns gehnd / nit zu jhren zeitten / sondern vor oder darnach / oder darinn : Nach dem vnd jhr Egest kommen / nach demselben geht es vber die Erden / weit oder nahet / vnd verzehrt sich mancher auff dem Meer / der die Erden nicht begreifft.

Von Nacht vnd Tag.

vnd das also.[a] Alle Heitter / so in dem Element[b] die Nacht macht Fewr ist / ist zweyerley / Weiß vnd Rott : dz Weiß auß *Mercurio* vnd *Sale*, dz Rott auß lauterm *Sulphure :* Die zwo Farben sind in den Dreyen / vrsach deß Fewrs vbertreffend in der Substantz : Dise zwo Farben sind geschiden / dz Rot in ein theil / dz Weiß in ein theil / dz Rott in alle Sternn / dz Weiß in Einen Stern. So aber dz Rott wer / wie das Weiß in Ein Sternn Compactirt vnd begriffen / vnd nit in so viel kleine stück : So wer der Rott schein als groß (als der Weiß) auff Rott / wie dann das Weiß ist auff Weiß. Wann der Weiß Stern were also außgetheilt / wie dz Rott / so wer es für vnd für Tag / aber ein blinder Tag : Dann der Schein wer nit aller vollkommen / auff sein Boden / sondern getheilt wie dz Rott ist : Dz wer ein benemmung deß Tags schein.

317 Zu Philosophirn aber / wovon der Tag kompt / ist also : das aller *Mercurij* Schein auß den dreyen Ersten / gefast ist in Ein Scheiben / vnnd zu Einem Stern geordnet in sein Lauff / nach dem Willen Gottes / in dem alle Geschöpff geschaffen seind / vnd geordnet. Diser Stern hatt sein Lauff vmb dise Globul : wo er den Boden trifft / do ist es Tag : vnd wo er nicht den Boden trifft / do ist es Nacht. Wann vrsachen / aller täglicher Schein ist in jhm allein : vnd allein es schein dann auff den Boden / sonst ist kein Liecht do. Der Rott schein ande-

a In the margin Huser precised: *Deest initium* ("The beginning is missing").

b This word marked by Huser with an asterisk is probably a conjecture of his.

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the earth until they are exhausted. Other winds included here are *particulares*. These have their times to proceed, some early and others late. However, they do not proceed according to the seasons of the year; for at any time they may take their course as determined by their egest. Their time to be warmer or colder than the others occurs because the sun has times when it tempers one wind better than another. Such warmth is accidental since it depends on the sun which keeps them warmer or colder than their nature. The sun makes Septentrion warmer than its nature would have it, just as winter makes *Eurus* colder than its nature. Thus, does *Boreas* achieve its full circuit in the winter and *Eurus* in the summer in accordance with the season. Yet they may defy this and not proceed at their times but rather earlier or later. It depends on the arrival of their egest after which it passes over the earth far or near while many a one is consumed over the sea which the earth does not comprehend.

Concerning Night and Day[1]

[...] and[2] to be sure in this way. All brightness that makes night in the element, if it is fire, is of two kinds: white and red.[3] The white is from *mercurius* and *sal*, the red from *sulphur*. The two colors abide in the three primary things: because of them fire is predominant in the substance. The two colors are separate: white in one portion, red in another. Red in all stars, white in one star. If, however, the red quality were like the white compacted in and comprehended by a single star and not portioned out among the many, the red radiance would be as great (as the white) in redness as the white in whiteness. If the white star were divided like the red quality, this would be like day for us, but a blind day; for the radiance would not be perfect in its ground, but rather divided as is its nature, which would result in a removal of the day's radiance.

But to continue speculating about the origin of day, this can be said: it is all 317
the radiance of the *mercurius* extracted from the three, compressed into a single disk and instituted in its orbit as a star by the will of God through which all creatures have been created and arrayed. This star has its course and globe: wherever it touches ground, there is day; where not, night. For the cause of all daylight resides in it alone. Without its shining on the ground, there is no light there. The red radiance of other stars is a glowing of the fire in the red quality,

1 This chapter is worth comparing with its more refined counterpart in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:67–68).

2 The chapter lacks its beginning.

3 Conjectural translation. The grammar of the German sentence is unclear.

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rer Stern ist ein Liechtschein deß Fewrs im Rotten / allein im *Sulphure*, do ist kein *Mercurius* noch *Sal*, dann die zwey geben den eussern Schein / kein lauttern Schein auff Weiß (dann der *Mercurius* keiner auff Rott scheint) dann der Sulphur. Darumb so seind die andern Farben alle blind / vnnd geben kein Schein / allein die zwo : die beste Weiß / die minst Rott. Wiewol auch möglich ist / das Grün / Gelb / mögen Farben Schein geben / zu sehen in der Finsternuß : So geschicht dasselbig doch nicht anderst / dann allein durch eingemischt Weiß / oder Rott / verborgen in den andern.

CAPVT XXXIII.
Von Impressionischen Kranckheiten deß Leibs / durch das Element Fewr.

Wiewol der Leib natürlich Kranckheiten empfacht von dem Gestirn / wie dann vom vrsprung der Kranckheitten in der Artzney gemelt wird : Wollen wir hie von demselbigen nichts Philosophiern : wann es ist mehr in der *Physica* dann in der *Philosophia*.[a] Aber in ander weg werden die Leib geursacht zu Kranckheitten / nit allein der Mensch / sonder die Stein / das Holtz / vnd alles Gewechs / vnd was do ist / vom Gestirn ein Kranckheit empfacht. Dieselbige ist also / das etwas im Element Fewr ist / so dasselbige berürt ein Corpus / empfindtlich vnnd vnentpfindtlich / denselbigen verunreinigts also / das ettwan Tropffen fallen / auff die Menschen oder Thier / vnder welchem Löcher werden : So es auff die Frücht fallt / dieselbige vergifft / vnd darnach dz Viech dasselbig isset /
318 oder der Mensch : | Also kommen Landts kranckheit daruon / vnnd dergleichen viel mehr. Ettwan fallen sie / machen Masen / machen Löcher in die Stein / zerfeulen dz Holtz / also daß an Eim orth gut ist / am andern böß : verderbt gewachsen gut ding in sein besten kräfften / in guttem Erdtrich. Sollchs fellt manchmal gleich den Creutzen / als ob ein Creutz auff ein Menschen gefallen wer / mit viel Farben geoffenbart. Etwan in der form vnd gestallt / gleich sehe er eim andern gleich / vnd ist doch dieselbig gleichnuß nit. So es das Tuch betrifft / so geht es dem Faden nach / in ein Figur außgetheilt / gleich alls ob es (*)[b] Ettwan auff ein Holtz / lest sich abwischen / dergleichen ab den Cörpern / vnnd solcher gestallt seind viel.

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a It is a peculiarity of this work and those of the early 1530s that P. distinguishes between *Philosophia* ("natural philosophy" which may include what we call physics) and *Physica* which he associates with the competence of the *Physicus* or physician: "Als dann / so er solchen Grundt im Liecht der Natur verstehet / als dann soll er den Menschen als ein Physicus auch lernen erkennen / das ist / sein Philosophey in ein **Physicam** ziehen vnd ordnen," *Die grosse Wundartzney*—H C:75c.

b The asterisk hints at a lacuna in the text.

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only in the *sulphur* without any *mercurius* or *sal*. For the two yield the superficial radiance, not the pure one of the white quality (for *mercurius* does not radiate red) other than the *sulphur*. For this reason, all other colors are blind, yielding no radiance, all except the two of which the best is white and the least best is red. It is true that green or yellow may yield a colored radiance for seeing in the dark; however, that can only happen through the admixture of white or red concealed in the other colors.

CAPVT XXXIII.[1]
Regarding the Physical Diseases Caused by Impressions by Way of the Element of Fire.[2]

Since the body naturally receives diseases from the stars, as has been stated regarding the origin of diseases in medical theory, we will not theorize about them in this context; for this is more a matter of *physica*[3] than of *philosophia*. There are other ways in which bodies are caused to be diseased, not solely human beings but also stones, wood, and every sort of vegetation, and what have you, by receiving a disease from the stars. It happens as follows: there is something in the element of fire which if it touches a *corpus*, whether it is sensate or insensate, contaminates it so that drops may fall on human or animal bodies causing perforations. Falling on fruit, it poisons it, and then the livestock that eat it, or the human beings. | There result territorial diseases and other 318
things of the kind. In falling, they might cause specks or holes in stones or rotting wood, so that they are good in one locale and bad in another. It corrupts the growth of good things in their best virtue, even in good soil. It can happen that at times it is like fallen crosses, as if a cross had fallen on a human being, revealed in many colors. Perhaps in form and figure this resembles something else, yet is not its equal. If a textile is affected, it follows the thread, spreading to a figure, as if it [...]. Sometimes onto wood, which can be wiped off, as it can be from bodies. There are many figures like this.

1 If this mention is correct, an impressive number of chapters are missing.
2 Despite the title of this chapter, P. expressly explains below that the chapter really belongs in philosophy, not medicine.
3 P. refers to *physica* in the sense of the physician.

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Jhr aller vrsprung ist also / das etwas Arsenick vnd Auripigment oder Sulphur auß dem Corpus der Stern herab distillirt wirdt / vnd was es trifft / da hafft es an. Aber zu Philosophirn / das ettwan die Figuren so gut fallen / vnnd so mit vortheil mehr auff Ein / dann auff den andern / oder dergleichen : dasselbige hat ein solchen grund / daß die Geist der Lüfft also daß regieren nach jrem gefallen / wie dann von (solchen) *de Spiritibus* gemelt wird. Wiewol solchs den Zauberern wird zugemessen / so ist doch dasselbige an jhm selbs kein Zauberey / sonder ein *Prœsagium*[a] eins andern : So es also mit vortheil fallt / wie ein *Prœsagium*, von Geisten / als ein *Vaticinium :* doch so ist der vrsprung auß dem Stern. So aber ein Zauberey in solchem wirckte / so wissendt das nicht durch sie kompt / oder durch jhr kunst / sonder die Geist hettens Ein weg gethon / wie den andern : Aber also tauben sie die Welt / die dann in seinen Büchern gemelt wird.

Nuhn ist vom *Prœsagio Spiritus externo* zu Tractieren / am ersten / ein wenig zu geben ein bessern verstand / was *Prœsagium* sey. Vnd ist ein Warzeichen / das ein ding beschehen wirt : Als Christus ein *Prœsagium* gewesen ist / das die Juden zer gehen werden / vnd hatt auff die Jüden gedient. Nun herwiderumb dienet das auff die Christen / so sie sich wider die natürlich Vernunfft lassen / vnd gleichent sich / dz kein bestand wirt haben vnd zergehen wirdt. Aber das lassen wir also bleiben / mit den vorigen Reden / vnd reden hie von
319 *Spiritibus externis*, | die vns werden ein kleins Büchlin erfüllen / wie hernach folgt.

Wie wir angezeigt haben von den innwendigen Geisten / also wirt hernach folgen / von den außwendigen Geisten / vnd das also. Die außwendigen Geist wissent alles das / so dem Menschen begegnet / vnd begegnen wird : dasselbige

a The later works, those Huser published as *Philosophia Magna*, as well as *Astronomia Magna*, devote much attention to distinguishing afflictions which are *praesagia* from other diseases; thus *Die grosse Wundartzney:* "Darumb der Artzt wol bedencken soll / daß etwas mehr da ist / dann allein der Morbus, ein Instruction / ein **Praesagium**, ein Flagellum, vnd ein Anzeigung eines andern vbels / das ich der Magica befilch" (H C:135c).—The term *praesagium* occurs frequently in Paracelsus's writings, including expressly medical texts and contexts. The perhaps unjustly disputed Third Book of *Die grosse Wundtartzney* exposes the contiguity of biblical prophecy, astronomical portents, ominous new syphilis (*Frantzosen*), and its related "surgical diseases" (*Chirurgicalische Kranckheiten*), which overlap with prophetically ordained diseases (H C:138a–c). Notably the *praesagia* proffer reliable information that makes successful treatment of the component diseases of syphilis possible ("dan die *Praesagia* liegen nicht: so wirdt auch zugehen diese Kranckheit mit denen durch die sie erstanden ist"—H C:138c). At times, a *praesagium* is the banal equivalent of a *Praeambel* (*Volumen Medicinae Paramirum*—H 1:5). Its scope thus extends from mere advance notice to divine or supernatural celestial

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The origin of all these things is that arsenic, auripigmentum, or sulphur is distilled down from the *corpus* of the stars and whatever it strikes it sticks to. But to speculate why these figures fall so well and favor the one more than the other, etc.—this is because the spirits of the air govern them as they please, as has been stated in *De Spiritibus*.[1] Though this is ascribed to the sorcerers, it is not in itself sorcery but rather a *praesagium* of something else.[2] If indeed it descends with intent, like a *praesagium*, from spirits, as a *vaticinium*, it originates from the stars. But if indeed sorcery is in operation, you should know that it does not arrive through this or from this art. Rather, the spirits have directed it as well as they have for the others. In this way, they fool the world, as is documented in the respective books.

NOW IT IS TIME TO TREAT OF THE *PRAESAGIUM SPIRITUS EXTERNUM* [THE EXTERNAL OMEN OF A SPIRIT]: first of all, it is necessary to provide a better understanding of what *praesagium* is. It is a prophetic sign that something will happen. Christus was a *praesagium* that the Jews would pass away and it served to inform them of this. Now in turn it serves for Christians insofar as they let themselves become opposed to natural reason, a position which cannot stand and will pass away. But we will let this remain together with the previous remarks and speak here instead of the *spiritus externi* [the external spirits] | 319
which will become for us a little book, as follows.[3]

As we have observed concerning the inner spirits,[4] we will continue here on the external ones, as follows. The external spirits know everything that happens and will happen to the human being, all of which they can make manifest

phenomena including prodigious appearances of crosses and other Calvary-related signifiers. Though not firmly identified with the *signature* or the symptom, all three are non-arbitrary signifiers obeying a common relationship of the signifier to the signified. The reader finds the most extensive and portentous discussion of *praesagia* in the *Liber Artis Praesagae* which takes up divination, *sortilegium*, augury, and prophecy, as well as the information accessed by astronomy, medicine, philosophy, physiognomy, chiromancy, and the "self-signifiers" of pulse, urine, complexion, and the like (H 9:82). The work generalizes: "Also ist das *praesagium* ein anzeigen / das dem Menschen etwas werd zustehen" (H 10:92).

1 The only passages on this topic that we can think of outside of this treatise are part of *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8:256–258).

2 See the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:96): "The cross-like configurations which descend on people also have their source in the *fata* and are *prognostica* and predictions […]."

3 What P. names "ein kleins Büchlin" is actually a small chapter of less than four pages. Hence, perhaps, the impressive number of "*Libri*" / "Bücher" supposedly written by P. in the promotional texts by Valentius de Retiis and Valentius Antrapassus Sileranus (H 4:11 and H 6:99; on these texts see Kahn 2024).

4 We do not have this part of P.'s text.

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mögen sie offenbaren / vnd kundt thun den Menschen / durch Himmlische Zeichen : Also / das ettwas im Himmel erscheine / das vormals nie gewesen ist : also darbey gemerckt wirdt / das dieselbige seltzam Erscheinen / seltzam auff der Welt bedeutt / durch anzeigen der Geist im obern Himmel. Vnd wo also sich solch Zeichen begegnen / das ist zuverstohn / daß es weitter sein muß / vnnd sich nicht erweren mag : dann solch Zeichen bedeuten ein zukünfftig Geschicht / oder ettwas newes / das beschehen muß vnnd wirdt / vnd nit zu wenden ist.

Ein Comet / der do erscheint / hatt kein natürlichen vrsprung sonder es ist ein Schein / durch die Geist gesetzt / also / zu bedeuttung ettwas newes / oder ein verenderung / oder ein Landtschaden / oder ettwas das im Landt nicht betracht wirdt. Sein Gang / sein Motion ist auß den Geisten / vnnd hatt an jhm ein Bedeuttung / vnd auch die Geschicht / vnd kommen von den höchsten Geisten / vnnd bedeutt merckliche verenderung / vnnd dieselbige langwirig / mit viel seltzamen Zufällen : Also auch von andern Sternen zu mercken ist / so sie entspringen / vnnd vormals nie gewesen seindt / mit Cometischer Arth.

Also werden durch die gewaltigkeit der Geist im Himmel eröffnet anderley Figuren / die seltzamer arth seind / ettwann ob besonder Stetten oder Ländern / vnd in andern nicht. Dieses bedeutt denselbigen / darinnen es ist / ein zukünfftigs Vbel / das dem Landt begegnen wirdt. Aber nicht seind sie zuverstohn / in was weg das beschicht / oder beschehen wirdt / oder waß sein wirdt / vnnd gohnd doch nicht leer auß / es folgt ettwas hernach / das vormals nicht beschehen ist. Vnd je seltzamer solche Figuren erscheinen / je seltzamer die Händel begehn. Also werden Zeichen auff Geistlich arth / ettlich auff Weltlich arth. Sie sind aber nicht zu erkennen im grund / waß nacher folgen soll / biß alle ding beschehen seind / darnach wirdt sie für *Præsagium* erkennt.

320 Ettwan werden Thier / oder jre Glider / im Himmel ersehen : Ist ein bedeuttung eins zukünfftigen schadens / auff Einn / der durch ein solch Thier bezeichnet wirdt oder erkennt. Wann auch im Himmel die natürlichen Stern / vber natürlichen Lauff vnd geberung zwifach erscheinen : Als der Mond bedeut vnder den Häuptern ein jrrung : wie der Mond ist / vber andere Sternen / also do auch vber die Leut / so vber ander seind. Deßgleichen mit der Sonnen / die dann das höchst ist / vnder den Sternen / bedeut ein vbels vnder dem höchsten Haupt. Dergleichen so ettwas vom Himmel herab fallt / das wider den Lauff ist vnd wider den gebrauch der Stern / bedeutten demselbigen Landt ein zukünfftigs. Dann es sind alles *Præsagia* von den Geisten gemacht / dem Menschen zuverstohn geben jhr Jrrung vnd jhr Vbel / so jhn zukünfftig ist / daß sie nicht verstohn : vnnd ist der Geisten Macht / als *de potentiis Spirituum* steht.

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to him by means of celestial signs:[1] that something should appear in the heavens which has never been before, whereby it becomes known that the strange sign signifies something strange on earth, as made known by the spirits in the upper heavens. And where such signs do occur, it means that things must go on as indicated and cannot be prevented; for such signs refer to future developments, to something new that must and indeed unavoidably will happen.

A comet appearing thus does not have a natural origin;[2] it is rather a radiance effected by the spirit signifying something new or some change, a scourge for some land; or it signifies that something in the land is being neglected. Its path and motion stem from the spirits, with a sense and vision of its own, from the highest spirits, signifying a remarkable and lasting change with many strange accidents. The same can be said of other stars whenever they arise in the nature of a comet never having been seen before.

So it is that the power of the spirits in the heavens also reveals other figures of an extraordinary kind, sometimes in particular places or countries, not in others. Where such things occur, they foretell the people of some future evil that will befall the country. However, it is not revealed how those things will come about or even what exactly they are; yet their warnings are not empty, for something follows which has not been encountered before. The stranger such figures appear, the stranger the actions which will take place. Some signs are in a spiritual mode, some in a secular one. But what will actually take place and follow is not known until later after it has all been fulfilled, whereupon it is recognized that they were a *praesagium*.

