

WORLD-BUILDING AND THE EARLY MODERN IMAGINATION

EDITED BY ALLISON B. KAVEY

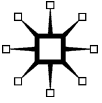


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*For my parents, who encouraged me to imagine new worlds,
and for my friends, who join me to play in them.*

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Acknowledgments

Dane Daniel and I started talking about editing a book together on the imagination in early modern natural philosophy when we were both Neville Fellows at the Chemical Heritage Foundation in the summer of 2005. Despite jobs that took us to very different places and quickly took over our lives, we kept talking about the prevalence of imagination in early modern thought. Imagination shifted to world-building as I dug more deeply into Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres* and Dane grappled with Paracelsus's theology. We offered a series of panels on Renaissance world-building at a number of conferences in 2008 and 2009, and they provided the foundation for this volume. While Dane was not able to serve as coeditor of this book, it would not exist without his keen intelligence and innovative scholarship.

Much is also owed to the contributors to this volume, all of whom responded with enthusiasm to my requests that they think and write more about Renaissance world-building. Their essays reflect their exceptional talent and the dazzling array of sources that this period offers. They also demonstrate the ways in which modern disciplinary boundaries prove meaningless from an early modern perspective. In these pages, natural philosophy, drama, empire building, philosophy, and theology speak clearly to each other because they share so much. This book contains as many worlds as it discusses, and it reads so well because of it.

Chris Chappell, Samantha Hasey, and all the staff at Palgrave did an outstanding job of making this book a reality. Their consistent efficiency and enthusiasm for the project made it possible, and I thank them for their patience and generosity of spirit. The library staffs who cooperated with us on the images also deserve mention. The Folger Shakespeare Library, the Neville Collection at the Chemical Heritage Foundation, the New York Public Library, the Edinburgh University Library, and the Tate were exceptionally helpful.

INTRODUCTION

“Think you there was, or ever could
be” a world such as this I dreamed

Allison B. Kavey

World-building is everywhere, or so it seems. From rebuilding Haiti after its devastating earthquake to the digital wonder-worlds on cinema screens, the twenty-first century imagination is obsessed with fixing old worlds and conjuring new ones. This is far from a new game. In the early modern period, people invented new worlds, created explanations for those they inhabited, and justified their relationships with other civilizations, nature, and God through their cosmogonical imaginations. Exploration and colonialism, both of which exploded during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are evidently related to world-building. So, though perhaps less clearly, are the explanations scholars offered for nature’s appearance and behavior, and the multitude of ties linking everything from God and the angels to sand fleas and pebbles. This volume explores the Renaissance preoccupation with world-building as it was practiced by natural philosophers, explorers, colonialists, and playwrights. The variety of perspectives illustrates the pervasiveness of world-building in this historical period, and it also illuminates the close ties among these intellectual spheres.

The Renaissance imagination transcended the disciplinary boundaries that modern scholars have used to study it. Scholars, explorers, playwrights, and theologians from this period exploited each others’ ideas and intellectual frameworks as they built new worlds. Renaissance natural philosophers, for example, assembled worlds using ideas from the Old and New Testaments, ancient philosophers such as Aristotle and Plato, pseudo-ancient sources such as Hermes Trismegistus, medieval theologians, mathematicians, astrologers, and alchemists, and one another. They compiled these ideas in extraordinary new ways, producing new world systems that explained the way the natural world related to the Heavens and God, the

forces operating to create natural change, and the ways in which those forces could be manipulated through natural or celestial magic to create desired effects. Theologians embarked on similar intellectual expeditions, exploiting the ideas offered by the Catholic Church from its infancy to the Renaissance, natural philosophers, natural historians such as Pliny, and even authors to conjure new worlds that illustrated God's role in the Creation and His ongoing relationship with humanity. The foot soldiers of the Church used these ideas about the origins of religion as fertile ground for conversion campaigns, creating imagined histories, uniting highly different civilizations into a coherent Christian nation. Explorers and colonialists built their own worlds, using what ancient authors and Renaissance navigators had to say to invent new maps of very old worlds, and employing a rich historical tapestry of ethnographic descriptions of the people they encountered to make sense of alien cultures. From Ireland to Africa to America, in fact, cosmogonical projects supported the military subjugation of individuals and nations deemed "new" or threatening by invading Europeans.

The dark side of world-building is inseparable from the wonder and imagination it reflects, and a coherent analysis of its place in Renaissance culture provides important insight into the intellectual schema of the period. The fact that it was so pervasive points to its utility. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were remarkable for the expansion that Europeans faced in nearly every aspect of their cultures, from the Reformation and Counter-Reformations, civil and international wars, exploration and colonialism, and the methodological exploitation of the natural world. Writers, scholars, soldiers, Jesuits, and rulers frequently encountered information that required radical reassessment of their worldviews. Sometimes, reassessment was not sufficient to assimilate newly acquired information with existing beliefs and interests, and as a result, new worlds were created. They offered their creators, from Drayton to Bacon, means of making sense out of dramatic changes in accepted truth without the requirement of abandoning strongly held convictions. In fact, one of the compelling things about the new worlds examined in this collection is their familiarity, which frequently sits comfortably beside startling new ideas. This alliance helped to perpetuate the proliferation of new worlds and it supported their entrance into popular culture, with playwrights, poets, and magicians printing, displaying, and performing their world-building enterprises throughout Europe.

Colonialism and the struggle to locate new worlds and create new social orders, for example, is intertwined with the literature from the period. Shakespeare's *Tempest*, which both borrowed from the English experience in Ireland and became an important subtext for future colonial experiments in the New World and Africa, is a perfect example of this intertwining. Guido Giglioni examines Shakespeare's magical island next to Bacon's

New Atlantis and Thomas More's Utopia to analyze the cultural utility of belief and its exercise in Renaissance thought. The extension of belief into new worlds, for these authors, allowed the reexamination of potentially damaging truths in imaginary spaces. The fact that these new worlds were consumed with such tremendous enthusiasm by the public and intellectuals alike reflects their powerful potential for exorcising cultural anxieties. Mark Waddell discusses another vastly public imagined world in his examination of Athanasius Kircher's museum. The incredible collection in this library of natural history, natural philosophy, and ethnography reflected its creator's vast enthusiasm for God's work, and as Waddell argues, systematized for the viewer a belief in God's continuing role in the world and His preeminence in the study of nature. Al Coppola, in his chapter on Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of Earth*, also discusses the critical importance of the imagination in assimilating the apparently conflicting philosophies offered by Christianity and natural philosophy. While Burnet's book was rapidly rejected on the grounds of intellectual weakness and heresy, Coppola contends that it reflects the early modern conviction that prevailing belief systems needed reconciliation, and that imagined new worlds, studded with acknowledged truths, provided ripe ground for it.

