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The Star in Man: C. G. Jung and Marie-Louise von Franz on the Alchemical Philosophy of Gerard Dorn

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der mensch aber ist all stern. Paracelsus: Fragmentum libri De virtute imaginativa

Abstract

Gerard Dorn (ca. 1535–ca. 1584) translated a great many Paracelsian texts into Latin; he also wrote a large body of work broadly inspired by Paracelsus. In an early book on „the whole of the alchemical philosophy“ (1567), he made alchemy into an allegory of good living, showing that it had moral as well as medical applications. His writing provided an important point of reference for the alchemical studies of C. G. Jung (1875–1961), and Jung’s comments on it were later elaborated in a series of English-language lectures by his long-time collaborator Marie-Louise von Franz (1915–1998). Her lectures on the „alchemical active imagination“ (1967) show one direction that Paracelsian ideas have taken in the last century.

Whereas Paracelsus and his school treat imagination as a mental faculty, Jung and his school treat it as a mental process. Paracelsians think of imagination as aiding processes of divination and the discovery of correspondences between the inner and outer or upper and lower worlds – correspondences that Jungians regard as synchronicities. In particular, the process of speculation, aided by a strong imagination, is close to the active imagination that von Franz finds in Dorn’s tract on speculative philosophy.

Gerhard Dorn (ca. 1535–ca. 1584) übersetzte viele paracelsische Texte ins Lateinische. Er schrieb auch mehrere Bücher, die von Paracelsus inspiriert waren. In einem frühen Buch über „die Gesamtheit der alchemistischen Philosophie“ (1567) machte er die Alchemie zu einer Allegorie für gute Lebensbedingungen. Hier zeigte er, dass sie moralische als auch medizinische Anwendungen besaß. Sein Werk lieferte einen wichtigen Bezugspunkt für die alchemistischen Studien von C. G. Jung (1875–1961), und Jungs Kommentare dazu wurden später in einer Reihe von englischsprachigen Vorlesungen erweitert durch seine langjährige Mitarbeiterin Marie-

Louise von Franz (1915–1998). Ihre Vorlesungen über «Alchimie und aktive Imagination» (1967) zeigen, welche Richtung paracelsische Ideen im letzten Jahrhundert u.a. genommen haben.

Während Paracelsus und seine Denkschule die Imagination als geistige Fähigkeit behandeln, betrachten Jung und seine Schule sie als einen Denkprozess. Paracelsianer bedenken die Vorstellungskraft als Hilfsprozess bei der Weissagung und der Entdeckung von Korrespondenzen zwischen den inneren und äußeren oder oberen und unteren Welten. Diese Korrespondenzen werden von den Jungianern als Synchronizitäten betrachtet – insbesondere der Prozess der Spekulationen, der durch eine starke Vorstellungskraft gefördert wird, was von Franz im Traktat von Dorn über spekulative Philosophie findet.

In the early weeks of 1969, the C. G. Jung Institute in Zurich offered a series of English-language lectures on „Alchemical Active Imagination“.¹ The speaker was Marie-Louise von Franz (1915–1998), the Institute's co-founder and a long-time assistant to Jung. By active imagination she meant the opposite of passive daydreaming: she meant an activity that engaged the conscious mind in dialogue with the unconscious. She had learned the technique from Jung himself, some three decades earlier, and considered it „the most powerful tool in Jungian psychology for achieving wholeness – far more efficient than dream interpretation alone.“² C. G. Jung (1875–1961) had rediscovered the age-old technique of shamans in dream dialogues during what he called his „Confrontation with the Unconscious“, following his break with Freud in 1913.³ It led to the introspective writing in his recently published „Red Book“.⁴ He discussed the method and writings only with patients and friends, being convinced that

1 The lectures were transcribed and subsequently published as Marie-Louise von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination*. Dallas, TX 1979 (edition cited). The revised edition (Boston 1997) includes some of the notes made for the French translation by Francine Saint René Taillandier (*Alchimie et imagination active*. Paris 1989 [Collection «La Fontaine de Pierre» ((franz. Anführungszeichen))]), though it omits useful references to other writings of von Franz. However, the unnamed editor extensively alters the text to omit references to the lecture setting and the needs of the audience. On the other hand, the German translation by Renata Kehl-Isler (*Aktive Imagination und Alchimie*. Egg, Switzerland, 2009) includes material left out of the English editions at the end of chapters 3 and 4.

2 Marie-Louise von Franz: „Introduction.“ In: Barbara Hannah: *Encounters with the Soul: Active Imagination as Developed by C. G. Jung*. Santa Monica, CA, 1981, p. 2.