Sometimes beasts or their limbs are seen in the heavens. This is a token of 320
future harm, something designated and recognized by the nature of that beast. It might be the case that in the heavens the natural stars appear in a supernatural course and double generation, as when the moon betokens an error among the rulers, for the mond being above the other stars, hints at the people placed above others. Or the same can apply to the sun which is highest above the other stars, signifying an evil unto the highest chief. Likewise, when something drops from heaven which is against the natural course and the practice of the stars, it signifies some future thing for a country. These are *praesagia* crafted by the spirits, given to men to understand their error and evil which has a bearing on the future which they do not yet understand. This is the power of the spirits, as is stated in *De Potentiis Spirituum*.[3]

1 Although no further precision is given on these spirits, it is difficult not to relate them to the *Fata* discussed in the *Philosophy of the Elements*.

2 See the same idea in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:95–96) as well as below, *Fragmenta Meteorica* (H 8:331).

3 This treatise, that we do not have, is only evoked there.

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Die Creutz so vom Himmel fallen auff die Leut / vnnd ander Figuren mehr / seind nuhr *Præsagia*, bedeutten Leichtfertigkeit deß Volcks / vnd ein vbels Leben. Die Creutz bedeutten ein Aberglauben / der im Volck ist : die Negel bedeutten das dergleichen. Die andern Figuren der Heiligen / als Rost / wie Sanct Lorentzen / vnd dergleichen / bedeutten ein Aberglauben durch die Heiligen[a] / bedeutten auch dem Land ein zukünfftigs Vbel / vnd ein Straff / oder mancherley : zu gleicherweiß wie das den Heiligen ergangen ist / also mit solchen Instrumenten wirt es wider gohn werden. Vnd was zeichen do erfunden werden / dieselbig en werden herfür brechen : Fallt ein Rost / so bedeutt es / das Fewr vber das Volck fellt : Ein Stock / ein Hencker vber das Volck / vnd also von andern. Solche Figuren lauffen nit leer auß.

Vom Creutz fallen vnd dergleichen / last euch baß vnterrichten : sie fallen von den Geisten / vnnd seind durch die Geist gemacht. Wiewol ein alts *Vitonissa*[b] möcht sich im Rhum halten : aber es mag nicht sein / als *de potentiis Vitonissarum* steht.

Solch Creutzfallen vnnd dergleichen / bedeutt ein zukünfftige Plage / vnd ein grosse Straff vber die / so sich der Creutz nehren / vnnd das Creutz enthalten : bedeutt Rach vom Creutz vber sie : bedeutten einen gemeinen Krieg oder Straff / so mit dem Creutz regieren : bedeutten auch Jrrsall im Glauben / das ein vrsachen ist vber das Volck.

321 Creutzfallen ist das höchst *Præsagium*, vnd das gewaltigest vber alle ander : deßgleichen die andern Zeichen / so mit jnen fallen / die straff der Plag / das Leben vnd Wesen / vnd das verdienen anzeigen / vnnd bedeutten *conclusiuè* ein ernewerung im Glauben / vnd das die Alten Geschichten / Martern vnd Creutzigung herwiderumb sein wirt / vnd alls widergebracht / wie es zu den zeitten gewesen ist / von Zeichen gemerckt werden.

Die Würffel so gesehen werden / bedeutten / wie vmb das Regiment *Christi* gespilt ist worden / das man noch darumb spilt : vnd ist ein solche meinung / das etwas muß im Volck sein / daß sie für gut achten / vnd nit besser ist / dann der Jüden spilen vmb das Regiment *Christi*.

Geißlen die ersehen werden / bedeutten / daß die Geißlung *Christi* gohn werd vber die / so sein Creutz falsch tragen.

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a The "superstitions" of the medieval cults of the saints are rejected by P. in *Liber de Sanctorum Auctoritate, Beneficiis, Signis et Blasphemiis:* "dieselbigen sindt inn **die Heiligen** / ohn den Glauben in Gott / dz dient zum **Aberglauben**" (H 9:224), and *De Causis Morborum Invisibilium* (H 1:255–257; cf. ETW 760–766).

b P. chastises a classical equivalent of the saints' cults in *Eilff Tractat:* "Also ist der / so in Microcosmo ist / vnd das Podagra macht / gleich dem / der ein Fewr macht von Kißling vnnd Stahel / vnnd zundet an das Holtz / etc. Oder in **Phitonissa** schlüg ein Fewr auß von Sipha, vnd zündet an das Natürlich Subiectum Collcitan, vnnd geb ein Wetter" (H 4:187).

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The crosses that fall from the heavens onto people, as well as other figures besides, are only *praesagia*. They betoken the frivolousness of people and their bad life. The crosses signify a superstition abiding in the folk. The nails likewise. Figures of the saints[1] such as the rack of Saint Lawrence and so on betoken the superstition of the saints and signify some future evil that will befall the country, punishments of the kind that befell the saints. The same instruments will be applied again. The signs will be echoed: if a grill falls, a fire will befall the people. A stock: an executioner over the people and so on. Such figures are not empty.

As for the descent of crosses and the like, be instructed: they descend from the spirits that have crafted them. Though indeed an old *vitonissa*[2] might cling to fame, this cannot go on, as is said in *de potentiis Vitonissarum*.[3] The descent of such things as crosses betokens a future calamity and great castigation, so that to approach the cross and forsake it promises vengeance: a great war or other punishment governed by the cross. This can also signify an error of faith which will have an effect on the people.

The descent of crosses is the highest *praesagium*, powerful above all others. 321
The same holds for other signs that fall with them indicating punishment and calamity, life and being and merits, and signifying *conclusive* [briefly speaking] a renewal in faith and that the accounts of martyrdoms and crucifixions will be brought back along with everything, as it was at those times when the signs were known.

The dice that are seen signify how the regime of *Christus* has been gambled away, which is being done again; and there is an opinion that there must be something in the people which they consider good and that it is no better than the Jews' wagering for the rule of *Christus*.

Scourges seen signify that the scourging of *Christus* will come upon those who bear his cross in falsehood.

1 Elsewhere, P. devotes many pages to critiquing the cults of the saints including Saint Lawrence (see ETW 767–781).

2 This is a form of the Biblical word *pythonissa* (1Chron. 10, 13), often deformed in *phytonissa* (see vis-à-vis).

3 We do not have this work—unless it was a part of the *Liber de Sagis et earum Operibus* (H 9:241–262) that has not come down to us, as the tract published by Huser is only fragmentary. In the *Volumen Medicinae Paramirum* P. refers to a tract *De Vitonissis & Incantationibus* as well (H 1:55).

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Die Seülen bedeutten / daß der Teuffel gebunden wird werden / das ist / alle die / so auß dem Teuffel seind. Der Han bedeut die Stund / daß zeit hie ist / vnd sein wirdt. Deßgleichen vil ander Zeichen mehr / die nichts anders bedeutten / dann die Jrrung im Glauben / das geendt wird werden vnd abgetilget.

Wie von Præsagien verstanden wirdt / so ist auff die Zeit zumercken : vnd ist die zeit also zu finden. So ein Zeichen im Himmel gesehen wirdt / vnnd ein Kriegs Lauff / bedeutt das Endt im selbigen Krieg zubeschehen / oder in ein andern Krieg / von der sach wegen / die gehandlet wirdt vnter dem Zeichen : vnnd so ein solch Zeichen beschicht in solchen Läuffen / so ist sich wol auffzusehen / auff dieselbigen Anschleg / dann die Geist vergessen nichts. Dergleichen / so die Creutz fallen in einem Rahtschlag deß Glaubens / so wirdts mit demselbigen Rhatschlag geendt werden. Also so etwas ferrners im Glauben gehandlet wirt / vnd gebraucht ettwz groß jrrig / darumb die Creutz fallen zu der zeit : so wird das geendt werden im selbigen Rahtschlag / ehe er auß ist / oder in der Menschen noht / von der Handlung wegen. Als ein Jubeljahr / was darinnen Præsagiert wirt / dz endet sich im selben Jubel Jahr : Fallend Kreutz / die werden jre *Operationes* im nechsten Jubel Jahr[a] darnach erzeigen / vnd nach demselbigen nechsten Jubel Jahr darnach / werden die Creutz erst verstanden.

Es begeben sich auch lebendige Zeichen durch die obern Geist : Als vil
322 Mucken oder Fliegen / die nicht natürlich seind / sonder | von den Geisten zusammen geordnet vnd vber ein Land geschickt / alls ettwan Käfer vnd dergleichen. Solche Thier seind nit auß der Natur geboren / jhres natürlichen geberens / sondern es ist ein *Præsagium* einer Plag deß Landts / also das nach jhrem Anzeigen / Form / vnd Wesen / demselbigen Landt Schaden zukommen wirdt / vnd alls Vbel. Als die lebendigen Thier peinigen oder schaden : Also vber Plag werden hernach folgen / vnnd werden Plag an den eignen Cörpern erfahren. Vnd gohnd nit feel auß / die *Præsagia* bedeutten ein seltzam vnnd ein erschröcklichs hernach / das zu vrtheilen ist / nach jhrem wesen. Also auch von andern lebendigen Præsagien zuuerstohn ist.

Der Stern / der anzeigt hatt die statt *Christi*, ist gewesen ein *Præsagium* der Welt / vnd hatt bedeutt den mechtigsten der Welt / vnter dem Himmel / vnnd ist der höchst Comet gewesen / dem keiner gleich ist : vnd ist von Geisten Conficiert gewesen / die da haben anzeigt die statt Christi : wann alle *Præsagia* seind in jhrer Hand. Selig ist der / der jhr bedeuttung verstohn kan / vnd weist was das ist / vnd wie es : Als die drey von *Saba* gewest[b] / haben nit auß sondern Göttlichen Gnaden / begnad vber andere / sonder auß jrem eigen Verstandt /

a See above the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:96).

b This refers to the three wise kings who together with Dionysius the Areopagite are exemplary

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Columns signify that the devil will be bound, namely all those who are of the devil. The cock signifies that the time is now and will be fulfilled. Similarly, many other signs mean nothing less than that the errors of faith will be brought to an end and obliterated.

In our understanding of presaging, the timing is to be noted and can be discerned. When a sign is observed in the heavens in a military campaign, this signifies the end of some war, in reference to the things pertaining to the sign; and when a sign of this sort happens in such military actions, one could expect corresponding blows, for the spirits do not forget anything. By the same token, if the crosses fall during a religious council, the council will end accordingly. When something else is being discussed in matters of faith and something highly erroneous is in use, the crosses will descend at that time; and the council and its error will come to a premature end or will end with a human calamity on account of the error. A jubilee year that is presaged will end with the descending crosses which refer to the next jubilee, when at last the meaning of the crosses will be understood.

There also occur living signs from the upper spirits: for example, more gnats and flies than are natural |, which are convened by the spirits and sent over a 322
land, as well as bugs and so on. These creatures are not born in natural generation. They are the *praesagium* of a scourge to come upon the country. Their appearance, form, and essence reveal the harm to come over the country, all of which is evil. The living creatures will torment and devastate, after which calamities will follow, and these will be experienced physically. They are not for nothing: the *praesagia* signify a strange and frightful thing to come to be judged in accordance with its being. The same applies to other living *praesagia*.

The star that indicated the place where *Christus* lay was a *praesagium* to the world, signifying what is greatest in the world below the heavens. It was the greatest comet without equal, and was made by the spirits to indicate the location of Christus. For all *praesagia* are in their hands. Blessed the one who can understand their meaning, knowing what and how it is. Thus, the three from *Saba* did not understand by a divine grace, blessed before others. By their lights and innate reason, they recognized the great comet; they did not do so by divine

for the relation of divine miracle, natural magic, and wisdom in *Astronomia Magna:* "Also auch bewiesen wirdt / das die Magi von **Saba** dem Sternen nachgangen seindt / vnnd nicht der Magica : Also vberwindt das Vbernatürlich das Natürlich" (H 10:22).

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vnd angeborner Vernunfft / haben sie den grossen Cometen erkennt / vnd nicht durch besitzung oder anzeigung Gottes. Mehr ist zu halten in den Mann / der auß eigner. Vernunfft ein ding erkennt / dann das er soll von Gott darzu genött werden / oder darzu verordnet.

Die Propheten haben Propheciert / vnd nicht *Præsagia* gesetzt : Auß vrsachen / es ist von Gott gangen / vber jhr Wissen. Darumb seind sie nit Præsagirer / sonder Propheten : Deßgleichen die *Sibylla*. Ein vnderschied ist zwischen Propheten vnd Præsagirern / vnd ist das / das auß eim Propheten geredt wird / das er selber nit versteht / oder von jhm selbs möcht machen. *Præsagium* ist ein ding / das der vor dem / der auß Gott / seins Præsagirens End weiß. Præsagieren dient auff das Volck / Propheten auff die Seel : vnnd ein jeglichs *Præsagium* nimbt sein vrsprung auß der Prophecey. Ein Prophet ist selber ein Præsagien / vnd bedeutt ein newes in die Welt : vnd was er bedeutt / das redt sein Mundt / das ander Præsagien nicht thund. Soviel ist eins Propheten Mund vber ein *Præsagium*, daß der Prophet auß Gott redt / Warnung / vnd Anzeigung / mit
323 gnugsam | verstandt / ein Irsall / der gewendt mag werden. Aber die *Præsagia* bedeutten nuhn das / daß nit gewendt mag werden / sonder für sich muß gohn vnd beschehen / als ob es ein gefallen Vrtheil sey / vnd sein muß : vnd seind nit zu erwehren / sonder waß sie bedeutten / das muß beschehen.

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possession or indication. More merit accrues to the one who recognizes things by innate reasoning than to the one who is compelled and ordained to do so by God.

The prophets have prophesied and not instituted *praesagia*. The rationale for this is that God has moved them beyond their knowledge. They were therefore not presagers but prophets. The same holds for the *Sibylla*. There is a difference between prophets and presagers. It has to do with that which is voiced by the former which the prophet may not understand or even wish to understand. *Praesagium* is something the purpose of which is known more than is known to him who speaks from God. Presaging serves for the people. Prophesy serves the soul. And yet every *praesagium* takes its origin from prophesy. A prophesy is also a presaging, signifying something new in the world. What it means is enunciated by its own utterance which other presagings do not do. It can be said of the mouth of a prophet above and beyond a *praesagium:* the prophet speaks from God a warning or instruction bearing | sufficient understanding 323
of an error that is to be avoided. But the *praesagia* indicate that it may not be avoided, but must rather have its way and occur, as if a judgment had been passed and has to be executed. Nothing can prevent it. What is signified must take place.

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Folgen
Ettliche andere *Fragmenta Meteorica*.

Vom Reiff.[a]

Vrsprung deß Reiffs ist also : So die Sommerläuff deß Firmaments angehnd mit Kalten / Trocken / oder Winden vnd Lüfften / nach eigenschafft der Zeit : So ist die Natur vnd Arth derselbigen Lüfften vnnd Winden / so frisch vnd kalt / vnnd darzu mit den Congelirischen Kräfften vnd Wesen anhengig / daß sie auß jhr Congelirischen Arth vnd Eigenschafften den Thaw / der als ein Thaw fellt / congeliert. Wiewol die kälte das Wasser nicht Congeliert / vrsachet sein Schwechi in der Natur : Aber der Thaw ist dünn vnnd subtil / vnd leichtlich durchgeht jhn der kalt Lufft / vnd gefreürt jhn zu Eyß. Also ist ein jeglicher Reiff nur ein gefrorner Thaw / vnd hatt an jhm kein andern anfang vnnd Materia / dann auß dem Thaw. Aber ein solche verstendtnuß ist zu erkennen / daß der Thaw ettwas von Saltz der dreyen Ersten in jhm hatt / vnnd derselbigen Resoluierung ist / als ein Saltzwasser : Auß solcher vrsachen / so er gefreurt / so wirdt er Granuliert / vnd Congeliert sich in Körnlin / nach Arth vnd Natur der Saltz. Wann ein jegliche Impression / die do von Saltz kompt / vnnd geht in die Coagulierung ohn ander Materia / geht in die Granulatz / vnd (seüdt) sich. Also ist der Reiff in seiner Natur geformiert / vnd ein jeglicher gefrorner Thaw Coaguliert sich nach arth seines Saltz zu Granuliern. Wiewol Körnlins weiß fellt / auß vrsachen / in seinem Fall wird er Congeliert / vnd hengt sich darnach an die Bletter vnd Gräser : auß vrsachen / die feüchte der Gräser vnd der Bletter hafften in jhm / dz er behafft / sonst fiel er auff die Erden / an dz vnderist. Auch geht er feucht nider /
324 vnd im Fall | hengt er sich an einander / vnd haufft sich auff die Aest / ehe er

a The medical analogy whereby the physician liberates the virtues of the *materiae medicae* just as the stars elicit rain, snow, hail, and hoarfrost from the elements seems to originate in the syphilis writings (see *Von Vrsprung, Herkommen vnd Anfang der Frantzosen Acht Bücher*—H C:219c) and to disassociate itself from the accompaniment of the medical context here and in the works of the so-called *Philosophia Magna* ("so wissen wir wol / das die Sternen im Himmel gleich den Beumen seindt auff Erden / dieselbigen Bäum die geben jhr Frucht / vnd fellens auff die Erden : Dermassen ist auch bey den Sternen / Regen / Schnee / **Reiff** / Donner / etc. das seindt jhr Frücht / so an jhren Esten wachssen / vnnd fallend auff die Erden"—H 9:102), and in *Astronomia Magna*, where nature's precipitations admonish the human being to moderation and regularity ("Darumb so soll der Mensch auff sich selbst acht haben / damit er solche Operationes in jhm nicht mit einem **Reiff** / oder Schnee / oder Wasserguß verfletze oder verderbe. Dann wie der Erden zustehet solch Jammer vnd Noth in jhr Verderbung"—H 10:202).

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There follow several other *Fragmenta Meteorica* [meteorological fragments].

Concerning Hoarfrost.[1]

This is the origin of hoarfrost. When the summer circulation of the firmament passes over into the cold and dry or winds and air currents in the way of the season, the nature and manner of those winds and air currents is so fresh and cold and so dependent on the congealing forces and essences that its congealing nature and character congeals what falls in the form of dew. That the cold does not freeze water results from the weakness in its nature. However, the dew is thin and subtle: the cold air easily passes through it and freezes it to ice. Therefore, every frost is but a frozen dew with no other source or material than from the dew. But it must be understood that the dew has something of the three primary things in it and that their resolution is like saltwater. In consequence, when the dew freezes it is granulated and congealed to tiny grains in the manner and nature of salt. Every impression that proceeds from the salt and coagulates without any other *materia* enters into this granulation and (seethes). This is how frost is given its nature: all frozen dew coagulates in the manner of granulated salt. It precipitates in grains because in its descent it congeals and attaches to leaves and grass, since the moisture of the latter facilitates its adherence. Otherwise, it would descend to earth as low as possible. It also descends moist and in falling | becomes interlaced, accumulating on branches 324

1 This chapter is the counterpart of that on hoarfrost from the *Liber tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:299). The phrasing is sometimes identical. Yet the present chapter is more explicit and at the same time puts more emphasis on salt. It may have been written as a second redaction, and thus have been meant to replace the chapter of the *Liber tertius Meteororum*.

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zu rechten Tropffen gescheiden wirdt. Vnd ist die subtilist Gefrost : wann der Thaw ist das reinigist vnd das scherpffist / so es vom rässen Saltz kompt.

Cap. Vom Thaw.[a]

Deß Thawes vrsprung ist also. So die Obern deß Firmaments Leuff / lautter vnd trocken jren Lauff führen / vnd die Sonn die Erden lautter vnnd klar vberscheint : als dann auß solcher gewaltiger Schöne reinigen sich die drey Ersten / vnd depurieren sich also lautter vnnd klar / als ein durchscheinigs redistillierts ding. Dieselbig Distillation vnd leutterung geht in ein Coagulation / also daß sie zu einer Dürri vnd Hertti kompt : vnnd so bald die Läuff vnd die Wermi für ist / vnnd ein Kälti angeht / als dann so resoluiert sich das Saltz von den andern zweyen / vnnd fallt gen Boden : dann so es der Sonnen nimmer hatt / so hatt es kein behalten mehr / vnd die Kelti ist ein Feuchti / vnd jhr ein vrsachen zu Resoluiern.