Natural philosophers throughout Europe embarked on radical reassessments of their worlds to assimilate new information about nature with acknowledged truths and epistemological systems. This frequently resulted in accusations of heresy. The contentious physician, natural philosopher, and theologian Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim Paracelsus, for example, proposed an entirely new version of mortal and immortal flesh, the Trinity, and the role of God in nature. Dane Daniel takes up Paracelsus's long overlooked theological writings, proposing that they shed critical light on his ideas about magic and the forces governing change in the natural world and concluding that the infamous German was as heretical as he was deemed by many of his opponents but for very different reasons. Allison Kavey takes up the writings of another magician and heretic, Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, whose opus magnum—*De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres*—contained a new world that had a significant impact on magical and natural philosophical thought from the sixteenth century forward. Through close textual analysis, she concludes that Agrippa's text provided the script for a revised Creation, in which God intended, by providing the capacity for passion, knowledge, and imagination to humanity and littering nature with elaborate systems of sympathy and occult virtues, to lend magicians the chance to create their own worlds. Sheila Rabin examines another radical reimagining of the Creation, this time offered in the astrological and astronomical writings of Johannes Kepler. She concludes that the centrality of geometry to his intellectual framework provides the key to understanding his new version of the Creation and his poorly apprehended ideas about the practice of astrology.

Belief is also a critical theme for James De Lorenzi and Matteo Salvatore. Both resurrect the arguments employed by European Jesuits operating under the auspice of the Catholic Church and Ethiopian leaders to make sense of the cross-currents of religious belief that originally united and then violently divided these two groups. An examination of the variety of texts written both by European and Ethiopians during this period of contact and conflict reflects the contest between their cultural beliefs, and the ongoing process of cosmogony and world revision that occupied both parties. Belief was not, however, the only force motivating religious and political colonization. As Patrick Tuite and Vincent Carey contend, historical ideas of cultural and religious superiority mapped onto the English military, and social structure supported the violent subjugation of the Irish starting in the sixteenth century. Both authors use painfully clear visual and textual evidence from over two centuries to illustrate the ways in which English authors employed existing cultural tropes about the Irish to support their consistent reimagination as bestial, savage, pagan, and deserving of their fate in the hands of the English military.

From Kircher's graceful version of God's kingdom to the savage killing fields of Ireland, Catholic conversion in Ethiopia, magic and its relationship to God reconceived by Paracelsus and Agrippa, the Creation and the relationship between Heaven and Earth reimagined by Kepler and Burnet, and the utopias of Shakespeare, More, and Bacon, the Renaissance abounded with new worlds. This volume examines the plethora of cosmogonies that emerged during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The authors ask what motivated this variety of institutions and individuals to engage in world-building, its cultural utility, and the receptions these new worlds received. Close textual and visual analysis provides the foundation for these chapters, and the array of sources illustrates the rich tapestry of ideas, anxieties, and enthusiasms that served as the basis for world-building. Only through investigating imagined worlds as closely as scholars have examined "real" Renaissance landscapes can we hope to understand the intellectual and cultural reassessments that characterized it, and the critical importance of imagination and belief in its intellectual landscape.

CHAPTER 1

Paracelsus on the “New Creation” and Demonic Magic: Misunderstandings, Oversights, and False Accusations in His Early Reception

Dane T. Daniel

Introduction

In his seventeenth-century *History of Magick* Gabriel Naudé delivered a mixed verdict regarding Paracelsus’ efforts. He conceded that Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim, commonly called Paracelsus (1493/1494–1541), contributed positively to the course of medicine and science. Next, he denied any practical value to Paracelsus’ magic—mostly he was properly arguing that Paracelsus, who wrote at length about theories and types of magic, should not be charged in any negative way for engaging in a nefarious practical magic. And then, as have historians for centuries, Naudé touched just briefly on Paracelsus’ theology. Pointing to Paracelsus’ braggadoccio, he labeled the Swiss-German iconoclast an “Arch-heretick,” noting that “[Paracelsus threatened to bring] both the *Pope* and *Luther* . . . to his Maxims when he should think fit to do it.”¹ This judgment was based not on his familiarity with Paracelsus’ scriptural interpretations but rather on his lack of access to Paracelsus’ theological writings and, perhaps even more so, the medical practitioner’s reputation. The latter was influenced in part by the inaccurate claims of Heidelberg medical professor Thomas Erastus (1524–1583) that Paracelsus was an Arian (i.e., one who denies that Christ is of one substance with the Father and one who considers Jesus to be a creation by the Father) as well as a consorter with demons.²

Naudé’s impression, influenced both by Paracelsian tracts and the criticisms by Paracelsus’ detractors, was exemplary of the early modern understanding of Paracelsus. Paracelsus was noted for his iconoclastic

contributions to medicine and natural philosophy as well as his dabbling in theoretical magic, the latter of which was well known in part because of its prodigious treatment in Paracelsus' opus magnum, the *Astronomia Magna* (1537/1538). In fact, Paracelsus married the fields of medicine, science, and magic with his discussion of such topics as medicinal virtues (e.g., *arcana*), sidereal powers in nature (including their role in instructing human beings via the "light of nature"), and inner alchemists that direct physiological processes (including digestion). The reputation that Paracelsus flirted with the demonic was not a strong one in that it was based, as I discuss, on a few opinions and could not be verified in the primary sources—the accusation of demonic dealings simply could not gain enough traction to damage him too much. And Paracelsus' *theologica*—found almost exclusively in manuscript rather than printed form—was very much misunderstood.