Diese Resolutz ist die aller subtilist / vnd wenigist / dann die drey Ersten seind ein Dampff von der obern dreyen Ersten. Also auß jhrem Sudt im Tag geben sie ein Dampff / derselbig wird gederrt in der Hitz / aber in der Küli so ist ein widerresoluierung. Die andern zwey Ersten seind nit gewaltig an dem orth / sonder wenig / vnd bleiben in der Coagulierung / vnd zerschmeltz en sich nit. Gleich als ein Leim in einem Wasser / der ist dünn / wie das Wasser : aber noch / wann das Wasser hinweg kompt / so ist er wie vor. Also so das Saltzthaw geschieden wirdt von den andern zweyen / so bleiben die andern zwey in jhr Hertti / allein das Saltz ist Resoluiert. Also wird der Thaw geboren von den Obern.

a The dew likewise emerges by analogy of macrocosm and microcosm in a syphilis writing, *Drey Bücher von den Frantzosen* ("Nun ist des Himmels wider auffbringen vnd gantzmachung art / des jenigen das der mensch zerbricht / So nun dasselbig durch jn gantz gemacht ist / Als dann so folgt hernach die Artzney der Erden / welche da ist ein **Thaw** vnd ein Regen der Natur"—H C:186a). In *Astronomia Magna*, a spiritual dew pertains to a *meteorica sagax* of magical-celestial impressions: "dieselbigen Regen aber kommen auff vns nicht als Regen / sonder als ein Chay oder Dunst. Dergleichen warden auch **Thaw** am selben orth / etc. Aber sie werden mit keiner Substantz auff vns gossen / dann sie sind Spiritualisch / vnd nicht Corporalisch"—H 10:100.

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before separating into drops. It is the subtlest kind of frost, just as dew is purest and most acute in coming from the harsh salt.

Chapter on the Dew.[1]

The origin of the dew is as follows. When the heights of the firmament are dry and pure in their course and when the sun shines pure and clear upon the earth, the primary three things are purified by this powerful beauty, refining themselves cleanly and clearly into a transparent twice distilled thing. This distillation and purification enter into coagulation, thereby acquiring dryness and hardness. As soon as the coursing and warming are advanced and the cold sets in, the salt is resolved from the other two and descends to the ground. Without the sun it cannot abide; and the cold which is moist is the cause of its resolution. This resolution is the subtlest and finest, for the primary three things become a vapor of the upper three. Thus, from their stewing during the day they yield a vapor which is dried in the heat, but in the cool air there occurs another resolution. The other two primary things are not potent in this place, but scarce, remaining in the coagulated state without melting. It is like lime in water: thin as the water, but when the water is extracted, it is still there, just as before. So, when the salt-dew separates off from the other two primary things in their hardness, only the salt is resolved. This is how the dew is born from what is up above.

1 While the beginning of this chapter is almost identical to that in *Liber tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:299–300), the rest of the explanation diverges. It is not clear whether the present chapter is a reworking of the other. In any case the introductory words link the two versions.

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DE VENTIS.[a]

Aber zu erleutern von Winden / von wannen dieselbigen kommen / ist also : Die Firmamentischen Sternen haben im Himmel jren Lauff vnd Gang. So ein solcher Stern / in seim Lauff / die *Facies Terræ* eben begreifft / so gaht sein Wind /
325 der von seim Gang kompt / vber dz Meer / vnd vber | die Erden / nach dem vnnd er starck im Lauff ist / oder im Gang : Vnnd so sie in die Höhen kommen / als dann vberwehet der Wind die Erden / von wegen der Höhi / vnnd begreifft die Erden nicht.

Dergleichen so zwen / drey / oder mehr Stern Ein Linien betreffen in jhrem Lauffen / als dann mehret sich der Wind von viel Sternen : Vnnd so er die Erden nahet hatt nach der seitten / so vbergeht er die Erden / wie vor / biß er verzehrt wirdt. Solche Wind haben jhr Natur / Wesen / nach den Sternen : Seindt es Kalt Sternn / so gebens ein Kaltten Wind / seindt sie Feucht / ein Feuchten Wind. Darauff merck / das dieser Lauff der Sternen ein vrsach ist der Kältte vnd Wärme / dz ist / Sommers vnd Winters.

Aber ander Wind seindt / die do werden auß dem Dunst / der dreyen Ersten. Wann sich dieselbigen enzünden / vnnd wöllen Donnern oder Blitzen / oder in ein ander Zerbrechung gohn : So beschicht dasselbige nicht ohn ein Wind /

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a The syphilis writings of the late 1520s offer examples of the wind as metaphor ("Also ist Serpentina oder Consolida an dem ort nicht anderst zuverstehn sonder gleich dem **Wind** / der den Staub ab dem Korn wehet / dann also lobens die Augen" (*Von Vrsprung, Herkommen vnd Anfang der Frantzosen Acht Bücher*—H C:214a). Without abandoning metaphor, *Die grosse Wundartzney* recognizes in winds complex etiological vectors, as in: "Dann wiewol die Imaginationes nicht greifflich seind / so seind sie doch leiblich / zu gleicherweiß wie ein **Wind** geleibt ist" (H C:45c). But the surgical works take into account cosmography as a mitigating factor in the medical impact of wind: "Sich mag aber etlichs theils ein Artzt wol vnderrichten nach art vnd gewonheit derselbigen Region / gleich einem **Wind** / der am selbigen ort mehr gewohnt ist / dann einem andern" (*Bertheonea*—H C:371c). Finally, the *Volumen Medicinae Paramirum*, improbably dated by Sudhoff as of "around 1520," recognizes in wind a cosmological-meteorological impact as in the present works: "Jhr zeigt an / wie der Lufft kompt auß der bewegung des Firmaments: das wir nit halten vnd gestehen: Aber wol den **windt** / als Meteorica außweist. Der lufft kompt vom höchsten Gut / vnd ist gewesen vor allen geschöpffen / dz aller Erst" (H 1:18). This is a direct reference to the assertion in *Philosophy of the Elements* that air is not the cause of wind—cf. H 8:61; and that air is extracted by God first—H 8:59. Perhaps influenced by biblical equations of the wind with the Holy Spirit, a plague treatise cites wind as evidence of the power of the invisible mental force: "Dann die Vnder Globul ist Materlich im Menschen / die Ober ist vnsichtig in vns / darumb auß krafft der Obern müssen wir die volkommen verstahn : Gleich als ein Wort das einen andern zwinget zu thun : Wort ist nichts Materlichs / aber es zwingt dennoch den Knecht. Also auch der **Windt** wirfft vmb / etc. er ist auch nicht sichtig / gibt vns aber ein exempel / das es auch also sey mit dem Firmament" (*De Peste Libri Tres*—H 3:156).

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DE VENTIS.[1]
[On Winds]

But to explain about winds and where they come from, the following must be said. The stars of the firmament possess their orbits and paths in the heavens. When one of these stars in its course encompasses the *facies terrae* [the surface of the earth], the wind from its course proceeds over the sea and | the earth in 325
accordance with its strength and the direction of its path. When the winds rise, they sweep over the earth on account of their height and do not embrace the earth.

By the same token, when two, three, or more stars fall in line in their coursing, the wind is magnified by so many stars. When it approaches the earth to one side, it sweeps over the earth, as in the aforementioned case, until its force is exhausted. Winds of this kind take their nature and essence from the stars. Cold stars yield cold winds, damp stars damp winds. Notice that this coursing of the stars is the cause of cold or warmth in summer or winter.

But there are other winds that arise from the vapor of the three primary things.[2] When these are ignited and are set to thunder or lightning or enter into another dissolution, this does not come about without wind, a wind which

1 This brief chapter is apparently linked to the next one. See our notes below.

2 See below, H 8:326.

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derselbig Wind ist aber nicht ohn ein Zufall der Impressionischen Arth. Aber der ander Wind vom Stern / kommt kein Donner / Blitzen / Schawer / etc. oder dergleichen / wann er hatt mit mehr Krafft / dann Kaltt oder Warm / Trucken oder Feucht / nach dem vnd sich die Sternen anlassen. Wiewol das ist / das ein Lauff ein Wind gibt : So ist doch ein jedlicher Wind trucken / das macht jhn aber Feucht.

Der Wind seind vier in der Natur. Waß Stern gehen von Auffgang / seindt Trucken vnnd Warm / deren Lauff ist im Sommer. Waß von Nidergang / haben das wiederspiel / etc. Solche *Materia* kommt von Windsternen : Die Trucken Sternen geben ein trucknen Wind / die Feuchten ein Feuchten.

CAPVT
Vom Blitzen vnd Donnern.

So sollt du das Blitzen also verstehen : Wie im Ersten Anfang von den dreyen Ersten angezeigt ist / das auß jhnen all *Impressiones*, vnnd alles so *in Mediis*
326 *interstitiis* geboren wirdt / entspringt. So merckt / das Blitzen | ein todts Fewr ist / das do nicht brennt / noch anzündt / vnd flammt doch / aber ohn alle Hitz : Kommt in zweyerley gestalt / in schönen Nächten vnnd in Tagen / so schwer Regen angehnd vnnd zunahend. Darauff mercken zween Anfang : Die Himmlitzen die do kommen zu Nacht / mit der Schöni / dasselbige ist ein Schweffel der do gescheiden ist / vnd wirdt von allen Früchten der dreyen Ersten / als das leichtist / hindan gezogen in der gestalt. Die Digest der dreyen Ersten / dieselbig wirfft von jhr ein Dampff / gleich eim Wind / oder eim Rauch / vnnd nicht sichtlich wie ein Rauch / aber empfindtlich wie ein Wind / oder gleich formig eim Wind : Derselbig Wind kommt auß der Digest der dreyen Ersten / von der vrsachen / das er sich nicht vergleicht in jhr däwung / drumb wirdt er hinauß geworffen : Vnd so baldt er hinauß kommt / vnnd gescheiden wirdt von der Digest / besondert auff sein theil / als dann entzündt er sich vom Eussern Wind / der jhm entgegen geht / oder den er begreifft. Dann der eusser Wind *Eurus* vnnd *Auster* (dann es geschicht allein vndter den zweyen Winden) so sie diesen außgeworffnen gescheidenn Wind begreiffen / so entzünden sie jhn : Das allein zuverstehn ist / dem / der sich der Heimligkeit der Natur heimlichen ergründt. Auff solchs anzünden der Contrarien in Winden / zu zerstörung der andern / macht ein Flammen / wie ein Schein eins Liechts : Aber von der vrsach

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is not without an accident of the impressionistic nature.[1] But from the other winds of the stars there proceeds no thunder, lightning, or rain showers, etc., nor anything of the kind, for it brings more force than cold and warmth, dry or damp, depending on how the stars are arrayed. Indeed, it is the case that a stellar course yields a wind, yet every wind is dry and this instead renders it moist.

The winds have four natures. Of those stars toward the Orient, they are dry and warm, and their course is in the summer. Of those toward Occident, they have the opposite, and so on. This sort of *materia* proceeds from the wind stars. The dry stars yield a dry wind, the moist stars a moist wind.

CAPVT
Of Lightning and Thunder.

You should comprehend lightning in this way. We have seen that in the very beginning, all the *impressiones* and everything born *in mediis interstitiis* arose from the three primary things. Take note that the | lightning is a dead fire which 326
does not burn or ignite, yet flames up, doing so without heat. It comes in two variants: on beautiful nights and on days when heavy rainstorms approach and begin. Thus, note the two beginnings: the celestial flashes that occur at night under the fair conditions. This is a sulphur, which of all the fruits of the three things is the lightest. It is separated off and held back in its form. When the digest of the three sheds a vapor similar to a wind or a smoke, which is not visible like smoke, yet perceptible like wind or indeed equivalent to wind,[2] this issues from the digest of the three, which happens because this wind is not equal in their digestion and is cast out. As soon as it exits and is separated out from the digest and isolated unto itself, it is ignited by the external wind that comes at it or encompasses it.[3] The external winds *Eurus* and *Auster* (for the process takes place only under their impact), upon encompassing the expelled and separated wind, ignite it. Only someone who grasps the mysteries of nature in seclusion can fathom this. Thereupon the opposing forces in the winds are ignited to their mutual destruction, causing a flame like the flash of light. But

1 This theory seems to have been more developed in *De Meteoris* (H 8:211–212).

2 Compare with the preceding chapter on winds (H 8:325): "But there are other winds that arise from the vapor of the three primary things."

3 This whole passage from the beginning of the chapter should be compared with the more concise text of the *Philosophy of the Elements* at the end of H 8:83. Note that the present chapter emphasizes "digest" when the latter text constantly speaks of "egestion."

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wegen / das es ein Wind ist / so verflammt er baldt / vnd gleich ein ander auff jhn / nachfolgendt aber mehr / nach arth / stärcki / vieli der Digest : Aber alles ohn Regen / vnnd Nässi / allein schön Wetter anzeigen vnnd schwelmige Hitz. Dann die Hitz der dreyen Ersten in der Digest vrsacht ein solches / wie dann in der Digest angezeigt wirdt.

Aber die Blitzen im Tag vnd Nacht / gewaltigen Wetter mitlauffen / ist ein ander vrsachen / also / das / wie angezeigt ist von der Digest / ein Wind außgehn auß dem Hauß der Dewung der dreyen Ersten / do auch also. Aber am selbigen orth ist ein feuchti Digest / vnd dieselbige Feuchti bewegt sich in der Digest / vnd rürt sich durcheinander wie ein siedend ding : Dasselbig sieden gibt ein Wind : Derselbig Wind von diesem Sudt der nassen dingen / entzündt sich vom Eussern Lufft / wie der schön Nacht Blitz. Darauff folgt dann der Donner / wann also der Salniter | / *Mercurius* vnd *Sulphur* sieden durch einander / so mügen sie nicht ruhen stille mit siden : Dann sie vergleichen sich nit zusammen in Eins / von wegen jhr Widerwertigkeit / die mehrer nicht mag erfunden werden. Also schlahnd sie durcheinander vnd prodlen ein Wind von jhnen / der entzünd wird / so weith er gangen ist vnd gehet. Vnnd so bald er brennt / so zündt derselbig Blitz den Schwefel an in der Digest / also das er brinnend wird vom todten Fewr / auß arth seiner Eigenschafft : Demnach zündt der Schwefel an den Salniter / vnd so bald der brennt / so schlecht er von im alles Wassergewülch / das er begreifft / vnd zerstört [die] Digest. Drumb folgt hernach / das dem Blitzen alle mahl ein Donner kommt : Auß vrsachen / das der *Mercurius* den *Sulph.* anzünd / derselbig zündt an den Salpeter / derselbig schlecht / so er brennt vnd empfind dz Wassergewülch vmb jhn. Dergleichen sind viel Donnerschnall / die Himmlitzen geben vorhin / ehe sie Donnern : Vrsachen / dz derselbige Digestwind nit so groß ist / dz er die Erden begreifft / oder sich sichtbar macht : Aber noch so ist er oberhalb vnserm ansehen : Dann allein dz Himmlitzen muß jhn anzünden vnd kein anders. In dem Weg geschehen auch viel Himmlitzen die kein Donner machen : Auß vrsachen / dz sie verleschen ehe sie widerkommen in die Digest / oder gewaltig außgeblosen werden vom Wassergewülch / das dozwischen fallt / das der Flamm der Blitzen nit kommen wider hindersich / vom jnfallenden Regen der Wasser / so sie vmbgeben.

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the cause is that one wind which was precipitously enflamed is immediately followed by another determined by the nature and power and multiplicity of the digest. Yet all this happens without rain or dampness, indicating nothing but good weather and balmy heat. For the cause of it is the heat of three primary things in the digest, as is indicated in the digest.

But the flashes by day and night, coinciding with potent weather, have another cause, one that is indicated by the digest: a wind proceeding out of the residence of digestion of the primary three is again the cause. The wind from the seething of moist materials is ignited by the external air, as is the fair night lightning. This is then followed by a thunder when in this way the salniter |, *mercurius*, and *sulphur* boil in mixture and cannot remain still in this process. They cannot assimilate to one on account of their contrariety, an opposition than which there can be no greater. Hence, they clash and give off a wind which is ignited as far as it can extend itself. As soon as it is burning, the same flash ignites the sulphur in the digest, so that it burns with the dead fire from the nature of its property. Next the sulphur ignites the salniter. As soon as it burns, it explodes all aqueous clouds in its compass, destroying (the) digest. Hence, it always happens that the lightning is followed by the thunder, the reason being that the *mercurius* ignites the *sulphur* and the latter the saltpeter which explodes upon burning and sensing the surrounding aqueous clouds. This is why many thunderclaps are preceded by celestial flashes before the thunder roll itself. The reason is that the single digest-wind is not enough to encompass the earth, or to become manifest. It is still beyond our perception. Only the celestial flash can ignite it and nothing else. For this reason, there are many celestial flashes without thunder. They are extinguished before returning into the digest; or they are forcefully blown off by the aqueous cloud formations that come between them so that the flame of the flash does not penetrate again due to the influx of the rainwater all around them. 327

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Fragmentum ex alio Libro Meteororum
Ex Autographo Theophrasti.
Vom Regenbogen.

Nuhn merckendt nuhn weither / so also ein Gewülch gewaltig im Himmel stehet / geborn auß den drey Ersten wie angezeigt ist / vnnd hett in jhm die gewaltigen Farben *Mercurij, Salis* vnnd *Sulphuris*, vnnd hett nicht den Sudt der Sonnen / also das die Sonn den Schaum kochti von dem Gewülch / vnd machti ein rotten Wolcken dorauß / oder durchscheinend : So verstehnd / daß das
328 Gewülch an jhm selbst auß Krafft deß Saltz / *Sulphuris* vnnd *Mercurij* ein Hitz | macht in seiner vbung / so es sich zu einem Regenwolcken gebiert / das die Wirckung der Geberung deß Wolcken gleich so wol als der Sternen ein Schaum macht / vnnd ein Gest / aber nicht ein vollkommen Wolcken : Vrsach / die Sonn zeucht den Schaum jhr zu / vnnd last das Wasser fallen / also wirdt der Rott Wolcken nach dem Regen im Himmel ersehen. Aber der Schaum vnnd der Gest / den die drey Ersten von jhn selbst machen in jhrer kräfftigen Geberunge / derselbig ist nicht Gewülchig wie der / der der Sonnen ist. Aber also mercken diß Gewülch : So die Matery / die den Regenwolcken gebiert / in seiner wirckung ist / so verstandt / das sie in mitten der Geberung anheben zu wircken / vnnd kocht die *Materiam* zum Regengewülch / vnnd treibt die Schaum / Gescht / vom *Centro* hinauß auff die End der Matery / durch auß vnnd auß / also / das der gantz Wolck ohn all Schaum ist vnnd Farben / allein im Schwartzen steht / wie ein *Fœx* der verbrunnen ist / derselbig Resoluiert sich zu Wasser / dz wird Naß / wie dann ein jedlicher *Fœx mortua* thut / in die nässi geht. Also aber kommen die andern Farben all hinauß auff die *Extremitatem Circuli* von diesem *Centro :* Wann sie seindt nicht der Natur / das sie Wasser werden oder sich Resoluieren / wann es hatt kein *Materiam* noch Substantz / noch dergleichen in jhm / wie ein ander Schaum / verkert in die Lufft. Durch diesen weg werden geboren die Regenbogen / die seindt nichts anders dann die Schaum der drey Ersten / mit allen Farben / ohn Schwartz vnnd Weiß gemengt / vnd mehr dann man sehen mag / vnnd spüren : Vnnd seindt die besten Farben / vrsach / das die drey ding die Farben am Edlesten an jhn haben / ohn all vermeligung gantz Pur : Vnnd wie sie sich treiben von einander / also das sie ob einander oder neben einander stehndt / gesehen werden / ist die vrsach : Die Farben *Mercurij* stehndt am obristen / *Salis* die nachgehnd / *Sulphuris* die vndersten.

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Fragmentum ex alio Libro Meteororum
Ex Autographo Theophrasti.
[Fragment from Another Book on
Meteors. From Theophrastus's Autograph.]
Concerning the Rainbow.[1]

Now to observe further: if a powerful cloud formation born from the primary three things is indicated in the heavens, bearing within it the strong colors of *mercurius, sal*, and *sulphur*, and if it does not have the stewing of the sun because the sun has boiled off the vapor of the formation, turning it into a red cloud or a translucent one, then you must understand that from the power of the salt, *sulphur*, and *mercurius* a heat | will be generated in its operation, giving 328
rise to a rain cloud, so that the action of this generation of clouds causes, no less than do the stars, a vapor and gest, but not a complete cloud. The reason is that the sun attracts the vapor unto itself and causes water to precipitate. This is why the red cloud is visible in the sky after the rain. However, the foam and gest which the three primary things make of themselves in their strong generation is not of the same nature as the clouds like those of the sun. Note the character of this cloud formation: When the material that gives birth to the rain cloud is in operation, they begin to act in the midst of the generation, cooking the *materia* of the rain cloud and expelling the vapor or foam from the *centrum* outward to the edge of the material, further and further, so that the entire cloud without any vapor or color is embedded in black, like a *faex* that has been burned off. It is resolved to water, becoming moist as is the case with every *faex mortua*. Then all the other colors emerge onto the *extremitates circuli* from this *centrum*. They are not of a nature to become water or be resolved, since there is no *materia* or substance or anything of the kind involved, the way other vapor turns to air. This is how the rainbows come into being. They are nothing but the vaporous foam of the three primary things, mixed with all colors except black and white, more so than one can see or sense.[2] These are the best colors, the noblest, without adulteration and entirely pure. The way they move apart so that they are seen arrayed alongside each other results from the color of *mercurius* on top, with the *sal* and *sulphur* on bottom. Moreover, the colors

1 This fragment seems close to *De Meteoris* (see H 8:222). Here, however, the rainbow is defined as "nothing but the vaporous foam of the three primary things, mixed with all colors except black and white" (H 8:328).

2 In *De Meteoris*, the sunrise is said to be a foam of sulphur and the three principles, colored in red (H 8:239–240: "Die Morgenrötti / so ein Schaum vom Sulphur seind / vnnd den dreyen Ersten […]"). See the full explanation of this phenomenon on H 8:222.

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Vnd die Farben vermischen sich nit vnder einander : Vrsach / jhr Feisti die sie haben / vermengen sie nicht / dann sie ist mannigfaltig : Als wenig das Rott Oel *Sulphuris* sich in die Milch *Sulphuris* vermischt / vnnd seindt beyde *Liquores* vnd *Olea*, oder als wenig Oel vnd Wasser vermische wirdt / also mannigfaltig geben sie jhr Frucht / die auß jhn geboren werden. Wiewol aber nuhn nicht ein
329 jedlich Gewülch | den Regenbogen gibt : Vrsacht das / dz nicht all deß Schaums haben / oder nicht auff die vollkommen Wirckung kommen / oder Dewung. Auch wird mancher Regenbogen allein auß *Mercurij* Farben / oder auß *Sulphuris* Farben / oder Saltz Farben / oder etwann auß deren zweyen / oder minder oder mehr / vermischt / darauß dann mancherley Regenbogen ersehen werden in Farben / nicht in gleicher gestalt / aber in gleichen Circken / vnd anrürend die Erden : Auß vrsachen / daß das Gewülch biß auff die Erden geht / vnd sein *Centrum* nahend bey der Erden steht : Drumb fügt sich / das der *Iris* auff die Erden geht / nach Breitti / Tieffi / vnd Höhi / wie dann sein *Centrum* steht. Wiewol auch etwann ein hoher Wolck steht / der ob diesem *Centrum* steht / vnnd kein Regenbogen geit / vnnd Regen durch die Regenbogen / vrsachen seiner vnzeittigung. So begeben sich offt zwo Wolcken auff einander / oder drey / vnd nicht mehr : Vrsachen / das ein trefflich Gewülch do ist von *Mercurio, Sale* vnd *Sulphure*, vnnd seindt ohn vermischt durch einander / ein jedlich ding hatt sein vnuermeligten *Centrum :* Vnnd also gibt ein jedlich *Centrum* sein *Exaltationes*, vnnd sein Farben / oder etwann zween *Centra*, vermischt mit jhren *Speciebus* vndereinander / vnd ein jedlicher steht sonder : Das bedeut die Vieli der Materien der dreyen Ersten / die do gewaltig Regirt / vnnd viel Regens. Dann wo sie also solch Schaum werffen / do ist ein Zeichen Vieli der Superfluiteten / von welchen der Schaum kommt. Also werden die Regen vnd das Gewülch geboren vnd erfunden.

DE IRIDE. Aliter.

Vrsprung deß Regenbogens ist / das er von einem Stern kommt / wie ein andere Frucht auß seim Sahmen. Darumb gleich wie jhr auff der Erden sehen / dz offtmahls ein Stam 3. 4. etc. Farben treyt : Als ein Rose / ist Grün / Graw / Rott / Gelb / etc. Also auch *Arona*, also *Saluia, &c.* Solchs sindt alles der Erden Gewechs.

Also ist der Regenbogen auch ein Krautt deß Himmels : So sein Stern auffgeht / so schütt er jhn auß / am Ersten in das Mittel Gewülch / darnach auff die Erden. Also ist dann sein Form / das er sein Farben setzt / vnd dergleichen / was
330 do ist : Gleich | als ein Baum der do wachst / do ist sein Ast / do sein Rinden / do

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do not mix. The reason for this is that the fatness in them does not mix so that they are multiform. No more than the red oil of *sulphur* mixes into the milk of *sulphur*, though both are *liquores* and *olea*, and no more than oil and water mix: similarly, they remain multiform in the fruit born of them. Yet not every cloud | 329
yields its rainbow. They do not all have the vaporous foam, or do not reach full operation or processing. Moreover, some rainbows are constituted only by the colors of *mercurius, sulphur*, or salt or by two of them, or they are more or less mixed. In consequence, many rainbows are seen in colors not of that same form but also curved and touching the earth. The reason is that the clouds reach that far, and their *centrum* is close to the earth. As a result, the *iris* extends to earth in its breadth and depth as its *centrum* stands. A high cloud can also hover over this *centrum* and yield no rainbow. It can rain through the rainbow because of its mistiming. Often there are two clouds, one over the other, or three, but not more. That happens because of a fine cloud formation from the primary three, unmixed with one another, each with its undiluted *centrum*. Moreover, each *centrum* yields its *exaltationes* and its colors; there can be two *centra* with their *species* mixed together, each standing by itself. This betokens the bounty of materials of the three primary things that are so powerfully at work with many rains. For if they all give off so much vaporous foam, it is a sign of many superfluities from which the vaporous foam arises. So are the rains and clouds born.

DE IRIDE. Aliter.[1]
[Alternate concerning the Rainbow.]

As for its origin, the rainbow comes from a star, as does any fruit from its seed.[2] So it is that you can often see on earth that a stem bears three, four, or more colors, as a rose is green, gray, red, yellow, etc. So, too, with *arona* [aronia, chokeberry] as well as with *salvia* [sage], and so on. They are all vegetation of the earth.

So it is that the rainbow is a vegetation of the heavens.[3] When its star ascends, the rainbow is emitted, first into the intermediate cloud formations, then onto the earth. Its form is its instituting of colors, and so on, as with anything else. Like | a tree that grows: you see its branches, its bark, its leaves, 330

1 This short fragment parallels that on rainbow from *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8: 250–252), with notable differences that we have highlighted in our notes.

2 See the same idea in the second sentence on H 8:252.

3 Nowhere is the vegetal language more clearly applied to rainbow. See, however, *De Meteoris*, H 8:249.

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sein Laub / die Blumen / etc. Drumb von Ordnung Gottes der Form halben kan niemants Disputiren. Dann wz die Form antrifft / dasselbig geht auß Gott / vnd ist dem Menschen nit zuwissen.

Deß Regenbogens Arth zum wachsen ist also. Anfenglich sind jhr 8. oder 9. do haben sie jhren Stern zu vngenannter zeit / gleich als wann man ein Kind macht / das mag geschehen Sommer vnd Winter : Also auch die Regenbogen. Wiewol im Winter erfreurt er / das er nicht mag zu grund gehn / oder in der Wärmi.

Nuhn wird der Regenbogen auß einem eignen Stern / als ein Krautt auß seinem Sahmen : Vnnd wird gemacht auß der Coniunction[a] / so im Stern selbst ist / dz ist / es ist sein eigen Ey / das wird durch die zeit gebrüttet.

So er nun also wechst / so facht er [an] vnd wachst in sein Form vnd Farben / wie ein Krautt / aber alles vnsichtbar. So nuhn sein zeit kommt / so setzt er das auff den Boden der Erden : Als dann so die Jrrdische feuchti in jhnen geht / so gibt er die Farben erst vnd wird sichtig. Vnd gleich wie ein Fraw die zwey Kind macht : Also macht der Regenbogen zwenn / auch etc. drey oder dergleichen / vnd ist gleich dieselbigen vrsach.

Nuhn werden solcher Regenbogen viel im Jahr / Sommer vnd Winter : Aber dieweil es ist ein Subtil Gewechs / so nimbts die Kältti hin / das ist / das es erfreurt / vor dem vnd es zeittig wirdt. Dergleichen auch so es in der Hitz ist / so verzehrt es die Sonn / vnd verbrennt es / das aber nichts drauß wird. Dergleichen auch die Wind verwehen sie / dieweil sie noch jung sind / vnd nicht erstarckt. Allein gerahten sie am aller basten / wann feuchte Wetter sind / halb Warm vnd halb Kalt / so ist jhr Grünen am besten / vnd jhr Zeit : Drumb so kommen sie zu den Regenzeitten. Nicht dz sie Regen bedeutten / aber dieselbige zeit ist für sie : Vnd jhe mehr Regenwetter / jhe besser jhre sach ist : Es wer dann ein Wolckengüß / der es im Himmel Resoluirte.

Sie kommen Morgens / Nachts / etc. gleich wie ein Geburt einer Frawen / die auch zu solchen stunden kommt. Wiewol zu der Nacht deß Scheins halben nit viel gesehen werden : Dann der Monschein gibet so viel Heytteri [nit] / das mans sehen müge : Dergleichen auch die Finsteri nit gibt / etc.

331 Auff das so wissen / das solche Regenbogen sindt / so weit der Himmel geht. Aber in eim Landt mehr als im andern / das ist / nach Hitz der Sonnen / etc. Kältti deß Wetters / oder der Wind / do sie nit so wol mügen ersehen werden / als in etlichen Landen / do jhrs Fugs mehr ist / vnd gerahten also baß Ein mahl / dann das ander mahl.

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a Variant reading indicated by Huser in the margin: "*vel* Corruption."

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flowers, etc. About the order of God therefore no one can dispute. For, as regards the form, it proceeds from God and is unfathomable to the human being.

The rainbow grows as follows. Initially there are eight or nine.[1] They have their star at some unspecified time, the way when one makes a child, this can happen either in summer or winter. So it is, too, with the rainbow. But in winter, it freezes, and does not want to go down, or in the warmth.

Now it happens that the rainbow stems from its own star as does a plant from its own seed. It is made by the conjunction[2] in the star itself, meaning that it is its own egg hatched by time.

In growing, it begins to grow into its form and colors like any vegetation, but it does so invisibly. When its time comes, it sets itself down on the ground of the earth. When the earthly moisture enters into it, it then yields its colors and becomes visible.[3] Moreover, as with a woman who gives birth to two children, the rainbow does likewise, as well as three, etc., or whatever, and is yet the cause of them all.

In a year there are many of these rainbows, in summer and winter. But being a subtle kind of growth, they can be taken away by the cold, meaning that they freeze before their time comes. Similarly, in the heat it is consumed by the sun and evaporated, and nothing comes of it. Or the winds disperse it when it is still young and not yet strong. It is only when the weather is moist, not too warm and not too cold, that they turn out best, maturing and becoming ripe. This is why they occur in the rainy season. It is not that they signify rain, but such a time is right for them. The more rainy the weather, the better for their issuance, unless there happens to be a cloudburst which is resolved in the heavens.

They occur in the morning and at night, just like the birthing by a woman which happens at such times. However, at night, because of the light, not much can be seen. For the moonlight does not yield enough radiance that they can be seen. Similarly, the darkness does not yield, etc.

Therefore, let it be known that there are rainbows for as far as the heavens 331
extend. But more in one country than in another, that is, in accordance with the heat of the sun, etc., the coldness of the weather or of the winds, so that they are less visible there than in other countries, things being more conducive to them and they succeed better here than there.

1 Hundreds of them are evoked in *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8:250).

2 Alternate reading: "or: corruption."

3 In *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* the explanation of the colors is salt (H 8:251), as everywhere else. Only here are the colors attributed to "earthly moisture" (dew?).

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Sein bedeuttung ist / wo er ist / das der Himmel

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DE COMETIS.

So wir nuhn wissen wollen der Cometen Vrsprung / so wissend / dz ein jedlicher Comet bedeutt ein Zukünfftiges der Menschen / jhnen ein Vorbot. Auß dem folgt / dz er nit kan auß der Natur gehen : Dann die Natur ist kein *Phytonissa*. Wiewol dz Blüe auff dem Baum ein Vorbot ist seiner Frucht : Hie aber nicht : Es ist ein gemacht Werck von den Geistern deß Luffts / gleich als wann ein *Magus*[a] macht ein *Faciem* seines (Erben.)

Dorbey aber mercken / dieweil vnser sachen / Regiment / etc. vom Gestirn kommt / so muß es von dem Gestirn geboren werden / wie der Leib von der Erden : Also verendert die Globul deß Leibs Vrsprung / vnd die *Testa* der Vernunfft. Vnd wie also der Leib von der Welt dolpet / grob / etc. subtil / etc. geschaffen wird : Also wird das *Ingenium* von der *Testa* auch geschaffen. Also sind zwo Mütter / Eine in der Erden / die ander im Himmel.

Auß dem folgt nun / wie jhr sehend / dz der Leib von der Erden Transmutirt wird / dz ist auß dem Leib / dann er ist die Erden : Also verstanden auch von der Vernunfft / dz sie von der *Testa* verendert wird. Dann hie ist die vrsach / wz dem Leib zugebürt / vnd wz der Vernunfft zusteht : vnd sind also zwey *Corpora*. Der Leib ist nun kein Corpus von der Erden / dz ist / dz er der Erden gleich sey : Also auch die Vernunfft der *Testa*. Aber zu beyden seitten so wird dem Leib die Form geschnitten von der Erden / vnd die Vernunfft von der *Testa*.

Dieweil nun also zwey *Corpora* im Leib sind : Also sind auch zweyerley *Præsagia*, Eins dem Leib von der Erden / dz ander von der *Testa* der Vernunfft. Als groß Frucht / groß Zukünfftig Kräckheit : das ist / glücklich Jahr / etc. bösere hernach. Also auch mit der Vernunfft anzeigung seindt.

---

a P. draws a similar distinction in *Die grosse Wundartzney* between the astrological and magical interpretations of comets: "Ein andere arth ist / dann jhr **, auß der wir sollen Weissagen / das ist / ein newer Himmel gebirt sich auß der Menschen Vppigkeit / in demselbigen stehen die Praesagia, vnnd die Signa Plagae vnnd Poenarum, da seind geschrieben tempora Nationum: Darzu gehort ein **Cometisch** Interpretation / die nicht Astrologisch gehen soll / sondern Magisch" (H C:137c).

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Its significance is, wherever it is, that the heavens [...]

In media pagina scribere desiit.
[The author stopped writing in the middle of the page.]

DE COMETIS.

If we would know the origin of the comets, let it be said that every comet signifies something in the future of human beings, a harbinger to them. From this it follows that it cannot proceed from nature. For nature is not a *Phytonissa*.[1] The blossom on the tree is indeed a harbinger of its fruit; but in our case this does not apply. The comet is rather a fabrication of the spirits of the air, just as if a *magus* were to make a *facies* of his (heir).

Note, however, that although our affairs, our government, etc., come from the stars, it must also be born from the stars just as our body is born from the earth. Thus, does the globe shift the body's origin and the *testa*[2] of reason. And just as the body is created by the world to be crude, coarse, etc., subtle, etc., so is the *ingenium* [ingeniousness] of the *testa* created as well. Therefore, there are two mothers, one in the earth, the other in the heavens.

From this it follows, as you can see, that the body of the earth is transmuted, that is, from the body, which then is the earth: by the same token, understand that reason is affected by the *testa*. For here is the cause of that which pertains to the body and that which pertains to the reason: there are two *corpora*. The body is not a corpus of the earth, meaning, equal to the earth. Thus, also for the reason of the *testa*. Yet from both sides the form is suited to the body by the earth and the reason by the *testa*.

Inasmuch as there are two *corpora* in the body, there are also two *praesagia*, one for the body by the earth and reason by the *testa*. Thus: great fear, great future disease; or thus: fortunate year, etc., evil ones after that. Thus, do such things go with the indications of reason.

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1 See the same idea above, H 8:319, with reference to the *Philosophy of the Elements*.—On *pythonissa*, see above, H 8:320.

2 *Testa*, Latin for eggshell, pertains to P.'s perennial equation of the cosmos with an egg in its shell. If the yolk is the earth and the albumen the air, the eggshell represents the encircling sphere of the stars which are thought to stand in a certain relationship to human mental powers. If the body is from the earth, the mind and reason are associated with the stars, which accords with the term "sidereal spirit" (cf. ETW 114).

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332 Aber hierin mercken / das Ein Baum ist / vnd Ein Jahr / deß also ein Exempel. Jhr sehendt / so ein Baum sein Frucht gibt / so Proßlet er am Ersten / dann Laubet er / dornach Blüet / etc. etc. dornach ist es auß / vnd ist jhe eins deß andern Frucht.

Nuhn auff dz folgt / dz all Weißheit / Regiment / von Adam biß in dz letzt der Welt / kein ander verstand ist / dann dz Ein Baum ist / der hatt gewachsen in Proßlen / in Laub / etc. also sindt sie auch in den 4. Elementen. Darauß ist ein Comet gleich einen Wurm / der vberzwerch einfallt / vnnd macht ein Dürri seins Baums : Also der Comet / etc.

Salanita der Hexenbuler / der Nachtmörder.[a]

Regen.

Nuhn weiter von den Natürlichen Wassern deß Fewrs zu wissen / so wissen / das vom Himmel auch Wasser entspringen / das seind die Regen / Schnee / etc.

Dann also ist [die] Natur der gantzen Sphær / dz alle ding wieder einander gehnd : Das ist / dz Wasser der Globuln laufft hinauff / das der *Testæ* laufft hinab / lauffen also zu beyden seitten gegen einander.

Nun ist dz Regenwasser / ein Wasser / dz sich auch auß nichts generirt / aber in mancherley Weg / durch Coniunction / vnd sonst *per se*.

Dorumb so wissent / dz sie getheilt sind in so viel theil / als *partes Terræ* sind vnd *species* der Generaten. Dann do müssen sein so vielerley *Virtutes*, als auß der Erden kommen. Aber nit / dz solchs sein ein Frucht der Erden / dz ist / das ein jedlichs zu seinen genaturten gang : sondern es ist ein eigne Hoffart / vnd will gleich so wol gesehen sein / als dz Wasser mit seinem Mineral / die Erden mit jhren Früchten : Also ist der Himmel ein Ertz in jhm selbst. Drumb so schreiben wir hie sein Wasser / nach dem vnd vnser Fürnemen ist.