Erastus, for his part, had a very dubious plan for halting the spread of Paracelsian ideas; he attacked the Swiss-German medical practitioner for the wrong reasons. In addition to his ridiculous accusation that Paracelsus was a practitioner of the black arts, Erastus—on the basis of his reading of the *Philosophia ad Athenienses*, a text of dubious authenticity—chose to emphasize a mistaken interpretation of Paracelsus' Christology.³ With even a little knowledge of Paracelsus' vast explicitly religious oeuvre, Erastus would not have overlooked the most contentious aspects of Paracelsus' theology. Drawing from pertinent passages within Paracelsus' authentic writings, I highlight Paracelsus' heretical theology, especially his concept of the cosmogony of God the Son, also called the "new creation," *id est* the creation of "immortal matter." (I do not treat Paracelsus' exegesis of the Genesis chapters on the creation of the natural world and "mortal matter" by God the Father.)⁴ As I illustrate via an analysis of Paracelsus' Eucharistic tracts, the Paracelsians were lucky that Erastus and other detractors did not have access to Paracelsus' concept of the mortal flesh versus immortal flesh dichotomy, for it clearly falls within Gnostic and/or Docetic heresy.⁵ I also explore Paracelsus' concept of magic, drawing attention to his ideas regarding "natural magic" in Book I of the *Astronomia Magna* and demonic magic in Book IV, wherein one finds a clear and exemplary indication of his opposition to dark powers.

An evaluation of Erastus' two questionable claims will help clarify Paracelsus' theology and approach to magic, and it promises to tell us much about Paracelsus' reception. I argue that despite the obvious heretical aspects of Paracelsus' theology, Paracelsus' followers seemed to overlook his controversial anthropological (referring to the nature of the human being) and Christological ideas, and in fact assumed him to be an orthodox Christian teacher. This misconception is evident in the popular seventeenth- and eighteenth-century work attributed to Paracelsus: *Kleine Hand und Denckbibel*.⁶ There even seems to have been a cover-up of his heresy, an observation that Carlos Gilly has recently implied: "A number of Paracelsians . . . decided to dodge the specific theological issues."⁷ The charge of demonic magic, on the

other hand, seemingly did little to halt the momentum of Paracelsianism. It is more likely that Paracelsian tracts on magic helped to recruit followers to the cause of chymical medicine and Paracelsian philosophy; Paracelsus’ discussion of magic in the *Astronomia Magna*, for example, was printed numerous times.⁸

The New Creation and Its Reception

Since a few decades after his death in 1541, some Paracelsian enthusiasts and several scholars have actually explored in some depth Paracelsus’ idiosyncratic theology. Examples are the scribes who copied Paracelsus’ numerous tracts on such topics as Mary and the Lord’s Supper, and a few editors—such as Michael Toxites—who occasionally came across Paracelsus’ eccentric biblical exegesis when working with such philosophical texts as the *Astronomia Magna*.⁹ Other examples are certain followers of Valentin Weigel, who included Paracelsus’ Eucharistic tracts in their diverse collections in the late 1610s, and then nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars such as H.U. Preu and Kurt Goldammer who realized—unlike many who grapple with Paracelsus—that Paracelsus’ thought as a whole cannot be well characterized or understood without a familiarity with his concept of the “two types of flesh.”¹⁰

And yet, neither the followers nor detractors of Paracelsus drew any significant attention to his two-flesh concept, in which both Christ’s body and the resurrection bodies of the saints consist not of earthly corporeal flesh, but rather a new type of spiritual, subtle flesh. Erastus’ insubstantial argument, as noted above, taught that Paracelsus egregiously failed to make Christ coeval with the Father. Charles D. Gunnoe, Jr. has shown that Konrad Gessner (1516–1565) was among those who influenced Erastus’ opinion. In the early 1560s Gessner produced a number of scathing accusations and warnings concerning the sect of Paracelsians; he also stressed their lack of both morality and education. Paracelsus, Gessner exclaimed, not only associated himself with demons, but also denied Christ’s divine nature: the Paracelsians were Antitrinitarian Arians.¹¹ Gunnoe adds that Erastus, in his attack on Paracelsian medicine, honed in on the “Arianism” in the *Philosophia ad Athenienses*. Gunnoe explains:

Seen in the light of Erastus’ interpretation of Genesis, Paracelsus denied both the initial creation *ex nihilo* as well as God’s role in the secondary acts of creation in giving composite materials their set forms. The Paracelsian notion that angelic or demonic forces were at work in this separation troubled Erastus, and he surmised that Paracelsus had really believed that Christ was one of these minor deities but Paracelsus did not have the courage to say it. In this connection, he accused Paracelsus of Arianism in placing the son in a subordinate position to the father.¹²

It must be noted, then, that Erastus drew much of his opinion from what is possibly a spurious text. Some scholars today do not consider the *Philosophy to the Athenians* to be an authentic text, but during the Early Modern Period this was not the case.¹³ Again, access to virtually any of Paracelsus' authentic *theologica* would have dispelled the charge of Arianism. Indeed, in stark contrast to Gessner and Erastus' argument that Paracelsus was an Arian, Paracelsus emphasized Christ's divinity at the expense of His humanity.

The oversight of Paracelsus' concept of the new creation is puzzling, for Paracelsus' approach to Christ's flesh and the Christian immortal body are fundamental to his understanding of the nature of humans and the universe. He was obsessed with his bipartite approach to the flesh. Dozens of his tracts featured his theory that Christians possess not only a corporeal body, which is destined for irreversible destruction alongside all matter in the final conflagration, but also a resurrection body of perfect subtle flesh.¹⁴ He taught in such tracts as *De genealogia Christi* that God the Father had created the mortal physical realm, but that God the Son had created the immortal realm of perfect subtle corporeality. The two types of flesh exist side by side in this world, but only Christ's creation will last. Experts of Paracelsus' *theologica*, such as Kurt Goldammer and Hartmut Rudolph, often refer to the two-flesh concept as Paracelsus' "Eucharistic thought" because he taught that the earth of the Father's creation provides the physical body with sustenance whereas the earth (or "limbus") of the Son's creation—which can be found in the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper—sustains the resurrection body.¹⁵ Paracelsus writes:

We are all from the earth, and the earth is that from which we are made. Now, does not the bread also come from the earth, and does not the wine also from of the earth? Yes. These things come from the same place as the human. It is not that the human is to eat the material earth in its substance, rather, the human eats the food (*speis*) that comes from it, and we imbibe the drink that comes from it. . . . Now [with regard to the second birth], as we are born from God—that is, from the body of Christ, from his bones and flesh—thus is he also the field (*acker*) which gives the fruit of its body; [this fruit] that comes forth is food (*die nahrung*). Now, it follows that we do not eat Christ in the person; in contrast, we consume the food and drink that comes from him for our nourishment in the eternal life.