Von der vnderscheid der Wassern / geben wir euch ein solches zuverstehn der Wasser halben / wie sie zuerkennen sind / also / dz als viel Sahmen im Himmel sind / als auff der Erden / oder im Wasser. Dieselbigen Sahmen geben die Regen / aber vns nit zuerkennen / wz Sahmens ein jedlichs sey : Gleich als wir nit mögen erkennen bey den Farben die Kreutter / dann sie sind alle Grün / vnd so die Form nit bey vns wer / so hetten wir kein erkanntnuß derselbigen.

a In Huser these words are printed in small characters and right justified, as would be, perhaps, a reminder for a passage still to be developed.

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But take note of this: there is a tree and a year, of which this is an example: 332
you can see that if a tree yields its fruit, first it sprouts buds, then leaves, and then blossoms, etc. etc., after which it is over and the one is the fruit of the other.

From this it follows that all wisdom, governance, from Adam until the end of the world, makes no other sense than that a tree grows in buds, in leaves, and so on. So, too, they abide in the four elements. This means that a comet is like a worm that comes in at a slant and causes the wilting of the tree. Thus, the comet, etc.

Salanita the witchmonger, the night murderer.[1]

Rain.[2]

To continue with what is to be understood concerning the natural waters of fire,[3] know that waters also arise in the heavens, namely rain, snow, etc.

For such is [the] nature of the entire sphere that all things run counter to one another. This means that the water of the globe courses upward while the *testa* runs in the opposite direction, so that they run counter to one another from either side.

Rainwater is of a kind that generates itself from nothing, but in various ways through conjunction and otherwise per se.

Therefore, know that they are divided into as many subdivisions as there are *partes terrae* and *species* of generated things. For there must be as many *virtutes* as arise from the earth. But it is not the case that they are a fruit of the earth, each to its natural course. Rather, it is a matter of self-satisfaction, wanting to be seen as much for its own as the water with its mineral, the earth with its fruit. The heavens are an ore unto themselves. Therefore, in this context we write of its water in accordance with our lights.

Regarding the distinction of the waters, we inform you regarding these waters that it must be recognized that there are as many seeds in the heavens as there are upon earth or in the water. These same seeds yield the rains, but it is for us to recognize what sort of seed each one is. Just as we cannot recognize the plant from the colors, for they are all green; and if we did not have a knowledge of the forms, we would recognize nothing.

---

1 See the same words above in *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* in five books (H 8:256). The description "night murderer" can be explained from that page.

2 This fragment seems rather basic, although the main part is missing.

3 These introductory words sound as if this fragment either belongs to *Von den natürlichen Wassern*, or more probably to some lost section of the *Liber tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* on natural waters.

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333 So ist nuhn dz Wasser ohn Form / also dz wir auß der Form nichts nemmen können / wz *Maiorana* sey / wz *Lauendula, &c*. Wiewol der Regen Einer lautterer dann der ander ist / wie mit den Farben Grün : Aber solche *Gradus* geben vns kein Verstand.

Reliqua defuerunt.

I. *Superiores Impressiones*	II. *Pluuiales Impressiones*	III. *Temporales Impressiones*	IIII. *Raræ Impressiones*	V. *Niueæ Impressiones*
1. *Sol*.	1. Gewülck.	1. Windt.	1. Stein Regen.	1. Rißlen.
2. *Luna*.	2. Regen.	2. Sommer.	2. Metall Regen.	2. Nebel.
3. *Stellæ*.	3. Wolckenbruch.	3. Winter.	3. Blutt Regen.	3. Schnee.
4. *Cometa*.	4. Morgen vnd Abendtrött.	4. Tag.	4. Frösch Regen.	4. Reiff.
5. *Galaxa*.	5. Farben der Sonnen vnd Mond.	5. Nacht.	5. Regenbogen.	
6. *Lancea*.	6. Blitzen.	6. Heitter.	6. Tron.	
7. Sterngeschoß.	7. Donnern.	7. Finster.		
8. *Draco volans*.	8. Haglen.	8. Entferbung der Erden.		
9. *Solis pluralitas & Lumen*.	9. Straal.	9. Thaw.		
10. *Figuræ miraculosæ*, als Köpffe / Schwäntz.	10. Schawer.			
	11. Dunst.			

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Thus is water without form, so that we can recognize nothing from it, as to what *maiorana* [marjoram] or *lavendula* [lavender], etc., is. Indeed, one rain may be purer than another, as it is with the color green; but these *gradus* yield no understanding. 333

Reliqua defuerunt.
[The rest was missing.]

[A Table of Celestial Impressions][1]

I. *Superiores Impressiones* [Impressions from above]	II. *Pluuiales Impressiones* [Rainy impressions]	III. *Temporales Impressiones* [Weather impressions]	IIII. *Raræ Impressiones* [Rare impressions]	V. *Niueæ Impressiones* [Snow impressions]
1. *Sol*.	1. Clouds.	1. Wind.	1. Stone precipitations.	1. Sleet.
2. *Luna*.	2. Rain.	2. Summer.	2. Precipitation of metal.	2. Fog.
3. *Stellae*.	3. Thundershower.	3. Winter.	3. Precipitation of blood.	3. Snow.
4. *Cometa*.	4. Dawn and twilight.	4. Day.	4. Precipitation of frogs.	4. Hoarfrost.
5. *Galaxa* [Milky Way].	5. Colours of the sun and moon	5. Night.	5. Rainbow.	
6. *Lancea*.	6. Lightning.	6. Clear sky.	6. "Throne."	
7. Shooting stars.	7. Thunder.	7. Darkness.		
8. *Draco volans* [Flying dragon].	8. Hail.	8. Discoloration of earth.		
9. *Solis pluralitas & Lumen* [Multiple suns and light].	9. Lightning bolt.	9. Dew.		
10. *Figurae miraculosae*, like heads, tails.[2]	10. Haze.			
	11. Shower.			

1 This rough table seems to reflect a very early stage of P.'s considerations on meteorology. The five columns merely describe different categories of celestial impressions one after the other. They are not in any mutual correspondence.

2 On the word *miraculosa*, see above, H 8:264.

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Von den Natürlichen Wassern
Das Fünffte Buch
Theophrasti von Hohenheym.

Von Fallenden Wassern.

Der 1. Tractat.

So wir nun erfüllen sollen vnser Fürnemmen / von den Natürlichen Wassern / so ist vns nothwendig zubeschreiben / das Buch von den Fallenden Wassern. Erstlichen / anfengklich ist zu wissen / was der Fall der Wasser sey / nach dem vnd jhr gehört habet / von den Nammen der andern Wasser / die in dem vordern Buche beschriben stahn. Dieser Tractat zeigt an sein Herkommen / dann durch Fallen kommt es auff vns / das ist der Regen. Vnd hie werden beschlossen die Wasser deß Elements Fewr. Dann was vber der Glebel / vnd den Lufft / auff vns fallet / das giebt das Element Fewer : Auß welchen der Regen / vnd dergleichen / auch eins ist / vnd auß jhrer Impression : Welcher wir hie kein Meldung machen / auß Vrsach / das sie von keinn Natürlichen Wassern nicht mögen begert werden. Erstlich in diesem Libell wissend / das wir hie beschreiben die Fallenden Wasser auß dem Fewr / in zwen Weg.

(*Defectus hoc loco est aliquot linearum.*)

[In dieser] Beschreibung so merckt diese Außtheilung / wie die todtlichen Element in Vier getheilt wirdt. Nuhn auff das so mercket / das dieselbig in zwey Theil abgetheilt werden : Das ist / in den Theil der Globul / ist die Erden vnd das Wasser / das in Einer Kugel ist. Nun ist der Lufft / vnd das Fewr / auch in Ein Kugel von dieser Globul getheilt / das ist die gantze *Sphæra*. Nun aber weitter /

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Concerning the Natural Waters
Fifth Book
Theophrasti von Hohenheim.

Concerning Falling Waters.[1]

First Treatise.[2]

If we are to complete our project concerning the Natural Waters, we must write the Book of the Falling Waters. First of all, one must know what precipitation is, after you have already learned the names of other kinds of water in the preceding book. This treatise elucidates the origin of falling waters, for it comes to us through the falling of rain. Encompassed here are the waters of the fiery element. Whatever above the globe and the air falls onto us is yielded by the element of fire for which rain and that sort of thing are examples. There is also one resulting from their impression into which we will not go here, since it cannot be claimed as any kind of falling waters whatsoever. First, let it be said that we will describe in this book the falling waters from the fire, and indeed in two modes.

(*Defectus hoc loco est aliquot linearum.*)
[There is here a lacuna of several lines.]

[In this] description, take note of this division, namely how the perishable elements are divided into four. By the same token, note how they are divided into two parts: one part is the globe with earth and water both enclosed within a ball. Air and fire form likewise a ball, which is separated from this globe. All this constitutes the entire *sphaera*. Now, to continue: as each element lies separately

1 It must be recalled that we find at the end of *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8:277) the following statement: "*Caetera quaere in Libro de Aquis Praecipitantibus*" ("Look at the remaining in the book on falling waters").

2 The first two treatises of this fifth book, Huser explains, are fragmentary, for the autograph could not be recovered and the other copies were in this poor state. The third treatise of the fifth book, however, is complete—which probably means that Huser had its autograph at his disposal. See H 8:413: "*Lectori.* [§] Deß Nachfolgenden Fünfften Buchs Erster vnd Ander Tractat / sind gantz Mangelhafftig / dann das *Autographum* nit vorhanden gewesen / vnd ist in andern *Manuscriptis* nit mehr / als hie fürhanden / gefunden worden. Der Dritte Tractat aber / ist gantz."—Note, however, that the second treatise is nowhere to be seen, unless Huser just forgot to indicate its beginning.

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wie jedoch ein jedes Element besondern leyt in seim Corpus / also ist besondern der Lufft / nachfolgendt das | Fewr / ausserhalb dem Lufft / gleich wie der Lufft leyt ausserhalb der Globel / also leyt auch das Fewr ausserhalb der Lufft. Nun vber das alles / so ist ein ander Theilung / auß welcher die Wirckung gehet / vnd auß der Erden / deß Wassers / deß Luffts vnnd deß Fewers : Dieselbig Theilung ist in zwey Theil getheilet / das ist / in das *Corpus* / vnd in das Gewächß. Daß *Corpus* ist das / auß dem das Gewächß gehet / vnd das Gewächß ist das / so den andern Theil macht im Element. Also sind zwey Theil in eim jeglichen [Element.]

(*Deficiunt aliquot lineæ.*)

[So wissent nun weitter / etc. die Außtheilung der *Corporum, &c.* in das Wasser vnd in sein Ertz.] Dann waß auß dem Element Wasser geht / das ist [Mineral.] Weitter also auch von der Erden / waß von jhr wächßt / das heißt [] vom Lufft / das heißt *Manna*[a] / vom Fewer / das heißt *Cadus*[b] oder *Impressio* / vnd dergleichen. So mercket auch hierinn / wie wir vormals angezeigt haben / von den andern zweyen Elementen / wie auß dem Corpus die Frücht gehend. Dann Frucht ist ein Natur auff die Vier Elementen : Das ist / ein jedes ding so auß der Erden geht / das ist ein Frucht. Also hierinn merckent auch / das in dem Natürlichen Wasser deß Fewrs / derselbige Proceß gehalten wird / vnd diese Beschreibung auch den andern vergleichen / auch die andern disen : Vnd waß dem einen abgeht / in dem andern erfüllet wird. Darauff nun / so ist von ersten dieses Buchs das meist / daß das *Corpus Ignis* erkannt werd / waß dasselbig sey. Wiewol wir deß gantzen Corpus nicht beschreiben / alß allein so vns noth ist zum Fallenden Wasser. Darumb was wir hie nicht beschreiben / in den *Meteoricis, &c. Fructuum quatuor Elementorum* beschreiben : Vnd was in derselben außgelassen ist / wird hie erfüllet.

Das *Corpus* auß dem die Stern wachsen / ist ein vngreifflich ding / vnd doch in gantzer Farb[c] : Die Stern so darauff wachsen / dieselbigen sind vom ersten

a *Manna* is exemplary as the fruit of the element air. Even the deceased but non-glorified body retains the presence of the planets and in the case of *manna* the quality of air: "Also bleibt auch in jhm die eigenschafft des Luffts: Darumb ist er auch **manna**" (*De Causis Morborum Invisibilium*—H 1:298).

b The word *cadus* ("earthen wine jar"), found nowhere elsewhere in P., is a mistake of the editor or his source, most probably a misreading for *casus*, referring to some sort of precipitation and associated with *impressio*. The manuscript was corrupted, including this page.

c Huser added a variant in the margin: "*f.* Form" ("perhaps: Form").

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in its *corpus*, likewise the air lies separately, then the | fire outside the air; just 415
as the air lies outside the globe, so does the fire lie outside the air. Now, however, beyond all of this there is another division from which action proceeds, as well from the earth as from the water, the air, and the fire. This division has two parts: the *corpus*, and that which grows. The *corpus* is that from which grows proceeds. The latter is what constitutes the other part of the element. Thus, there are two parts of every element.[1]

(*Deficiunt aliquot linea.*)
[Several lines are missing.]

[Now, be aware furthermore; the distribution of the *corpora,* etc. into water and its ore.] For what proceeds from the element of water is [mineral]. Moreover, the same holds for the earth: that which grows from it is called [...]; from the air it is called *manna;* from the fire it is called [*casus*] [fall] or *impressio*, and so on. Take note, in this respect, as well, as we observed before regarding the other two elements, as to how fruits proceed from the *corpus*. A fruit is indeed a nature from the four elements, by which I mean everything that sprouts from the earth is a kind of fruit. Take note here besides that in the natural water from the element of fire that same process takes place: compare this description to the others and vice versa. What is absent in the one is completed in the other. Accordingly, the most important in that book is that the *corpus ignis* be known, and its constitution. We will not give, however, full account of the whole *corpus* but rather restrict ourselves to what is relevant for falling water. Accordingly, what is not described here is in the *Meteorica*, etc., of the *Fructus quatuor Elementorum*; likewise, what has been omitted in them is completed here.[2]

The *corpus* from which the stars grow is an impalpable thing, yet manifest in full color.[3] The stars that grow upon it stem from the first *Ylech*.[4] They derive

1 On this statement, see above our notes on H 8:188 and 125.

2 This is a clear statement of the interdependency between this text and the *Philosophy of the Elements*. See our Introduction, on 13, 18, 39–40.

3 The variant given by Huser in the margin suggests this alternate reading: "an impalpable thing, yet manifest in its full form." The next paragraph (H 8:416) confirms, however, that the correct word is "Farb."

4 That is, from the first creation, if we understand well the glosses from the *De Morbis ex Tartaro oriundis Libri duo* (see 684, note a).

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Ylech.[a] Aber noch für vnd für / so nemmen sie jhre nahrung auß bemeldten Himmel / das ists *Corpus* / dasselbig ligt darin gleich dem *Liquori Terræ* / in dem Element der Erden. Nun folgt also auff das hernach / dz die Stern selbs nahrung von dem Corpus haben müssen / dann Vrsach / dieweil also [ ] (*Defect. 1. lineæ.*)

416 Darauff so wissent / daß das Corpus deß [Firmaments] ausserthalb vber den Sternen ist vnsichtbar / vnnd doch geferbt auff ein vngreiffliche Schmaragdische Art / vber Diaphinisch : in demselbigen Corpus ist ein *Liquor* / der die Sternen erhelt / das ist / auß demselbigen *Liquore* wachsen die Regen / gleich alß auß dem *Liquore Mellis* / das in der Erden ist / auff die Erden [kompt /] also do auch. Dann in diesem Corpus ist der Sahm dieser ding / darumb so wird in diesem Corpus der [] der Regen / Schnee vnd der Schaur / vnd dergleichen. Darauff so folgt / das im Corpus deß Fewers die Wirckung gleich ist / als im Element Wasser / in welchem kein Coagulation beschicht / sondern ausserthalb dem Element : Vnd das in dem Weg / das es in ein ander Corpus getruckt wird / darinn es sein Wirckung hatt. Also gehet die Speiß in die Sternen / gleich wie der Regen auff die Erdt / in ein jeglichen Stern sein Eigenschafft / vnd nichts vermischet. Dann die Natur an dem Orth ist / das die Stern an dem ort hoch vnd nider stahnd / gleich wie die [Früchte] an den Bäumen.

Dann jhr solt in dem Weg erkennen / daß das Corpus der Sternen im [Firmament] haltet / dodurch die Sonne wircket / das ist der Regenbog. Wann ein jeglicher Stern zeucht an sich sein Arth / gleich wie von der Erden gesagt ist. Darumb so wisset / das die Stern der *Locus* ist der Regen / das Corpus sind

a There are several glosses for "Ylech" (also: "Ilech"). The ones evidently relevant here are those from *De Morbis ex Tartaro oriundis Libri duo*: "there are two generations of tartar: one from the exterior of the mine, that is, from that which is ingested, and from the inside: therefore from the first *Ilech*, that is, from the stars, which are not compelling, although the human beings must respond to the concordances of the stars. Thus the mines are in human beings, too, just as in the elementated things. Indeed, often somebody gets calculus although he does not get it from wine or food, and thus, he did not inherit it either" (H 3:238: "duae sunt generationes Tartari, ex externo minerae, id est, ex his quae ingeruntur, & ex interno : ideo ex primo **Ilech**, id est ex astris, quae non cogunt, sed homines debent concordantiis astrorum respondere. Ita minerae quoque sunt in hominibus, sicut in elementatis. Saepe enim quis fit calculosus, & tamen non habet ex vino, vel cibis, vnd so ers nit ererbet hatt […]"). See also *Liber de Caducis, Das ist von dem Hinfallenden Siechtagen*: the ordinary physicians "haben nie betrachtet den Ascendenten / den ich den grossen **Ylech** heiß / ohn den du Artzt nichts weist noch kanst" (H 4:353). Surprisingly different are the *Scholia in libros de Gradibus & Compositionibus*: "**Ilech**, materiale quodlibet compositum ex tribus primis. […] **Ilech crudum**, componitur ex prima Materia trium primarum" (H 7:369).

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their nourishment, however, from the aforesaid heavens, that is, the *corpus*, in which the stars lie as does the *liquor terrae* in the element of the earth. From this it follows that the stars must derive their nourishment from the *corpus*. The reason for this is that while (*Defect 1 linea*) [lacuna of one line]

Therefore, you should be informed that the corpus of the [firmament] is invi- 416
sible outside above the stars, yet it is colored in an impalpable, emerald-like mode and highly diaphanous; in it there is a *liquor* that maintains the stars.[1] From it the rains grow, just like it does on the earth from the *liquor mellis* [the liquor of honey] which lies within the earth.[2] For in its corpus lies the seed of these things, so that in it arises the [...], rain, snow, sleet shower, and other such things. From this it follows that in the corpus of fire, the action is the same as in the element of water. In it no coagulation occurs but only outside the element, and indeed in such a way that it is impressed onto another *corpus*, in which its action takes effect. Thus, the nourishment passes into the stars, just as rain falls onto earth. Into each star its own property with nothing comingled. For the nature of this place is such that the stars stand high or low, just as [fruits] on trees.