[wir seindt alle aus der erden. und die erden ist die, aus der wir gemacht seindt. nun kombt nit auch aus der erden das brot, nit auch der wein? ja; so komben sie ie auch aus dem der mensch kombt. nit daß der mensch die erden materialisch esse in irer substanz, sondern die speis, die von ir gehet, die essen wir, und das trank, das von ir geet, das trinken wir. also ist das die götliche ordnung. so mügent ir wol auf das ermessen, daß Christus der ist, aus dem wir neu geboren werden in die ander geburt. dann aus dem seindt wir,

aus dem werden wir geboren. so wir nun aus gott geboren werden, das ist aus dem leib Christi, aus seinen beinen und fleischen, so ist er auch der acker, der die frucht gibet desselbigen leibs, so aus ihm kombt, das ist die nahrung. aus dem folgt nun, daß wir nit Christum essen in der person, sonder: vom ihm die speis und drank zu unser nahrung in das ewig leben. zugleich wie von der erden speis und drank, also da auch.]

Paracelsus clearly ties his cosmology and anthropology (concept of the composition of the human being) to his sacramental thought; in fact, he argues in the *Astronomia Magna* that the Christian receives the immortal body in the sacrament of baptism:

For in the flesh that we receive from the Spirit we will see Christ our savior; we will not rise again and enter the kingdom of heaven in mortal flesh, rather in living flesh. However, he who is not baptized and made incarnate by the Holy Spirit will be damned. Thus we are compelled to receive baptism; if we do not, then we are not of eternal flesh and blood.

[dan im selbigen fleisch, das wir vom geist empfahen, werden wir sehen Christum unsern erlöser und nit im tötlichen fleisch, und in dem lebendigen fleisch werden wir auferstehen und eingehen in das reich gottes. was aber nit getauft wird und vom heiligen geist incarnirt, das selbig gehet in die verdammnis, daraus wir dan gezwungen werden, den tauf zu empfangen, wo nicht, so seind wir nicht des ewigen fleisches und bluts.]¹⁶

Although, and befitting the age of the Reformation, Paracelsus wished to present himself as a Christian who grounded his thought in scripture (and thus lend authority to rather than foster suspicion of his ideas), nevertheless he obviously possessed the Gnostic impulse concerning the devaluation of the material realm. To him earthly and sidereal matter (i.e., mortal matter) was fit merely for permanent destruction and could not possibly be associated with the eternal heavenly realm. In fact, as I discuss below, Paracelsus thought that Christ Himself could not have worn the material flesh. Paracelsus obviously had to dance around the biblical warning regarding the spirit of anti-Christ, *exempli gratia*, 1 John 4:2–3: “Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: [3] And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God: and this is that spirit of anti-christ, whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now already is it in the world.” So as not to exhibit this spirit of antichrist, Paracelsus found it necessary to provide humans with a noncorporeal resurrection flesh and Christ too with a special type of flesh. Therefore, Paracelsus created a new type of flesh and in his volumes of biblical exegesis made great efforts to ground his thought in scripture.

A still unpublished text by Paracelsus on the Psalms helps one to glean a little more insight into his exegetical practice and motives.¹⁷ Amazingly, in this Old Testament exegesis, Paracelsus advances his theory that *during the earthly lifetime* the Christian possesses both a physical body and an immortal resurrection body, and that Christ possessed only the immortal body (and not the human physical body) while on earth. In *De Cena Domini, Ex Psalterio* (1530) Paracelsus discusses and interprets a variety of Psalms, but mostly Psalms 78, 79, 80, and 115 from the Vulgate.¹⁸ (He includes the Homilies, and these chapters correspond to 79–81, and 116 in the King James and other standard versions.) Copied in the 1560s and housed at Heidelberg, the tract *Concerning the Lord's Supper from the Psalms* reveals that Paracelsus' principal aim in interpreting the Psalms—at least in the case of this particular piece—is simply to promote his concept of the two fleshs. Whereas most other commentators, from St. Augustine to John Wesley, focus on such themes as the Psalmists' solemn thanksgivings for deliverance from extreme perils, promises to praise God publicly, and prophecies concerning Christ and redemption, Paracelsus hopes to unearth evidence from the Old Testament to advance the two-flesh concept of his “*untödliche philosophiei*.”

This “immortal philosophy” of the self-proclaimed Doctor of the Holy Scriptures advances his two-creation theory, wherein God the Father created the mortal world and body, and God the Son the immortal world and body; they are two analogous universes. Paracelsus is explicit: Psalm 78 (79 in most versions), he writes, is about the *zweyerley fleysch*, the two types of flesh, natural and heavenly.¹⁹ With regard to the natural, Paracelsus teaches that the mortal world—the Father's creation—includes all physical being, including human flesh, as well as all that is composed of subtle “star dust.” Human beings themselves have a sidereal body, also called the mortal spirit, which accounts for mind and sensation. In addition, humans possess an immortal soul, which is the very breath of God, the *spiritus vitae* of Genesis 2:7.²⁰

The need for a second type of flesh emerges in part because Paracelsus, unlike most, simply could not accept the notion that the mortal body of Christians would be resurrected into a state of eternal bliss. Even mind itself, which Paracelsus associates with the sidereal body, disperses upon death and returns to the place of its origin. Ashes to ashes, dust to dust, star dust to the stars. Clearly, despite evoking Neoplatonist terminology, he refused to share the view that the *mens*, the mind, is associated with immortal spirit. Thus, humans lose irrevocably their mortal flesh and mortal spirit. In a stretch of the imagination, Paracelsus believes that the scriptures reveal the irrevocably lost status of earthly corporeality in Psalms 78 (79), where “The dead bodies of Your servants . . . have been given *as* food for the birds of the heavens [and] have become . . . a scorn and derision.”²¹ And he keys in on the Psalmist's request that God “Preserve those who are

appointed to die” so that “[w]e, Your people and sheep of Your pasture, Will give You thanks forever; . . .”²² Paracelsus explicitly construes this Psalm, as well as Psalm 79 (80), to mean that the scorned flesh is utterly and enduringly destroyed but that a new flesh will emerge to provide for the everlasting preservation of God’s people.²³

He adds in other Eucharistic tracts that a related passage occurs in Job 19:26, which reads, “And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God.”²⁴ The body is devoured, and yet the scriptures clearly proclaim a bodily resurrection, a reunification of body and spirit. Paracelsus achieves a bodily resurrection, *id est* a reunification of the immortal soul and body, with his interpretation of the “new creation” discussed by Paul in 2 Corinthians 5. As Paracelsus explains, Christ Himself created a spiritual or angelic body analogous to the natural body; this new creation accounts for the resurrection body, but it is also the spiritual food of the Eucharist, and the very body of Christ Himself.²⁵