For you should know that the *corpus* of the stars stays in the [firmament], through which the sun has its effect which is the rainbow.[3] For every star attracts unto itself its own nature, as we stated with respect to the earth. Therefore, let it be known that the stars are the *locus* [the location] of rain; the

1 This description evokes the *chaos* described in the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:62).

2 See the short treatise *Vom Honig*, where honey derives from "the sweetness of the earth" extracted and processed by astral agency (H 7:222): "Zu beschreiben das Wesen vnnd Eigenschafft des Honigs / sollen wir am ersten verstehn dz die erste *materia* deß Honigs / ist die Süsse der Erden / die sich an die natürliche Gewechs anlegt [...] der Mon / auß seinen Himmlischen kräfften / dieselbig Matery in der Erden kocht vnd bereittet : [...] Vnd so bald er sein Praeparation vollbracht hatt / so ernahet sich der Glentz / vnnd mit demselbigen entspringen die Gewächs mit jhren Blumen / vnd stellen sich zu einer vollkommenheit / vnd auß eigner angeborner Natur treibts der Mond auß dem Erdtrich in die Gwächs / gleich als ein Regen der auff die Erden fellt / vnd vbergeust alle Gewächs. Vnd also ist der Mon / der in der Erden *primam materiam* vbersich treibt / wie dz Gewülck den Regen vndersich / also bekrefftigen sich die Gewächs mit jhrer Natur vnd Eigenschafft."

3 This sentence is obscure. Palthen translated it differently in Latin. He considered the first "daß" as a "was" (which is entirely possible: see H 10:450: "Dann das *Mars* in vns vermag / das vermag der Mensch in jhn auch"), with this result: "We must know what the *corpus* of the stars holds in the firmament, through which the sun operates: that is the rainbow" ("Hoc enim modo statuendum est de eo, quod corpus stellarum in firmamento sustinet, per quod Sol operatur, quod est Iris").

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[Sahm] der Regen / die Regen die Frucht : Also nimpt sich der Sahm auß den *Corporibus*. Darumb weitter zu wissen ist / das die Bäum der Regen zu erkennen sindt / wie angezeigt ist / waß zu solchem nothwendig ist. Waß die eigene Form hie auff das Fürnemmen der Fallenden Wasser berührt / das wird hie fürgenommen mit dem Beschluß / das auß dem Corpus deß Fewrs die Stern als die Bäum sein / vnd durch dz *Corpus* vnd Sternen / die Regen / in massen wie sie nachfolgent / wachssen.

Nun weitter so wissent / was das für ein *Materia* sey / die zu einem Regen wirdt : Das ist ein Saltz deß Fewrs / ohn ander vermischung / vnd ist ein Saltz / daß do Resoluiert wirdt in die Form / wie hernach folgt. Gleich wie auß einem Sahmen wechßt Holtz / oder auß dem Wasser Stein : Also in solcher Krafft das Saltz hie auch sein Wachssen hatt. Darumb die Krafft in dem Regen ist / das sie
417 mögen Stein hertten / etc. Wann alle Krafft | *Congelationis* kommet auß dem Saltz / vnd herschet durch daß Saltz. Vnd wiewol aber das ist / das durch die Regen möglich ist / Metall vnd anders zu wachsen / das kompt auß den dreyen Ersten des Fewrs : Als dann in seiner *Meteorica* erzelt wirdt. Dann da sind alle Wirckung / gleich wie in den andern Elementen / vnd wie da gewirckt wirdt / das wirdt durch den Regen geöffnet / daß viel ding ist in Sternen / das nicht herab ist kommen : auch alle Stein im Meer kommen von Himmel / etc. dieselbige Coagulatz beschicht in dem Meer. Also dermassen wissent auch / das die Fröschen / Würm / auß solchen Vrsachen wachsen / gleich wie der vrsprung der Würm der Erden herkommen. Dann es ist gleich so müglich / im Regen vnd auß dem Regen / solche Generatz zukommen / als auß der Erden. Dieweil es aber nicht ist vnser Fürnemmen hie / so lassen wirs stehen biß in das Buch *Meteorica*.

Dann ein jedes *Corpus* / das auß Erden ist / auß zweyen Theilen gesetzt wird / das ist / auß den vier Elementen inn zwey Theil / also das der Mensch / Viech / Gewechs / etc. auff ein Theil zwey Element hatt / auff das ander auch zwey. Der erste Theil ist also : Was der Mensch hatt von seinem Corpus / das hatt er von der Erden : Waß von *Animo* / das hatt er von dem andern Element / das

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corpus has [seeds] of the rain, which is their fruit. Thus the seeds stem from the *corpora*. So, let it be known as well that the trees of the rain must be recognized, as has been demonstrated, which is necessary for rain. As for the peculiar form concerning the effect of the falling waters, it will be taken up here leading to the conclusion that from the *corpus* of fire the stars as trees emerge and cause the rain through the *corpus* and stars in proportion to their successive growth.

Further, let it be known what sort of *materia* becomes rain: it is a salt of the fire without admixture. It is a salt resolved into the form that will follow below. Just as wood grows from a seed or a stone grows from water: by the same power, the salt manifests its growth. Hence, that power is in the rain, making it capable of hardening stones, and so on. For all the power | of *con-* 417
gelatio comes from salt and prevails by virtue of it.[1] It is indeed possible for metals and other things to grow by virtue of rain; but this takes place through the three principles of the fire, as is demonstrated in *Meteorica*.[2] Therein lie all effects, as in the other elements. As to how the effects are wrought there, this is disclosed by the rain, for there are many things in the stars which do not descend. All stones in the sea are from the heavens, etc.: their coagulation happens within the sea. One must know that frogs or worms grow out of the same causes, just as worms have their origin from the earth. It is no less possible for such generations to enact themselves and come from rain as from earth. Since that is not our theme here, however, we will let it await the book *Meteorica*.[3]

For every *corpus* that is of earth is composed of two parts, that is, of the four elements in two divisions. The human being, animal, plant, or what have you has in one division two elements and in the other two as well. In the first, whatever the human being possesses from his *corpus*, he has from earth. What he has of the *animus* [spirit] is from that other, which is to say, the fire. Earth is

1 See above the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:103). A closer parallel to the present sentence is found, however, in the *Opus Paramirum*, H 1:107: "Every congelation, [every] coagulation is from the salt" (ETW 413). See also below, 697 and n. 1, and above, 531 and n. 2.

2 See above *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8:261). Other possible references are the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:88–92), and *Liber tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis* (H 8:303).

3 See above *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris* (H 8:262).

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ist / vom Feür. Die erden hatt das Wasser bey jhr vmbgeben : Also das Feür den Lufft vmbgeben. Also werden alle *Corpora* beschaffen / vnd wachsen auß der Erdt / vnnd aber *Animus* auß dem Feür.

Dieweil nuhn also auß der Erden / das *Corpus* kompt / vnd ist leer : Vnd also *Animus* auß dem Feür / vnd ist auch leer : Solche beide machen den Menschen / machen auch die Gewechse / vnd anders. Darauff so wissendt / das die Erdt das *Corpus* gibt / aber nicht die *Animam*. Darumb sein oben auß souil Proceß / als vnten [ ] Proceß sind / zu beiden seitten gleich viel *Operationes* vnd *Species* / also daß das *Corpus* voll wirdt / durch die obern Element. Aber beider Sahmen / dz ist in [Eim /] vnd wirdt keinem Element zugetheilt allein / waß das *Corpus* antrifft / oder was das Element antrifft. Von denselbigen *Seminibus* reden wir inn aller Wasser Elementen : Jedoch alle mahlvorbehalten.

418 Auff solches alles so wissendt / wie allhie das *Corpus* vnd | das *Animus* sein Anfang nimpt von beiden Elementen / also werden bezwungen die Gewechs vnd Menschen / dieselbigen zuhaben / als wir in *Meteoris* weitter beschreiben / auch *de Seminibus Animorum*.

(*Deficiunt quædam.*)

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surrounded by water; fire by air.[1] In this way all *corpora* are constituted. They grow from the earth. But the *animus* is instead from the fire.

Since it is from earth that the *corpus* comes, it is empty. Since the *animus* is from the fire, it is empty as well. Thus, these two things constitute the human being as they do vegetation and other things besides. Know therefore that earth provides the *corpus* but not the *anima* [soul?]. Hence, there are as many processes going on above as below [...];[2] in both there are equally many *operationes* and *species* so that the *corpus* is rendered replete by virtue of the upper elements. Yet the seeds of both are in [one], assigned to no element by itself in matters of the *corpus* or the element. We have their *semina* in mind when we speak of the elements of all waters, yet always withheld.

In this regard, you must be informed that the *corpus* and | *animus* take 418
their beginning from both elements so that of necessity vegetation and human beings possess both, as we have demonstrated at length in *Meteoris* as well as in *De Seminibus Animorum*.[3]

(*Deficiunt quaedam.*)
[Some is missing.]

1 The basis for this statement is the *Philosophy of the Elements* (H 8:57): "There are two nourishments: the one in the air and fire; the other in earth and water. The upper ones nourish us spiritually and invisibly; the lower ones materially and corporeally. These four elements have been made in two parts: the one is air and fire; the other earth and water. The air holds up the fire; the earth the water." A close parallel to our text, however, is *De Peste Libri Tres* (H 3:176): "Dieweil nun der Mensch zwyfach ist / Ein theil der Erden / vnd Wassers / der ander des Fewrs vnd Luffts [...]." More fundamentally, the *Ander Erklärung von der Gantzen Astronomey* offers a thorough explanation, stating that the human being consists of an earthly part, the body, and an astral part, the spirit; as for the soul, it is something else entirely (H 10:449): "also das wir wissen sollen / daß der Mensch also in jhm selbst auch zwyfach ist / dz ist / in zwey getheilt : Als nemlich / in ein Leib der Globul / vnd in ein Leib der Sinn : Also in ein sichtigen vnd greifflichen Leib / also auch in ein vnsichtigen vnd vngreifflichen Leib : Als in den Leib der Elementen der dreyen Ersten / *Salis, Sulphuris* vnd *Mercurij*, vnd darzu in das Gestirn. So weit es den Menschen betrifft / so heist sein Leib / Blut vnd Fleisch / vnd das in jhm ist vngreifflich / heist der Geist : Also ist der Mensch / Blut vnd Fleisch / vnd ein Geist. Nun Blut vnd Fleisch ist der Mensch nit / der Geist im selbigen ist der Mensch : dann der Geist ist deß Menschen Weißheit / Sinn / Vernunfft / die stück sind der Mensch / der Leib ist ein Thier. Nun ist der Geist ein *Subiectum* deß Gestirns / vnd der Leib ein *Subiectum* deß Geists : Also regiert das Gestirn den Menschen im Geist / vnd der Geist deß Menschen regiert den Leib in seim Blut vnd Fleisch. Diser Geist ist tödtlich in dem / das er nit die Seel ist : dann ein anderst ist die Seel / die Seel ist vber die Natur / von der ich hie nicht rede [...]."

2 Lacuna of one word in Huser.—On the meaning of *anima* in this whole passage, see 691 n. 1.

3 For the reference to *Meteorica*, see our note on the previous page (H 8:417). No such treatise as a book *De Seminibus Animorum* seems to be referred to anywhere else by P.

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Wie es die zwey Element geben / Wasser vnd Erden / das ist also der Leib des Menschen. Nuhn aber was die *Animam* antrifft [des Menschen oder Viechs] vnd dergleichen / kompt auß den Obern zweien. Darumb do den Menschen zuwissen ein *Meteororum*, von der Geburt *Animi* / welchs das höchst ist auß allen *Impressionibus* von den obern Elementen. Solchs alls hie führen wir auch in gestalt eins Exempels herein : das ist / dadurch soll erkennt werden die Coniunction / die vollkommen macht das vnter durch das ober : damit jhr erkennen möget / dz es sein muß / das Regen vnd ander dergleichen kommen / dieweil alle Gewechs vnter allen sind / so auff erden sind / [Es ist kein] leer Corpus.

Anfenglich in solchen dingen allen / so wissendt / auß was Krafft vnd Vrsach do sey / das die Regen kommen müssen / oder der Bäum *Impressiones*. Wiewol wir [geben] inn etlichen auch ein vrsach / dasselbige dient allein auff das *Corpus :* darumb so wissendt do inn solchen dingen / das do ein solches anfenglich zuerkennen ist.

Reliqua non habentur.
Sequitur
Tractatus Tertius Libri Quinti, qui est
integer.

Der Dritte Tractat.

So nuhn also / wie obsteht / das Gewülck geboren ist / so wissendt als dann / das es so viel Arth an jhm hatt / in seiner Resolution / als alle Rauch auff Erden sindt. Vnd wie die vnterscheid der Rauch aller dingen von einander geschieden
419 sindt : Also sindt auch die Gewülck | inn jhrer Natur getheilt. Wiewol das ist / das der Räuch Arth in ander weg sindt / die sich Resoluieren / vnd die sich nicht Resoluiren : Als im Element *Aquae*, da Resoluirt sich kein Rauch / im Element *Terræ*, do Resoluirt sich etlicher theil / etlicher nit : Dann viel gehnd in Rauch

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The body of the human being is what the two elements, water and earth, yield. But as for the *anima* [of the human being or animal] and the like, this comes from the upper two elements. The point here is that one should know something of *meteora* regarding the birth of the *animus*, which is the most exalted thing of all *impressiones* of the upper elements.[1] All of this we will introduce here in the form of an analogy. Through it, one should recognize the conjunction which brings about the completion of the upper and lower. This is so that you might understand why rain and other such phenomena are a necessity, since all vegetation is beneath them upon the earth. [It is no] empty *corpus*.

To begin with, in all such matters, let it be known from what sort of force and cause the rains must occur, or the *impressiones* of the trees. Though in several things we [give] a further cause as well, that cause only concerns the *corpus*. Hence, be aware in such matters that such a thing has to be recognized at the beginning.

Reliqua non habentur.
[We do not have the remainder.]

Sequitur
Tractatus Tertius Libri Quinti, qui est integer.
[Here follows the third treatise of the fifth book, which is complete.]

Third Treatise.[2]

As soon as the cloud formation is born, as described above,[3] you must understand that it has as powerful a nature in its own resolution as any smoke or vapor on earth. Just as the smokes or vapors of all things are differentiated from one another, the cloud formations | are no less subdivided in nature, although 419
the natures of the vapors also differ in that they do resolve themselves or do not: thus, in the element of *aqua* no smoke is resolved; in the element of earth, some is resolved and some not. For much passes dry into smoke; and much in

1 There seems to be a blatant inconsistency in the text, as *anima* (the soul) should not be equated to *animus* (the spirit), unless P. uses both words to mean "spirit"—which he apparently does, here as well as two paragraphs above. By no means would P. consider the soul a mere impression of fire and air; this description would be aptly applied, however, to the spirit. See our note above, 689 n. 1.

2 As noted at the beginning of this fifth book (see 681 n. 2), either the second treatise is missing, contrary to Huser's statement, or Huser forgot to indicate where it begins.

3 We do not have this description. See also our note below, H 8:425.

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trucken / viel in Rauch zu Wasser. Also sind auch die Rauch des Fewers im Element. Dann wie jhr sehendt / das die Erdtfrücht Wasser sindt : Also sindt auch die Gewülck Wasser / in der gestalt wie die Kreuter. Nuhn wie der Mensch die Kreuter zu Wasser macht / also macht das Element Fewr die Gewülck zu Wasser : vnd etlich wie jhr sehendt / daß die Sonne außzeucht / also mag solche Wirckung auch geschehen im Gwülck.

Dieweil nuhn also nicht allein vom Gewülck ein Regen kompt / sondern auch von Kreutern / durch die Sonne / aber vnsichtig : Dann vrsach / was die Sonne an sich zeucht / dasselbige zergeht gleich einem Lufft auß dem Mund : so auß Krafft der Sonnen geht / dasselbige verschwindt / vnd fellt doch wider auff sein Boden / ohn endtpfinden oder mercken / das do kein sichtlicher Regen ist / vnnd berührt doch die Erden : vnd ist auch kein Thaw. Gleich als mit dem Rauch / derselbig zergeht im Lufft vnd verschwindt : nit das jhn die Weitte zertreibt / dann er blieb in solchem Weg / sondern er verschwindt / gleich als das Fewr daß Holtz hinnimpt : also verzehrt jhn der Lufft hin / vnnd ist auch ein Regen / der wider fellt in sein Absterben. Auch gibt der Lufft sein Regen / vnnd auch inn ander Weg / das ist / im Taw / im Tron / in Tereniabin / etc. Darauff so wissendt / dieweil ein jeglich Element inn seinen Früchten also ist / das es durch sein Resoluieren dahin kompt / das es zu einem Regen wirdt / vnnd doch nicht ein Regen geheissen wirdt / vnnd das also. Jhr sehendt / das alle Wasser so wir hie beschreiben / nicht anders dann für Regen sollen geachtet werden : vnd ob aber die Nammen anders sindt / oder werendt / das soll sich der *Naturalis* nit bekümmern lassen / sondern in die Natur / Vrsprung vnd Herkommen gohn.

Auff das folgt nuhn weitter / so die Brunnen / Regen sind jres Elements / vnd also lauffen in Bachsweiß : So ist also auch der Bach des Himmels inn seiner Weiß / den zu Tropfesweiß lassen auff die Erden kommen. Dann solchs ist ein
420 Notturfft / vnd | ist ein Ordnung / so von wegen Notturfft geben ist : darzu auch ein sonder Proceß solcher Generation : Wie dann ein jedes Element sein sonder Art an jhm hatt / also hatt es auch inn diesem Element. Darumb so sollen wir der Regen Wasser dermassen erkennen / das es ist ein Wasser / nit anders in der Philosophey zuerkennen / dann gleich den andern Wassern / vnnd Form vnd Herkommen nicht entsetzen lassen / sondern dasselbig der Natur zueigen. Darauff so wissendt / das der Regen Art in jrer Eigenschafft / Wesen / etc. gleich ein Wesen ist / als in den andern Elementen / vnd nit weniger darinn zusuchen. Darumb so die Erdt nicht gebe Artzney oder dergleichen / so ist das Regenwas-

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vapor into water. So are also the smokes of fire in the element. For just as you can see that the fruits of the earth are water, so, too, are the clouds, in the same way that herbs are. Now, just as the human being turns herbal vegetation into water, so does the element of fire reduce the clouds into water. And as the sun attracts some waters, so the same kind of effect also occurs in clouds.

Thus, rain not only comes from the clouds, but also from herbal vegetation by virtue of the sun, but invisibly so. The reason for this is that what the sun attracts to itself is dispersed like air exhaled from the mouth. What goes out by the force of the sun disappears, yet descends back to its ground without being perceived or noticed, with no visible rain; yet it touches earth. Nor is it dew. It is as with a fume or vapor which dissolves in the air and disappears. It is not dispersed away, for it remains on its course, but it disappears, like wood consumed by fire: so is it consumed by the air; and it is a form of rain which falls to its demise. The air itself also yields its kind of rain, indeed in a different way, namely in dew, in *tron*,[1] tereniabin, etc. In this connection, note that each element is such, regarding its fruits, that its resolution yields rain and yet is not called that, for it is as follows. You will notice that all waters described here cannot be regarded as anything but rain. Though the name may differ, this should not matter to a *naturalis* [a natural philosopher] who should instead immerse himself in the nature, origin, and emergence of the phenomenon.

Furthermore, it follows from this that since the springs and rain are of their own element and run like brooks, so does the brook of the heavens in its own way, which is to precipitate in drops onto the earth. For this is necessary and | 420
an order of things for serving that necessity for which there is also a special process for such a generation. Every element possesses its peculiar nature, and so it is with this one. We should note that rainwater is indeed water, not to be distinguished from it in our speculation. It is like other waters in form and origin and not to be disassociated from them. It has the same nature. Know from this, too, that the nature of rain in its property, essence, etc., is not different from what is found in other elements and not to be sought any less in them. If the earth does not yield such things as medicine, rainwater is powerful in fulfilling this

1 On *tron* see above, H 8:300. On tereniabin see above, H 8:242.

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ser gewaltig zuerfüllen denselbigen Abgang. Dann im Regen ist *Vrtica,*[a] *Tapsus,*[b] *Bryonia*[c] vnnd andere all dergleichen. Darumb jhr sollen vom Regen die Eigenschafft wol erfahren vnd erkennen : Dann in jhr ist ein Grundt der Artzney / nit weniger als im Wasser / oder in der Erden.

Dieweil nuhn also vom Element der Erden ein solcher Grundt zuersehen ist / so ist vor allem demselbigen noth zuwissen / wie derselbig geboren werd. Dann wie die fördern Tractat innhalten / das ist / die Geburt deß Gewülchs : Hie aber die Zerbrechung des Gewülchs / das ist / vom Vrsprung des Regens / wie der werde. Dann gleich so ein Baum beschrieben wirdt / von seinem Herkommen / vnd der Frucht vergessen wirdt : Also ist hie auch von dem Regen / daß Gewülck der Baum / vnd der Regen sein Frucht. Als dann nach diesem volgt die Eigenschafft der Regen / wie die Eigenschafft der Bäumen vnd jhrer Früchten : Also in dem weg auch von dem Regen / wie sonder Bäum sind / also auch sondere Regen / sondere Kreuter / also auch andere sondere Regen : Das ich dann den Artzten befihl hoch vnd fast zu ergründen vnd wissen. Dann so ein Artzt in solchem nit Verstandt hatt / so ist er kein *Philosophus* / vnd mag auch keiner werden. Dann auß solcher Ordnung der Natur / Krafft / Artzney vnd erkanntnuß / entspringt der Rechte Artzt : Welcher aber die mangelt / derselbige artzneyet gleich / als so ein Schuchmacher vnterstanden wolt / die Metallen zuferben wie das Leder / oder ein Zimmermann mit seiner Axt zuhawen die Stein. Dann die Artzney mag solchen Gebresten nicht gedulden / das er in einem Artzt sey / der sich deß ein Amptmann nennet.

421 So nun also dz Gewülck geboren ist / so mercken / dz es muß in die Resolution gahn / gleich wie die Erden gezwungen wirdt zugehn in dz Graß. Solche Resolution beschicht in dem wege / das es sich Tropfenweiß im Gewülck gebiert / vnd nit im schütten zu Tropffen macht. Dann ein jeglicher Tropffen von seim Regen / ist also im Gewülck geboren / vnd mag nit von einander fallen / oder zertheilt werden. Dann solten im schütten die Tropffen werden / so wer jr Fall zu schwer / vnd fiele Eins mahls / vnd möchte nit sein / dz alle mahl zu Tropffen würden. Dann vrsach / die Fall sindt nit dermassen das sie alle der Windt durchgang : auch so mag es nit einander nach fallen / oder so lang als

a Relevant to the substantiality of smoke is the burning quality of *urtica,* as in *Opus Paramirum:* "der namm soll gehn von der materia vnd eigenschafft / vnd wesen der rechten Substantz: Als Nesseln / ist recht **Vrtica**, sie brennt" (H 1:94).

b In *De Gradibus*, ***Tapsus*** is listed among cold herbs, "*Quae ex Terra producuntur, in primo gradu Frigida sunt*" (H 7:14).

c According to *Von den Blatern* [...] *Zittrachten der Frantzosen*, "Ein jeglich Sal das da gebrennt würt auß der Parthenien / Serpentina **Prionia** / vnnd in das Wasser geworffen / nimpt wunderbarlich hinweg Rauden vnnd Kratzen / was also von Frantzosen ist" (H C:303a).

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purpose. In rain reside *Urtica* [nettle], *Tapsus* [*verbascum thapsus* (great mullein)], *Bryonia*,[1] and other such things. Hence, you should indeed experience and learn about the properties of the rain. For in it lies a ground of medicine, no less than in water or earth.

Inasmuch as a foundation of this kind can be recognized in the element of earth, we must know above all how it comes into being. Just as the previous treatises covered the emergence of cloud formations, this one will cover their destruction: this is the origin and provenance of rain. A tree is described in terms of its origin while its fruit is disregarded. Here we will speak about the rain. The cloud formation is the tree and the rain its fruit. What follows is the property of the rain, as one would speak of the property of trees and their fruit. So, we speak here of the rain. Just as there are particular trees, there is particular rain. If there are particular herbs, there are no less particular kinds of rain. I commend the physicians to know this in the deepest and soundest way. The physician who has no understanding of this is no *philosophus* and never will be. It is from this order of nature, power, medicine, and knowledge that the true physician comes into being. Whoever lacks it practices medicine like a shoemaker who would tincture metals like leather, or like a carpenter who would use his own art to chop stones. Medicine will not tolerate such failings in a physician who claims to be an official.

As soon as the clouds are born, one notices that they must enter resolution 421
in the same way that the earth is compelled to pass into grass. The resolution occurs in this way: it is born by drops in the cloud formation. It does not form drops in a downpour. Each drop of its rain is born in the clouds; and the drops cannot fall from one another or be divided. For if such drops came into being in a downpour, their descent would weigh much and it would all fall at once. There would not be drops relentlessly falling. Their fall would not be such that the wind passes through them all. Nor could they fall one after another or for

1 Fumigations of nettles or *verbascum thapsus* are praised by P. in *Von Vrsprung, Herkommen vnd Anfang der Frantzosen Acht Bücher* as powerful remedies against ulcerations such as herpes or impetigo (H C:244a). See also *Von den Blatern, Lähme, Beulen, Löcheren vnnd Zittrachten der Frantzosen* (H C:289c), where the roots of these plants are used and *bryonia dioica* is recommended as well against herpes.

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dann ein Regen weret. Darumb so fallen die Regen herab in Tropffenweiß auß dem Gewülck einander nach / wie dann desselbigen Gwülcks arth vnd Eigenschafft ist / viel oder wenig. Als ein Exempel : alle *Salia* Resoluiren sich durch ein langen Sacken / Tropffenweiß hindurch / vnd nit auff Einen Platsch : also das Gewülcke auch solcher *Salium* Art hatt / sich zu Resoluiern. Vnd wiewol es in keinem Sack ligt / sondern schwebt in freyem Lufft. Also kunstreich ist der Schöpffer / vber den Menschen / das er ein solches erhalten kan vber alle Menschlich Vermögen. Darumb so wissendt / das die Gewülck der *Salium* Arth behalten / vnnd *Guttatim* herab fallen.

Darauff so wissend auch ein solches Exempel. Jr sehend / dz alle Stein jr Form haben / der also / der also : Solchs geschicht auß Krafft des Saltzs / dann die Form ist im Saltz. Wie nun also die Granen der Steinen wachsen / also wachsen sie auch im Gewülck / vnd ist gleich dieselbige Krafft / die die Granaten / etc. macht zu Körnlein / etc. Also auch im Gewülck. Vnd ob do ein vnterscheid were mit den Steinen vnd Regen / das thut die Art der Elementen : aber die Formen geben sich in allen Elementen auß Einer Art / dz ist / auß dem Saltz. Auff das so merckend dz / dieweil die Erden jhr sondere Form hatt in allen seinen dingen : also hatt auch sein sondre Form der Regen in derselbigen Krafft : also auch im Wasser. Dann do ist der Regen Tropffen kein andere vrsprung / als allein in dem weg zuverstehen / wie die Nüssen wachsen auß den Bäumen / wachsen Kesten / Byren / etc. Also wie nun die Form im selbigen Saltz leyt / also leyt es auch im Gewülck / vnd in derselbigen Krafft werden Tropffen dar-
422 auß / in der gestalt / | als seyend es Nüß oder Byren der Gewülck. Also hierauff so ist nuhn weitter nichts mehr noth zuwissen vom Vrsprung der Tropffen / von wannen sie kommen / als wie obsteht. Die andern aber so do halten / dz im Fall ein solchs beschehe / oder durch die Windt / dieselbigen vergessen / das sie im Troum reden. Also wann es also im fallen beschehe / so müssend die Byren auch also fallen. Aber sie wissend der Natur Arth vnnd Eigenschafft nit / das ist / jr Wesen. Wann so sie verstunden / was ein Gewülck were / so musten sie bekennen / das sie nicht recht redten. Zu dem das sie nicht wissen / das die Gewülck die Regen auß der Krafft machen / dorauß Bäum jhre Byren machen.

So wissendt auch das viel Regen sindt / die do am ersten in ein zusammen gesambleten Weg gehent (das ist / [ ] also so [ ]) biß zusammen sich in ein *Corpus* bringt / vnnd behaltet doch ein jedes jr Form der Grösse : als die Saltzstein gesamlet sind / das etliche Körner sind / vnd doch eim Stein gleich ist vnd ist. Wie also solche Gewechs sind / do Resoluieren sich die Stein hindann / vnd gleich dieselbig Grösse gibt die Tropffen / das ist / also groß ist ein Tropffe / als groß das Körnlein im Gewülck Coaguliert ist. Dann do nemet euch ein solch exempel / das alle Stein auß der Compaction kommen / vnd sind darinn / das ist / sie sind nur ein Puluer / vnd dasselbige Puluer ist zusammen in ein Stein

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as long as the rain lasts. Hence, the rain falls in drops from the cloud successively, whether much or little, as it lies in the nature of the particular cloud. Here is an analogy. All *salia* [salts] are resolved in the course of a long trickle, drop by drop, not with a single splash. The clouds have the same manner as these *salia* of becoming resolved, even though they do not stand in a receptacle but hover freely in the air. Thus, does the artful creator exceed all human capacity in achieving such effect. Know, then, that the clouds have the character of *salia* and descend *guttatim* [drop by drop].

Furthermore, take note of this analogy. As you can see, every stone has its peculiar form, this one is like this, that one like that. This is caused by the power of the salt. For it is in the salt that the form resides.[1] Just as the grains of stones grow, so is there growth in the cloud formation by the same force that turns the pomegranates into kernels, etc. So, too, in the cloud. Any difference between stones and rain is due to the nature of the elements. Yet in all elements forms arise from a single nature: from salt. In consequence, note that while the earth possesses its particular forms in all things, rain has its particular form in that same power. So, too, with water. The rain drops can be understood in terms of no other origin but that by which nuts grow from trees, chestnuts or berries, etc. Just as the form resides in that same salt, so, too, does it lie in the cloud formation. In that power drops arise, in the same form | as if they were nuts 422
or berries of the cloud. There is nothing more that can be known concerning the origin of the drops and whence they arise than the above. But those who think that rain happens in falling all at once or that the drops are caused by wind forget that they are speaking as if in a dream. If it happens in falling, the berries would have to fall too. They do not know the mode and properties of nature, that is, its essence. If only they understood what a cloud formation is, they would have to concede that what they say is incorrect. They do not know that clouds give rise to rain by virtue of the same power through which trees make their berries.

Be aware, too, that there are many rains which initially pass into a cumulative path (that is [...] thus so [...]), until a *corpus* is brought together, while each nonetheless maintains its form of magnitude. Thus, are salt stones accumulated, consisting of multiple grains, and yet they are alike one stone. When there is such growth, the stones resolve themselves back. Precisely that same magnitude yields the drops, that is, the drop is as large as the kernel is coagulated in the cloud. Consider this analogy. All stones result from compaction and abide in it, which is to say that they are a powder that has come together to form a

1 See above, H 8:416–417.

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kommen / als jhr in viel Sandstein sehend / die Tropffen der Körnlein angehengt : Also ist das Gewülck auch zusammen Compactiert. Vnd wie in einem Mörsel die Stein zu Puluer gestossen werden / also wirdt das Gewülck zu Puluer Resoluiert / das ist / in Wasser. Dann das Puluer ist der Stein Art / vnd das Wasser der Gewülck Art : vnd ist ein jeglichs in seiner Art / eins wie das ander / das ist / beides Puluer / oder beides Wasser. Das es der Nammen hie theilet / das thut die Form / vnd nicht die Natur vnd Eigenschafft / dann also ist jhr Natur. Dann ein jeglichs gibt sein Alkool / vnd dasselbig in massen wie obsteht.

So mercket auch hierinn die Eigenschafft der Gewülck / vor dem vnd ehe sie die Regen geben / das sie nicht allein ob vns sindt / wie wirs dann sehen / sonder auch etlich theil auch bey vns. Das ist / das Gewülck wie es ob vns ist /
423 do ist das *Corpus* | der Regen / darauß der Regen wirdt. Nun ist das weitter sein Eigenschafft / das es ein Dunst vnd ein Dampff von jhm gibt / so es die Region begreifft / darauff es schwebt : Vnnd ist gleich einem Fewer / das hatt sein *Corpus* an dem orth do es ist. Aber weitter gibt es sein Dunst / das ist / sein Hitz von jhm / vber die Weitte seines Corpus. Also wie die Hitze deß Fewers gehet / ausserthalb seines Corpus : Also gehet auch vom Gewülck ein solcher Dunst / vnnd behalt die Arth seines Corpus / wie dann die Hitze des Fewers. Wie wir die Hitze nicht sehen an gemeltem Fewer : Also mögen wir diesen Dunst auch nicht sehen / aber sein *Corpus* / das ist / sein Gewülck. Darauff so wissendt / wie nuhn die Hitz verdorret das sie begreifft : Also auch dieser Dunst leßt nicht sein Arth auch / vnd verwendt was es begreifft : Dauon kompt vnd entspringt / das die Läden kirren / so mans auff vnnd zuthut : Vnnd dieser Dunst legt auch den Rauch nider im Camin vnd hencket die (Thalen) an die (Heffe /) vnd legt sich an die heimlichen Gemach / vnd verwandlet den Geschmack / vnd andere ding dergleichen. Die alle seindt Warzeichen deß Regens / gleich als ein Hitz vom Feuwer verstanden wirdt / also soll auch diß [] verstanden werden : Vnnd was dergleichen solcher Regen Zeichen sindt / von demselbigen Dunst entsprungen. Dieser Dunst aber gibt kein Regen vnnd dergleichen / allweg die Arth. Dann als wenig ein Hitz mag ein Fewr machen / also wenig mag dieser auch ein Regen machen. Dieser Dunst treibt die (Reiger) gegen einander / also das sie nieder fliegen / vrsachen vernemmen / sie wöllen [sich] vom Dunst endtnemmen : Also so einer von der Hitz fleucht vnnd weicht / also ist den Reigern auch an diesem Dunst / dann sie fliegen gerne in die Höhe / vnd in reinen Lufft. Solcher Vorbotten oder Regen zeichen seind viel mehr beyeinander / vnnd begegnen do auch also / waß vrsachen / ist wie obstehet.

Also nun weitter von solchen Gewülcken / so wissend / dz sie sich in Gebirgen am meisten nidersetzen : dann vrsachen / so das Gewülck von Regen schwebet / vnd noch nit Resoluiert ist zu seinen Tropffen : so wissendt / das die Feuchte von der Erden die ist / auß der vrsach das Gewülck Resoluiert / vnd

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stone. You can see this in sandstone: how the drops are attached to the kernels. So, too, is the cloud formation compacted. As stone is ground into powder in a mortar, so the cloud is resolved into powder, meaning water. Powder is the nature of the stone and water the nature of the cloud. Each in its own way is like the other: both are powder, both water. The names are distinct because of their form, not because of their nature or property. This is their nature. Everything yields its powder,[1] in the way described above.

So, take note of this property of the clouds before they yield rain: they are not only above us, as we see them, but to a certain extent around us. This is to say that the clouds that are above us are the | *corpus* of the rain, from which 423
rain results. Now it is in their nature to yield fog and steam that encompass a region, hovering over it. It is like a fire that has its *corpus* in the place where it is found, but it yields its vapor further on, that is, the heat which it gives off beyond the extent of its *corpus*. In the same way, a vapor proceeds from the cloud formation, maintaining the character of its corpus, like heat that of fire. We do not see this heat from the fire, nor do we see the vapor; but such is what its *corpus* is, that is, the cloud formation. Be aware then that the heat withers whatever it encompasses. So, too, the vapor does not wane in its nature and changes whatever it encompasses. Because of this, shutters clatter when one opens or closes them. The same vapor draws down the smoke in the chimney and causes the (sinking) on the (yeast) and settles in domestic chambers, altering the taste and doing other such things. All these things are harbingers of rain, just as heat points to fire, so, too, should this [...] be understood. Whatever harbingers of rain may occur arise from that vapor. The vapor does not yield rain, but always has this character. No more than heat can cause fire does it cause rain. The vapor makes the (herons) collide so that they descend in their flight to escape the fog. In the same way one tries to flee and avoid heat, the herons react to this vapor. They are compelled to fly high into a pure air. These harbingers or signs of rain accumulate and are encountered for the reasons explained above.

Now to continue with these cloud formations, you should know that they settle most of all in mountain regions. The reason is that the rain clouds hover there before they are resolved into drops. Be aware that the moisture of the earth is such because the clouds resolve and enter a resolved state. The cloud

1 The German word is "Alkool." On *alcool* in the sense of powder, see above, H 8:244.

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424 ein Resoluierung annimpt. Dann das Gewülck in seiner *Materia* das Resoluiert | sich selber nit / gleich als ein Thaw durch die Feuchte der Erden sich Resoluiert in ein Wasser / also muß nun hie auch beschehen / das das Gewülck durch die Erde Resoluiert wird. Auß dem volgt nun / daß in ettlichen Landen selten oder wenig regnet. Dann das ist die vrsach / das dieselbigen Gewülck / von der Erden die Resoluierung nit nemmen : Dann dieselbige Erden ist zu trucken / vnd lest sich nit Resoluieren. Wo aber diese Erden nit ist am selbigen orth / Feucht vnd [] als dann so ist die Erde ein vrsach der Resoluierung. Darumb auß der vrsach regnets an einem orth mehr als an dem andern : dergleichen auch inn den Gebirgen / dunstet die Feuchte der Gebirgen mehr / vnd geiffert fester / dann als in andern Landen. Darumb was für Gewülck in die Berge kommen / die werden Resoluiert / die sich sonst verhalten / vnd zu keinem Regen giengen.

Dann hierinn ist zuwissen / das die Gewülck hoch vnnd nider stehen vnd gehnd / auch keinem Regen gleich sehen / allein so sie von der Erden Feuchte anrüret werden / so verkehren sie sich zu Regen : vnd nach dem vnd jhr beider Resoluierung ist / gehen sie zu Regen. Auß solchen vrsachen so wissen / das auch die Viele der Regen entspringen : deß die vrsachen / das nit viel mal deß Gewülcks schuld ist / sondern der Erden / die es zerbricht / welche ein zeit mehr / als die ander dempffen ist. Dann durch diese Coniunction der Erden Feuchte vnd Gewülck Materien / wirdt der Regen geboren : Dann das Gewülck mag auß eigner Krafft in keinen Regen sich Resoluieren. Gleich als die *Salia* bleiben trucken / wo sie der Erden Feuchte nit befinden : also auch das Gewülck. Dann einer jeglichen Resolution ist die Erden ein vrsach. Sich begibet auch viel / das die Sonne viel Gewülck verzert / als das Feür das Holtz : dann solche Art kommet auß dem / so die Sonne für der Erdtfeuchte in das Gewülck kommet / so wirdt kein Regen / dann der Regenwolck [wirdt] von der Sonnen verzehrt. Wo aber der Erden Feuchte darein kompt / früher dann die (seinen) Gewülck angefangen hatt / so ist es nichts / als allein ein Resoluierung zum Regen / nach dem vnd der Gewülck viel oder wenig sindt.