This approach to the composition of humans is typical of Paracelsus’ manifold Eucharistic tracts, wherein he grounds his sacramental thought in his idiosyncratic, but literal, interpretations of such biblical passages as 1 Corinthians 15 and John 6:27. The latter verse reads: “Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you: for him hath God the Father sealed.”²⁶ Paracelsus takes this to mean that Christ gives humans, via the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist, an immortal flesh; during one’s natural life this new flesh coexists with the mortal flesh, mortal spirit, and soul. He also evokes Matthew 26:26, in this context: “And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body.”²⁷ The inclusion of this verse seems odd to many readers, but it is crucial to Paracelsus’ views on the creation of the individual eternal bodies. This is because he parallels Matthew 26:26 with the creation of the first Adam: in the first creation, God the Father had fashioned the human out of clay (which he calls *laymen* or *limbus*); in the second creation God the Son made new creatures from his body and blood. In the first case, the Father had combined speech (a *fiat*) with clay to create a human; in the latter case, Christ spoke the words, “*accipite et comedite hoc est corpus meum*” in order to generate the second creation. These words were combined with his blood to form the “limbus of the New Testament.” Paracelsus writes that when Christ broke the bread, he broke it into many parts, for “he did not wish to make only one human, rather many . . . For God the Father made only one human.”²⁸ Thus, here we find the origin of the individual eternal bodies of humans.

Having already presented a peculiar exegesis that seemingly would have offended the sensibilities of the vast majority of Catholics and Protestants alike, Paracelsus then takes a docetic and/or monophysite turn when it comes to Christology. He evokes the angelic body—the heavenly flesh—to

account for the body of Christ. Paracelsus refused to accept the notion that Christ was born through a human body dirtied by the fallen Adamic body. Actually, Paracelsus reasons, to be God's mother, it is not enough to be either a virgin or even a daughter of a virgin (Anna)—Adam's seed is genealogically defiled and Mary can in no manner be related to it. (And here one can see vestiges of Paracelsus' early Mariology; he is clearly influenced by the idea of the "immaculate conception," wherein even Mary—in order to be untainted by original sin and, therefore, acceptable for carrying God in her womb—was born of a virgin. But Paracelsus takes this further.)²⁹ He goes so far as to write: "*Gott hat in das todtlich fleisch nit geheurat,*"³⁰ that is, God did not get *that* intimate with a woman of fallen-mortal flesh. Whether or not preoccupied with sexual ramifications, Paracelsus clearly believed the Virgin had to have a body that did not descend from the line of Adam and Eve. In his early speculations of 1524, incidentally, Paracelsus goes so far as to place Mary in the Godhead—as Michael Bunnars relates, "So steht die Jungfrau gleich neben Gott, . . . sie war heilig und selig vor dem Sohn."³¹ Although Paracelsus would moderate his views on Mary, he consistently taught that Mary received a body fashioned by Christ in the new creation, and thus possessed a body fit for God's birth. Also pervasive throughout Paracelsus' religious oeuvre is the idea that Christ was not clothed in the elemental or sidereal bodies, but only the special type of body. Paracelsus did not publish such ideas, but they abound in his theological works and can be seen even in less well-known parts (especially Book II) of his magnum opus, *Astronomia Magna*, first published and edited in 1571 by Toxites. Again, Paracelsus is proffering a denial of Christ's humanity (e.g., monophysitism) or the argument that Christ appeared only like a human (docetism). Orthodox Christians have long insisted that Christ is both fully divine and fully human, and they point out the necessity of this for salvation. The "condign satisfaction" depends on the fact that Christ suffered and was tempted within and by the same flesh that humans possess.

It is no wonder that few early moderns would or could articulate Paracelsus' theology. The Paracelsian Alexander von Suchten implied in his *Chymische Schriften* that Paracelsus taught that the physical body would resurrect.³² Toxites, in the prefaces to Paracelsus' texts that he edited, hinted that he accepted Paracelsus' concept of the resurrection body, but note that he evades the idea that Christ possessed a special, non-Adamic flesh:

[T]he flesh of Adam may not go to God, for it is of the creation and is bound to death, and again must become that which it was, as the Scripture witnesses: "You are dust and will return to dust." [Gen. 3:19] And Paul adds, "The flesh and blood will not possess the kingdom of God." [1 Cor. 15:50] And, however, the holy Job says that he, [while] in his flesh, will see God his savior. [Job 19:26] Thus we come to the second flesh given to the human in the resurrection. For the human must

come into heaven not as a spirit, but as a human in flesh and blood; in this way he may be distinguished from the angels. Thus the flesh of the new birth must be there, not the flesh that the worms eat. And Christ himself corroborates this in John 3, when he says: “It is then that unless one is new born, he can not see the Kingdom of God.” [John 3:3] And were we to depend (*anhangen*) on this new birth, we would make everything possible through the spirit of Christ. However, we do the opposite and hold onto the old birth; therefore we have little potential. This new birth in Christ should be well considered, and Theophrastus [Paracelsus] himself industriously describes it.

*[. . . /nachdem das Fleisch von Adam her zu Gott nit mag kommen/dieweil es von der Creatur/vnd dem Todt vnderworffen/vnd wider das werden muß/ das es vor gewesen ist/wie die Geschrifft bezeuget: Du bist staub/vnnd zu staub soltu werden. Vnd auch Paulus sagt: Daß Fleisch vnnd Blut das Reich Gottes nicht werden besitzen. Vnd aber der heilig Job sagt/daß er in seinem Fleisch sehen werde Gott seinen Erlöser/So folgt ja das ein ander Fleisch dem Menschen geben wirdt in der aufferstehung. Dann der Mensch nit als ein Geist/sonder als ein Mensch in Fleisch vnd Blut gen himmel kommen muß/ damit er von den Englen ein vnderschiedt habe. So muß nit das Fleisch/ das die Würm fressen/sonder ein anders/nemlich das Fleisch der neuwen geburt da seyn/welches vns der Hern Christus geben wirdt/daß wir Fleisch von seinem Fleisch/vnd Bein von seinem Bein werden. Vnd das bestetiget Christus selber Johan. am dritten/da er sagt: Es sey dann das jemandt von neuwem geborn werde/so kan er das Reich Gottes nit sehen.]*³³

It is immediately apparent that Toxites also fail to note that the reception of a new flesh via the new birth occurs while still on earth. Further studies can inquire into whether he was worried about the consequences of this theory of Christology and the presence of the resurrection body during this lifetime.

Returning to the archenemy of Paracelsianism, namely, Erastus, I note that it is clear that he had no access to the specifically theological texts. His criticisms of Paracelsus betray a startling lack of knowledge regarding Paracelsus’ corpus as a whole. They show that he was too dependent on the opinions of others and possibly relied on spurious tracts that were not exemplary of the authentic Paracelsus’ thought.

With his misidentification of Paracelsus’ heresy, Erastus perhaps missed the opportunity to damage further Paracelsian philosophy—including its revolutionary chemical medicine and magical cosmos—and at the same time Paracelsus’ followers seemed to succeed in making Paracelsus look as though he had proffered a somewhat respectable theology and a “Christian” alternative to the “paganism” associated with Aristotelian natural philosophy and Galenic medicine.³⁴ As Michael Michael T. Walton argues, Paracelsus blended his religion with his chemical and medical theories in order “to make chemistry and medicine truly Christian by freeing them from their

pagan roots,” adding that Petrus Severinus (1540–1602) attempted to make Paracelsus appear more orthodox.³⁵ Walton adds that many “adepts” sought a new Christian natural philosophy, and Paracelsus, the “German prophet,” filled their need: “[T]he undeniable religiosity of Paracelsianism, when modified to appear more orthodox, proved able to withstand the criticisms of Erastus and to establish itself as a Christian alternative to pagan natural philosophy.”³⁶ Allen Debus adds that some Paracelsians even taught that Paracelsus was restoring the genuine healing art known to Adam, Abraham, Moses, and Hermes Trismegistus. For example, Richard Bostocke wrote in 1585 that Paracelsus was doing “no more than Wicklife, Luther, Oecola[m]padius, Swinglius, [or] Calvin...when they...disclosed, opened and expelled the Clowdes of the Romish religion... [which] had darkened the trueth worde of God.”³⁷ Another example discussed by Walton is Oswald Croll’s “Praefatio Admonitoria” in *Basilica chemica* (1609), published in Frankfurt, which was a center for alchemical, Paracelsian, and radical religious publications: Croll was inspired by Paracelsus’ claim that one learns true medicine from God alone, and he believed Paracelsus offered the true philosophy because of its grounding in both Christ and nature as well as its agreement with scriptural cosmogony.³⁸

It was not until the twentieth century, when Michael Bunnens and Kurt Goldammer analyzed Paracelsus’ theology in depth, that scholars began to note the true heresy in his thought. Thus, during the early modern period, Paracelsian medicine—and its corresponding *chymistry*—immersed in a propaganda war with the university establishment, was able to win more and more adherents despite Paracelsus’ Gnostic deprecation of the flesh. Although Walton believes, contra the depictions above, that “[t]he idiosyncratic nature of [Paracelsus’] religious ideas was a major impediment to the acceptance of [Paracelsian] philosophy,” it seems that a much more severe impediment would have emerged if the *theologica* had been published.³⁹ Having evaluated the problems inherent within the accusation that Paracelsus was an Arian, I will now shift to the charge that the Hohenheimer consorted with demons.

Paracelsus on Magic

Naudé, mentioned above in the introduction, aptly captured Paracelsus’ approach to magic: Paracelsus was not a practitioner of magic and should not be charged with “magick.” That is, Paracelsus merely discussed the types of magic and the mechanisms behind them. Here, drawing from passages in the *Astronomia Magna*, I let Paracelsus speak for himself on the topic of magic. And I show that not only is Paracelsus’ discussion of the subject of necromancy and conjuration benign, but also that he was certainly not a proponent of working with demons; he means something entirely different when presenting “demonic magic.”

The best place to begin with regard to understanding Paracelsus’ understanding of magic is the *Astronomia Magna*, Book I, which is entitled “The book of the philosophy of the heavenly firmament” (*Das buch der philosophie des himmlischen firmaments*). In Chapters 1–3, the most widely read, reproduced, and translated section of the *AM*, Paracelsus lays the ontological foundations of his picture of man and the cosmos, and his focus is the creation by God the Father. In Chapters 4–11, he discusses “natural astronomy” in terms of its nine divisions (*membra*) and ten gifts (*dona*). With his nine *membra*, Paracelsus uniquely classifies the types of *adept art*, for example, magic, adept medicine, nigromancy, and astrology—these can be studied and mastered. The gifts, on the other hand, are the “aethereal arts” brought about by nature herself without human aid: these include impressions (e.g., wisdom and prudence), generation (growths from the four elements), and “*inanimatum*” (e.g., nymphs and gnomes).⁴⁰ Thus, natural astronomy is basically Paracelsus’ expression for natural magic, *id est* the arts and operations associated with the subtle matter of the universe that proceeds from the stars. It is important to note that he often uses the terms “magus” and “astronomer” interchangeably. Clearly, Book I of Paracelsus’ magnum opus is not merely a catalogue of the types of occult arts, though it is that too; natural magic is a systematic natural science, the subject matter of which includes a wide array of natural phenomena. Thus, Book I is also a statement of Paracelsus’ epistemology: mortal human intelligence is associated with the sidereal component within humans as well as the instruction given by the stars. It is also a universal cosmography: Paracelsus does not adhere to the Aristotelian-Scholastic conviction that the terrestrial and celestial realms each possess their own matter and physics. Instead, he seeks to explain the intimate interaction between the firmament and the earth, as well as the mechanisms and substances that the two hold commonly. Paracelsus writes,

Thus, it should now be understood that, first of all, there is a body about which the *astronomus* can say nothing. It is elemental, belonging to the earthly [topics] in the elemental philosophy. But of the *natural spirit* in the body, the *astronomus* has the power and might to discuss, for the body, which is of the elements, is married (*vermålet*) to the spirit which is given to the elemental body; [the elemental body is thus] incarnated (*eingeleibt*) by the firmament. Thus, philosophy is divided into two parts, first in the essence (nature) of the spirit and second in the essence of the body, that is, into body and spirit. (My emphases.)