Die Meer Regen / dz ist / die auff dem Meer sind / nemmen jhr Resoluierung auch von der Erden / vnd nicht vom Wasser / sondern also. So die Erde jr
425 Feuchte vom Meer gibt / vnd darnach | auffsteiget / als dann so mag solchs das Gewülck resoluieren / wie auff der Erden. Aber auff dem Meer werden solcher Regen nit souil / als auff dem Landt : Vrsach / das solche Erdfeuchte nit mag auffsteigen / so offt als durch die Erde : Dann dz Meer ist ein Mittels dz da hindert. Dann so auff der Erden auch ein Feuchte ligt / so geschicht es auch / dann allein die Erdfeuchti resoluiert allein dz Gewülck / vnd nit die Wasserfeuchte. Dann es ist *Materia Salis* / die do *guttatim* sich resoluiert / vnd nicht Eins mals. Es werden auch breitte Regen auff dem Meer / vnd hefftiger als auff der Erden : Dann vrsach / die Land sind vngleich mit der Resoluierung /

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formation in its *materia* has not resolved | itself the same way dew is transformed into water by the moisture of the earth. It has yet to happen that the clouds are resolved by the earth. From this it follows that in some territories it rarely if ever rains. That is the reason why these cloud formations do not receive their resolution from the earth. It is too dry and does not permit resolution. Wherever the earth in a particular place is not moist and […], so that the earth is a cause of resolution. This is why it rains more in one place than another. So, too, in mountain regions. The mountain moisture vaporizes more and acts more effectively than in other territories. Whatever kind of clouds come into the mountains are resolved, though they would otherwise hold back and not yield their rain. 424

Here it is to be noted that the clouds hover and move high as well as low and do not look like rain until they are affected by the moisture of the earth and are transformed into rain. After this happens, effecting the transformation of both, they pass into rain. Be aware that these are the causes of much rain. The causes are such that it is rarely the case that it is due to the cloud formation, but rather to the earth which causes the break, one time being more disposed to this with the other more disposed to vapor. For through the conjunction of earthly moisture and the material of the clouds the rain is born. By its own force, the cloud cannot induce this result. The *salia* remain dry unless they encounter terrestrial moisture; and the same applies to the clouds. The earth is the cause of any resolution. It also often happens that the sun displaces the clouds, as fire does with wood. This sort of thing results from the sun's having entered into the cloud formation in place of the terrestrial moisture. In consequence, it does not rain: the rain cloud [is] displaced by the sun. But whenever the moisture of the earth enters in, before the process begins in the cloud formation, there is no such effect other than the resolution into rain depending on whether the cloud has much or little of it.

The sea rains, those that come down over the sea, are also resolved by the earth; not by the water, but rather this way. The earth yields its moisture from the sea, and it afterwards | ascends, so that it can resolve the cloud formations as it does over the earth. However, over the sea such rains are not as common as over land. The reason for this is that the requisite moisture of the earth cannot ascend as often as it does through the earth. The sea is an intermediate thing which prevents this. When moisture resides on earth, this also happens. For only the terrestrial moisture resolves the clouds, not the aqueous moisture. The *materia salis* is resolved *guttatim*, not all at once. Moreover, there are widespread rains over the sea, and more violent ones than over the earth. The reason for this is that the territories are unequal in resolution, whereas the sea is not. 425

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so das Meer gleich ist. Auch dergleichen begibt es sich vil / dz die Erdfeuchte ein Gewülck still halt / also dz es bezwungen wird / am selbigen ort sich zu resoluieren / vnd nit weitter zu gehn : Auß der Vrsach / dieweil dz Gewülck noch etwas Trocken an jm hat / so mag es der Wind verjagen. Aber so bald es gar in die Feuchte kommen ist / so ist der Wind deß nimmer gewaltig / sondern muß es lassen gehn vnd stehn. Dann dz Gewülck begibt sich offt / dz es mit / mit sammt der Resoluierung wachßt vnd zunimmt / vnd mit dem Wachssen von stund an resoluiert / vnd zu Regen wird. Darumb manchmal auß kleinem Gewülck lange Regen kommen : Also auch offtmals vergehen / vnd gleich widerumb do. Wiewol dieselbig Vrsach in dem Ersten Tractat gemeldet ist / das ist / vom Vrsprung der Gewülck. Es sind auch vil Regen /

(*Videntur pauca hîc deficere.*)

das offtmals ein Erden mehr oder schneller resoluiert / dann die ander : Dorumb do dieselbigen *Gradus* der Stärcki in der Erdtfeuchti / die Gewülck eins mehr dann dz ander resoluirt / nach dem vnd die *Gradus* innhalten. Dann alle Wirckung ist in die *Gradus* gesetzt.

Aber von dem Wolckenbruch ist ein solchs zu wissen / dz sie jren Vrsprung nemmen durch [die Wind / die sie] in den Fall bringen / also. So ein Generation geschehen ist / die so Compact sein Gewülck in einander / do [immer] mehr Wind werden / dz ist / *compressum :* Dann alle ander Gewülck sind dünn vnd lautter / als jr in einem Rauch sehend. So aber also ein Gewülck so Compreß in einander steigt / oder mehr dann Eins in ein Ring kommen / vnd zu gleicher maß die Erdfeuchte annemmen / dz ist / vnter einist sich resoluirten / vnd nit
426 einander nach / von grosser Zeitigung : So fallt es | auff Einen Platsch herab / gleich als einer der ein Nußbaum schüttet / oder dergleichen. Dann so also im Gewülck die Erdfeuchti yndrünge / so vbereilet es dz Gewülck / als dann so fallt es gen boden in der eyl auch. So ist auch hie zu wissen / dz ein solcher *Impetus* on Wind nit sein mag : Darauß folget / wo Wind mitlauffen / ein treffliche Gewülck deß Regens do ist / vnnd also vom Wind wird die Erdfeuchti gewaltig angetriben in dz Gewülck / darumb dz ein schnelle Resolution beschehen muß. Auch dergleichen begibet sich vil / dz die Erdfeuchte in Lufft kommt / aber doch kein Regen macht : Vrsach / do ist kein Regengewülck do. So aber mit nachfolgender zeit das Gewülck kompt / vnd begreifft dise Erdtfeuchte der Erden in seiner höhe / so ist als dann auch möglich mechtig Regen / vnd schnell.

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In addition, it often happens that the terrestrial moisture arrests a cloud formation, so that it is forced to resolve itself in a place without moving on. The reason is that the cloud is still rather dry inside and the wind can chase it away. Yet as soon as it has entered into the moist territory, the wind is no longer powerful enough to do this and must let it stand or pass. For the cloud often grows and increases in the process, and in so doing immediately turns to rain. This is why at times a long rain results from a small cloud. By the same token, it often disappears and comes back again. In the first treatise the same cause has been explained concerning the origin of the clouds.[1] There are also many rains [...]

(*Videntur pauca hîc deficere.*)
[A little seems to be missing.]

[...] that often one earthly territory is more thoroughly or quickly resolved than another. Therefore, since the same *gradus* of strength is in the terrestrial moisture, one cloud is resolved more than another in accordance with the *gradus* they contain, for all action is placed in the *gradus*.

But regarding the cloud bursts, it should be taken note of that they arise through [the winds] which cause them to descend, indeed as follows. When a process of generation has come about, with the clouds compacted together, [more and] more winds arise. This is *compressum*. For all other clouds are thin and pure, looking to us like vapor. But when a cloud ascends, thus compressed together, or when more than one of them form a circle and receive the earthly moisture in the same manner, they resolve themselves together, not successively but with a great generation; and it all falls | with a single great splash, as if 426
one were to shake a nut tree or something of the kind. For when the terrestrial moisture penetrates the clouds, it overtakes them, and it all comes down precipitously. It should be noted that there can be no such *impetus* without wind.[2] It follows from this that whenever winds are involved, a striking rain cloud is present, with the terrestrial moisture being driven powerfully by the wind into the clouds so that resolution must take place precipitously. Moreover, it frequently happens that the earthly moisture enters into the air, but without causing any resolution for the reason that no rain cloud is present. However, after a time the cloud formation arrives to enfold the earth's moisture at its height: at that point a powerful rain is possible and may happen soon.

1 The first treatise as we have it does not seem to contain this description, which, however, it may have included in parts that Huser could not recover: see above, H 8:418.

2 See above the *Liber tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis*, H 8:303–304.

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Darumb so wissent / so die Sonne heiß scheinet / vnd jren Schein trefflich auff die Erden gibt / so trocknet sie die Erden / vnd macht den Boden dürr : Dz ist / die Erdfeuchti kommt in Lufft / vnd bleibt im Lufft / vnd ist kein Regen selbst. Dann von der Erden oder Wasser mag kein Gewülckmaterien geboren werden. So nun also ein solche Erdfeuchti in dem Lufft schwebet / die nit zusehen ist / noch zu mercken : So folgt hierauß / so bald ein Regenwolck kommt / von stund an resoluiert wird. Auch vil Gewülck sind / die wir Kleinj halben nicht sehen mögen. So nun ein solche Erdfeuchti darzu kommt / als dann so entferbt sich dz Gewülck / vnd wird sichtig von der Erdfeuchti / vnd gibt aber ein Regen / so offt ein solches Gewülck darzu kommt : vnd wo von der grossen Sonnenhitz dasselbig nit auffzogen würd / so giengen dieselbigen Regengewülck hin / vnd würde kein Regen darauß. Waß aber von küler Sonnen kommt / dasselbige sind langsame Regen / vnd kommen nit also gehlingen vnd kurtz / sind zu beyden seiten langsam. Darumb so wissend auch hie die Vrsach / warumb die Fliegen in solcher Wetter zeit so hefftig stechen : Ist die / dz diselbig Vnbestendigkeit deß Wetters den Fliegen widerwertig ist / vnd macht sie gleich wüetig / als die *Caniculares*[a] die Hunde wüetend machen : Vnd ist allein ein wüettige vnd windtige Art / die in jrer Art ist / vnd fallen an / wz sie greiffen / mit Zorn / als ein Hund der do anfallt vnd beißt : Es sind auch solcher Thier mehr / die bey solcher Sommerhitz also wüetig werden / vnd in der Küelen wider nachlassen.

427 Auff dz also / so wissent / dz die Regen / wie obstaht / herkommen / | vnd in mancherley Weg : Wie dann alle / die do durch *Coniunctiones* beschehen müssen / zu vngleicher Art kommen. Dann was in die Coniunction gesetzt wird / dasselbig mag kein mal kommen / wie dz ander mal : Als mit den Menschen / die auch einander nit gleich sehend. Darumb so wissend / das sich die Regen dermassen auch mannigfaltig machen. Dann waß der Coniunction vnterworffen ist / dz mag niemermehr zu gleicher Art kommen / sondern als offt ein Generation / als offt ein besonders. So aber die Erdtfeucht im Lufft lege / dz ist / so sie auß dem Lufft kehme / so würd do Ein Regen allezeit gleich dem andern : Darzu auch würde der Regen sein ander Wesen haben. Dieweil aber im Lufft / oder in Winden kein Feuchti ligt / die do resoluiren mag oder möchti

a As always, so, too, with this term for the "dog days": the meteorological is also the medical because the human microcosm bears time and transient nature within itself: "Also auch auß grosser Hitz werden Würm: Als jhr secht im Sommer / do faulen alle ding / was do ist / auß der grossen Hitz. Nuhn ist das der grund / so im Leib also auch ist ein Augustus, Iunius, etc. **Caniculares**, so faulen auch dorin die partes corporis, vnd als dann wachsen auß jhnen Würm / etc. Also auch in Menschen dermassen der gantz Microcosmus ist / vnd in seinen partibus jhm solches begegnet / etc." (*Fragmenta medica* pertaining to the *Eilff Tractat*—H 5:303).

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Therefore, you should be aware that if the sun shines brightly and directs its radiance keenly to the earth, this dries the earth and makes the ground desiccated. The terrestrial moisture enters into the air and stays in it, and this in itself is not rain. From the earth or water, no cloud material can be born. But when terrestrial moisture hovers in the air invisibly and unnoticeably, it follows that as soon as a raincloud arrives it is immediately resolved. There are many clouds that we do not notice because they are so small. Upon the arrival of a terrestrial moisture, the cloud changes its color and becomes visible from the moisture; and it yields rain whenever the requisite cloud arrives. Whenever on account of the sun's heat this does not show up, the same rainclouds may pass on without yielding rain. As for the effect of cool sunshine, this turns into a slow rain which does not come with a torrent but slowly on both sides. You should know as well why it is that the flies swarm so thickly in such weather. It is the inconstancy of the weather that the flies hate that makes them as furious as the dogs enraged by the *caniculares* [dog days]. It is nothing but a furious windy nature: they angrily attack whatever they can, as the dogs attack and bite. There are more animals of this kind that are furious in the summer heat but relax when it cools down.

So be aware, as indicated above, that the rains also come | in more than 427
one way. All those rains that must come to pass through *conjunctiones* have an unequal character. For whatever is dependent upon conjunction will never occur the same way twice. So, too, with human beings who never look alike. You should know that the rains also develop in many ways. For whatever is subject to conjunction will never recur in the same way, but rather for each new generation there will be something particular. If, however, it were the case that the humidity lay in and came from the air, one single kind of rain would prevail at all times. Rain would have no other character. But in the air or in the winds

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dz Gewülck / sondern von der Erden kommen muß / dann sie ist deß gewaltig : Auß der vrsachen müssen die Verenderung kommen / vnd mancherley Art der Regen. Auch dergleichen / wie dann in dem Ersten Tractat angezeigt wird / von viler Art der Sternen / werden auch begriffen / vil Art der Regen. Dann als wenig ein Bronn dem andern gleich sicht / also wenig auch die Regen. Dann durch vile / sterck / vnd dergleichen / nach Art der Materien / werden solche Sachen geregieret : Darumb in dem Ersten Tractat solches zu erkennen / anzeigen.

Nun weitter / so wissend auch von den Fallenden Wassern / daß sie nit alle in Fallenßweiß herab kommen wie Wasser : sondern etlich in Schnee / ettliche in Körnerßweiß / vnd dergleichen / viel oder wenig / vnd zu gemeiner zeit / das ist / zu vngleicher zeit : Als dann die *Grandines* / die auch Fallend Wasser sind / aber nit in Wassers gestalt / die nemmen jren Vrsprung also zu fallen. Es ist ein besonder *Sal* / dz sich also Coagulirt in solche Körner / vnd werden also geboren. Vnd nit das Regentropffen sind / vnd auß Gefröst also zusammen / wie ein Eiß Coaguliert werden : Sondern also kommen sie auß jrem Gewülck / wie dann im Ersten Tractat fürgehalten wird. Aber dermassen ist sein Coagulation / dz sie von der Wermi deß Luffts vnd der Erden / on Erdfeuchti zerschmeltzen / dz ist / Dissoluiert werden zu Wasser : Dann jr Art vnd Herkommen ist / dz sie Gefroren entspringen. Darumb so wissent / so jre Stern auffgehnd / das sie ein Kelti machen vber dz gantze Land / biß sie geboren werden : Es sey im Sommer oder im Winter / so haben sie jren Gang : Vnd als offt sie gehnd / alß offt kommt
428 ein Winterische | Art mitgeloffen. Jren sind auch vil / die nit gantz in Körnerßweiß auff den Boden kommen / sondern eh Zeit im Lufft zerschmeltzen / vnd Regen darauß werden : Vnd ist gleich ein *Coagulatio* dem gefrornen Eyß / das sich selbst nit erhalten mag / so ein Werme antritt.

Also auch der Schnee ein Fallends Wasser ist / der also kommt von Art seines Gewülcks / vnd auch in zerschmeltzen geht durch die Werme / one alle Erdfeuchte. Dann die Rißlj vnd der Schnee theilen sich hie in solcher Art von einander / als dann im Anfang seins Vrsprungs erzehlt ist. Darumb so wissen von jnen / das sie in jrer Art vnd Eigenschafft auch getheilt sind / zugleicherweiß wie das Element Wasser / Stein vnd Metallen getheilt hat : Also ist der

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there resides no moisture which is not resolved on its own nor by the clouds. It must rather come from the earth which has power over it. From this cause the change must come, along with sundry kinds of rain. By the same token, the first treatise dealt with the varied kinds of stars and included also the varied kinds of rain.[1] No spring is like another one: so are the rains. It is by multiplicity, strength, and other such factors that such matters are governed. This was demonstrated in the first treatise.

Now, to continue, you should also know concerning the falling waters that they do not always descend precipitously as water. Some come down in snow, some in the form of hail stones, and so on. Much or little. At the usual times or unexpectedly. There are the *grandines* which are no less falling water, though not in the form of water. They fall for this reason. There is a particular *sal* that coagulates into that kind of kernels that come into being in that way.[2] It is not as if there were raindrops that freeze together when ice is coagulated. They come as they are from their cloud formation, as has been demonstrated in the first treatise. Yet their coagulation is such that the warmth of the air and earth melts them without terrestrial moisture: they dissolve to water. It is in their nature and source to arise frozen. Therefore, let it be noted that when their stars are in the ascent, they cast cold over the entire land, until this form of frozen water is born.[3] In summer or winter, they take their course. Whenever they arrive, a wintry | atmosphere accompanies them. There are many instances in which 428
they do not descend as kernels to earth, but melt beforehand in the air, turning to rain. It takes the form of a *coagulatio* of the frozen ice that cannot maintain itself when warmth arises.

So it is, too, that snow is a form of falling water which results from the character of a cloud and likewise begins to melt from the warmth without any terrestrial moisture. For sleet and snow are differentiated here in the way that was recounted at the start of their origin. So know that they are distinguished in their character and property in the same way that the aqueous element distinguishes stones and metals.[4] This is how it is with the snow and sleet in

1 See above, H 8:415–417. The first treatise, however, misses several parts, including that where the varied kinds of rain were mentioned.

2 See *Ein anders Opusculum de Meteoris*, H 8:272–273, but more accurately *Liber tertius Meteororum, de Impressionibus Elementi Ignis*, H 8:306.

3 Although this is reminiscent of the action of the winter (or cold) stars (H 8:75), this specific idea does not seem to be found again in the other meteorological treatises.

4 This allusion seems to echo the division of book four of the *Philosophy of the Elements*, "On the Element of Water," into a third treatise on minerals (*Tractatus Tertius: De Mineralibus*, H 8:136–144) and a fourth treatise on stones and gems (*Tractatus Quartus: De Lapidibus et Gemmis Elementi Aquae*, H 8:144–154).

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Schnee vnd Rißlj / gegen dem Regenwasser. Vnd wie das Element *Terræ* / Holtz vnnd Kraut sonderlich jedtlichs gemacht hat : Also auch führt hie dz Element Fewr die Art / in dem Fallenden Wasser. Darumb so wissend weitter / was darzu notwendig ist / im Buch *de Impressionibus Fulgurum* weitter erzehlt wird. Dann hierinn begreiffen wir allein / waß die Fallenden Wasser sind / zu erfüllen vnser Fürnemmen / von den Natürlichen Wassern. Wiewol das *de Impressionib. Fulgurum* / vnd dieses / nit mögen Vrsprung halber geschieden werden : So scheiden wirs hie allein von einander / von wegen der Eigenschafft vnd Gleichnuß / so sie haben gegen den andern Natürlichen Wassern der andern Elementen. Wollen hiemit das Fünffte Buch von den Natürlichen Wassern / beschlossen haben.

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comparison with rainwater. Just as the terrestrial element has made each kind of wood or herb distinct, so, too, does the fiery element determine the character of the falling waters. You should be aware of the vital things recounted in the book *De Impressionibus Fulgurum*.[1] We encompass here only the nature of the falling waters in order to complete our project of the Natural Waters. Though the theme of *De Impressionibus Fulgurum* and of this writing cannot be separated with regard to their origin, we do so separate them here simply because of the property and analogy they bear with respect to the other Natural Waters of the other elements. With this, we declare the Fifth Book of the Natural Waters concluded.

1 This treatise has not come down to us. As an entire chapter, however, is devoted to lightning in *De Meteoris* (chap. VIII: *De Fulgure*, H 8:231–238), it is entirely possible that the unknown treatise *De Impressionibus Fulgurum* eventually became this very chapter, several years after its mention in *Von den Natürlichen Wassern*.

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General Index

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