[also sol nun verstanden werden, das erstlich ein leib ist, von dem der astronomus nichts reder; er ist elementisch, gehört in die irdisch der elementen philosophie. aber von dem natürlichen geist im leib hat der astronomus zu reden gewalt und macht; dan der leib ist der elementen, der geist, der dem elementischen leib geben ist, der ist im vom firmament vermålet

*und eingeleibt. und also teilt sich die philosophia in zwen teil, in das wesen des geistes und zum andern in das wesen des leibs, das ist in den corpus und spiritum.]*⁴¹

Paracelsus' overall approach to magic can be best understood via his discussion of the types of adept art. Beginning with the science of "*magica*" [*sic*], Paracelsus differentiates magic from nigromancy, chiromancy, and other esoteric arts. Introducing magic in its species, Paracelsus writes:

The six species were regarded by the Saba in the orient and those on the island of Tarsus to be the highest wisdom given by God to humans in mortal life. And only the wise men who possessed this art were called magi, and all other mortal wisdom was diminished and thought weaker, and only magic was held to be the most splendid and insuperable wisdom.

*[dan dise sechs species haben die in Saba in oriente und in der insula Tarsis für die höchste weisheit geachtet, so von got dem menschen in tötlichen leben geben seind. und allein die sapientes, die solchs kunst haben, hat man magos geheißē, und weiter alle ander tötliche weisheit gemindert und schwächer gehalten, und allein die magicam für die trefflichste und unuberwintlichste weisheit gehalten.]*⁴²

Paracelsus considers magic to be the interpretation of *natural* signs that God placed in heaven *supernaturally*, and his focus is on oriental magic, for example, the art of the magi who followed the star of Bethlehem. In the *Labyrinthus medicorum errantium* (1538), Paracelsus writes that all types of magic originated in the orient, and that "nothing good comes from the *septentrione*."⁴³ Because of its association with Eastern wise men, such as those attending Christ's birth, the magical art is called *artes sapientiae*. Nigromancy concerns the recognition of the sidereal and elemental spirits after death, as well as the spirits existing in the heavens. The nigromancer can also reach into a person's body without causing injury or hide a person by making him or her invisible.⁴⁴ Contrasting with nigromancy is *nectromantia*. There are beings, called *flaggae*, who exist throughout the world in objects of all sorts. They observe people and thus know secretive things. A nectromancer can win these *flaggae* over so that they are obedient and willing to reveal the secrets of others, such as the places where stolen goods are hidden. There are many types of nectromancy, or ways to make the *flaggae* visible, including the use of beryls and mirrors.

Turning to astrology, Paracelsus notes that an astrologer must know the function of each star, that is, what each intends to do at a given time and what each cannot do. The astrologer who knows the capabilities of the stars is better than the one who knows only their motions. The astrologer also recognizes nature's highest guide (*sumum motorem*), which, much

like Aristotle’s prime mover, holds nature in its hand and directs the firmament completely—just as if it were a prisoner. An astrologer should know the nature, complexions, and qualities of the stars as well as a doctor knows the nature of the ill; it is also necessary to become familiar with the stars’ concordances (*concordantias stellarum*), recognizing their relation to humans, animals, the four elements, and all things that grow and spring forth from the elemental mothers (*aus den matricibus elementorum*). The astrologer should be knowledgeable—with natural understanding—in every manner and form of the firmament, just as the philosopher or doctor is in natural things. “The [firmament] has all the qualities of a human, but it is so confined in the carrying out of its work that it can not do what it would like to do (*derselbig hat alle eigenschaft, die ein mensch haben sol, iedoch aber volbringunge der werken sind im verhalten, das er das nit tun mag, das er gern tete*).”⁴⁵ Again, the firmament is like a prisoner in the hand *summi motoris*; an astrologer cannot see how this highest mover directs the firmament.⁴⁶

Regarding signatures, Paracelsus writes that nature has shown nothing that cannot be learned through signs. There are four species that contain all natural signatures in themselves. The first of these species regards the forms of the human. As the stars have their signs that may be recognized, so does the human; the difference is that the human is seen and recognized through fixed lines (*lineas fixas*) rather than through his or her movements; that is, one can study the complexions associated with celestial motion, or one can study the complexions of lines in humans. As an herb grows into the form of the nature to which it belongs, so too does the human; the form reveals what type of herb it is, and the *signatum* shows who a person is. The quality in the human is the causal factor, not the name or sex. “The art of signs teaches the correct name given to each as is born within.”⁴⁷ Paracelsus means, for example, that an animal containing the form of a wolf will be called a wolf, not a sheep.

All natural secrets that lie within the human can be revealed through the four species of signatures. Chiromancy uncovers these in three ways. As these lines and veins open natural secrets, so too can physiognomy, which is formed and placed according to the contents of one’s senses and disposition (*gemüt*). The fabricator of nature is artistic, not melding the disposition after the form, but the form according to the disposition—that is, a person’s appearance—will be determined by the innate qualities that he or she possesses. The uncertain arts, so named because they are associated with the power of imagination rather than any particular instrument, enable their practitioners to learn secrets via the tangible elements. When one imagines something, a new constellation is created in the firmament, which can then be utilized so as to glean insight into, for example, one’s fortune, a person’s location, where something is hidden, or even the future. One may see these in fire, water, wind patterns, or other formations. But

imagination can have other effects: for instance, parents can change their child's constellation—hence talents—with their ponderings.

On adept medicine, Hohenheim writes that there are two types of medicines: one from the earth, one from the heavens. Thus, half of medicine occurs in the realm of astronomy. A doctor must understand the difference between the elemental and sidereal in order to differentiate the diseases from one another; after all, one may become infected due to astral influences.⁴⁸ When it comes to adept philosophy, Paracelsus is again primarily interested in medicine. He notes that unlike a philosopher, who can describe the natural powers in herbs, the adept philosopher is privy to the firmamental component in a plant. As medicine springs forth from the earth, so too does it come from the stars; it floats, possessing no tangible body. Therefore, an alchemist, who is a natural *philosopher* and not an *astronomer*, is not able to extract this firmamental medicine as he can a virtue from an herb—the employment of astral medicine is limited to those sagacious in astral philosophy.⁴⁹ Adept mathematics, as opposed to mathematics proper, has to do with abilities and instruments associated with the counting and measuring of bodies, that is, insofar as they relate to sidereal powers.

For a further sample of Paracelsus' approach to the various species of the divisions of natural magic, and also to show that Paracelsus was clearly not condoning an alliance with dark powers, let us examine more thoroughly his thoughts on nigromancy and nectromancy. On nigromancy (necromancy), Paracelsus writes:

In order that you correctly understand nigromancy and the nigromancer, note that nigromancy is divided into five species. The person who can use and knows the five species can employ nigromancy and is a nigromancer, which is the second part of astronomy. And the first principle of this division is that the eternal and mortal parts of the human are divided after death: thus there are two mortal bodies that remain on earth, the elemental and sidereal components left behind by the human. Concerning the knowledge of the first species, note that a nigromancer is one who recognizes the two spirits, and possesses knowledge of their qualities, essences, and types.

*[Damit ir nigromantiam und nigromanticum recht verstandent, so merkt, das nigromantia ausgeteilt wird in fünf species. welcher die fünf species kan und weiß, der kan nigromantiam und ist ein nigromanticus, und ist das ander membrum astronomiae. und das erst fundament dises membri ist also, das der mensch nach seinem tot, so das ewig und das tötlich von einander gescheiden seind, so bleiben zwen tötlich geist auferden, so der mensch hinder im last, den elementischen und den siderischen. ietzt folgt auf das die erkantnus der ersten species also. wer solche zwen geist erkennt, was sie seind und weiß ir eigenschaft, wesen und art, derselbig kan die erst speciem nigromantiae, gleich also zu verstehen.]*⁵⁰

The second type of nigromancy concerns the person who can deal with the spirits of the dead so that they serve him and improve his business. One can thus utilize the dead as one would a servant; here the servant will not eventually become his master's master. When employing this *tortura noctis*, one should observe the senses the spirit held during life. The *metheorica vivens* regards the many types of floating spirits born in the stars that exist and die in the chaos. Those who recognize and call these spirits to service—in the same manner as a doctor utilizes herbs—have learned the third type of nigromancy. The person competent in *clausura nigromantica* can reach into a human body without injuring the person, just as if they had reached into water to pull out a fish without causing a hole in the water. Reaching into a person, this type of nigromancer can thus do such things as pull items out of someone or place something inside the body. The fifth type, *obcaecatio nigromantica*, occurs when a visible body is made invisible. One can thus hide things just as the darkness of the night does.

Concerning nectromancy, there are two general categories. The first pertains to making the *flaggae* visible. In the second case, the *flaggae* implement the will of the nectromancer invisibly. Everything that a person says is already in the mouth of another, and all a person's deeds and effects are manifest. Secrets about prices, for example, may be betrayed—the *flaggae* are ever watchful. Through the art of nectromancy the *flaggae* must obey those who make them visible. This can happen through, for instance, mirrors, glass, or coal. They are compelled to make visible not only themselves, but also that which they know that is hidden. If the *flagga* does not become visible through the first species, then one can employ one of the others, for example, compelling the *flagga* to use an object with which to point in a certain direction or arranging objects in telling figures. Through this art one can find hidden treasures and read confidential letters. A complete nectromancer can make a *flagga* entirely obedient. Nectromancy functions through both rewards and violence. The *flaggae* can thus be compelled to become visible in such items as mirrors, beryl, and coal. They can be forced to show and illustrate things via the use of thickets, lead, stones, and so on. They can also extinguish candles and reveal secrets in similar ways.⁵¹ Paracelsus then presents a fascinating nigromantic prof.

First, Paracelsus reminds the reader that the elemental body is tangible, and the sidereal body intangible. He continues to reiterate that the sidereal body from the stars exists in the air after death, and here the stars will consume it. As the elemental body takes some time to decay, the sidereal body does too. In the meantime, the two bodies—now separated—retain their old movements, manners, and conduct, remaining in the vicinity of where they had lived, the elemental in the grave, and the sidereal floating in the air, seeking the place where it had dwelled in life. The sidereal body can thus be seen. When a person's spirit is seen, notes Paracelsus, this is the sidereal body, which is like an image in a mirror; it is neither a human

nor soul. Of course, the person talented in nigromancy knows well that the sidereal bodies are able to reveal treasures and hidden places.

Paracelsus then presents his explanation for the art of nigromancy, explicitly calling it a natural process. All sorts of errors arise from mistaking these bodies for souls, like intercession, *exempli gratia*, calling on saints in heaven to pray for those on earth—such is fostered by the Church and its corrupt leaders. Characteristically, Paracelsus has thus offered a naturalistic argument against Church ceremony and “superstition.” He even goes on to deride those who believe that the “person” (really not a person, but the sidereal body) who has been encountered sits in hell or purgatory, where he or she does penance until the Day of Judgment. In contrast, he reflects, one is simply either saved or damned. Paracelsus considers the idea of speaking with souls in purgatory foolish, and chides those who consider such “fantasy” to be great wisdom: one cannot speak with souls and purgatory is an invention of liars.

It follows that false orders arise, such as those of the exorcists and conjurers. Dead things cannot speak, insists Paracelsus, so the exorcists are speaking with no one. The conjurers are merely calling forth sidereal bodies (mortal spirits). The result of such thoughtlessness is that the devil possesses the sidereal spirit, which has been mistaken for a conjured “soul,” and Satan takes satisfaction in their recklessness. Of course, the devil can possess living humans, but it is still easier to enter the dead spirit (sidereal body), wherein there is no resistance. It follows that these conjurers are dealing with the devil, not the dead, and their joy is demonic. Furthermore, Paracelsus fumes, those adherents to the books of the dead are those who attempt to receive intercession from those in heaven, hence praying to the sidereal spirits. He believes that they forget that the human’s (i.e., the soul’s) dwelling place after death is *not* in the grave (where the elemental body goes), and not in the air (where the sidereal body may be seen), but rather that he has another place, where he is held until the time of probing, that is, when the trumpet sounds and it is spoken, “Arise dead ones.”⁵²

Having listened to Paracelsus explain his concept of magic and reject the idea of conjuring dead souls, let us turn to Book IV of his *Meisterstück* in order to see precisely what he means by “demonic magic”:

In order that infernal magic may be understood, as well as other species of astronomy, it is for this reason that I undertake the task to elucidate these things, how they work—*id est* the functions specific to their natures—so that we know what demonic impressions are and what is not demonic, and so that [we also know], however, that all [natural and infernal astronomy] is indeed *natural*, and is revealed to be fundamentally natural. . . . So therefore, reader, read the following on the astronomical philosophy of the infernal crafts. In this way you may