3 C. G. Jung: *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*. Ed. Aniela Jaffé, trans. Richard and Clara Winston. New York 1963, pp. 170–199. German edition *Erinnerungen, Träume, Gedanken von C. G. Jung*. 8th edition. Freiburg i. Br. 1982. First published Zurich and Stuttgart 1962.

4 C. G. Jung: *The Red Book: Liber Novus*. Ed. Sonu Shamdasani with translations by Shamdasani et al. New York 2009.

it had „nothing to do with science“.⁵ It remained for von Franz and others to bring the technique into the training of Jungian analysts in all the major schools: classical, archetypal, and developmental.⁶ Still others, working under Jung's influence, have incorporated the dialogue with the unconscious into various methods of personal development.⁷

Von Franz chose as her text for the lectures a little-known tract by a little-known alchemist. Before she and Jung had discovered him, Gerard Dorn (ca. 1530–ca. 1585) was known mainly as a translator and popularizer of Paracelsus. Yet even before he made the Latin translations that brought Paracelsus to readers outside the German-speaking countries, Dorn had found in the writings of Paracelsus a means of integrating alchemy and medicine, and indeed philosophy and science, that would prove of great significance for Jung and his new Analytical Psychology. Jung was very likely thinking of Dorn when he wrote that he was able „to integrate“ his dialogues with the unconscious „through the study of alchemy“.⁸ To understand why this is so, we must first see how Jung and von Franz came to study Dorn's original writings. After reviewing those writings and her comments on them, we shall be in a better position to draw some conclusions about Paracelsus and Jung, whose different approaches to healing are related to their different understandings, not only of alchemy, but of the imagination.

In 1926, when he was 51, Jung had a frightening dream. He dreamed that he was on a battlefield in the Italian Piedmont with bombshells bursting all around him. He was looking for a means of escape when a horse-drawn wagon pulled up and the driver told him to get in. They drove through an increasingly beautiful landscape until they reached a Renaissance villa. Just as the dreamer began to feel safe, the gates slammed shut and the driver shouted, „Now we are caught in the seventeenth century.“⁹ Jung awoke with a start, feeling condemned to spend years in the past but hoping one day to return to his own time.

Jung recognized the bombs bursting on the battlefield as signals from the unconscious, but it was only „much later“, he said, that he realized the dream „referred to alchemy, for that science reached its height in the se-

5 Jung: *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (see note 3), p. 185; see note 3.

6 For background on these several schools and their techniques see *The Cambridge Companion to Jung*, ed. Polly Young-Eisendrath and Terence Dawson. Cambridge 1997, esp. pp. 89–163.

7 See, e. g., Ira Progoff: *At a Journal Workshop: Writing to Access the Power of the Unconscious and Evoke Creative Ability*. Los Angeles 1992. First published 1975.

8 Jung: *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (see note 3), p. 185; see note 3.

9 Jung: *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (see note 3), p. 203.

venteenth century.¹⁰ In 1928 he bought the two volumes of the anthology *Artis Auriferæ* („Of the Art of Making Gold,” 1593). Though repelled at first by the obscure style of writing, he soon realized that the alchemists were using the language of symbols, which he had explored in *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido* („Transformations and Symbols of the Libido,” 1913), the book which precipitated his break with Freud. As he was reading the anthology one night, he recalled the dream and exclaimed, „Now I am condemned to study alchemy from the very beginning.”¹¹ He understood then that alchemy would force him to examine „the question of one’s view of the world [*Weltanschauungsfrage*]”,¹² including the life-and-death problems treated in these symposium proceedings.

While Jung made progress with the symbolic language in the alchemical tracts, he faced a more serious obstacle with the late medieval Latin in which many of the texts were published. He had only studied classical Latin, and he was years away from those studies. How could he be certain the texts said what he thought they did? Before long a solution presented itself. As often happened to him, the solution came through an apparently chance encounter.

In July 1933, Jung’s long-time associate Toni Wolff had begun to worry that his new fascination with alchemy was drawing him away from the issues of the day. Thinking that it would be good for him to spend time with bright young people, she asked her brother to bring a group of college students for a picnic lunch at Jung’s vacation tower in Bollingen, on Upper Lake Zurich. The group included von Franz, a beginning student in classical philology. Many years later, she told an interviewer:

I was eighteen years old so I thought he was a Methuselah, or old bear or something. But I was very deeply impressed. I hesitated for half a year and then I went to his lecture and one day I wrote him a letter and asked him to take me in analysis. I read one of his books and I thought: I cannot judge what this man says without having [the] experience myself. He’s talking about inner facts and if you don’t know the facts, you can’t learn it by theory. He said laughingly ‘So you want a teaching analysis.’ I didn’t know what that was so I said anxiously ‘No, I’m crazy enough for the real thing.’¹³

10 Jung: *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (see note 3), p. 204. Von Franz mentions the dream in her first lecture: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 20. Also see p. 76 in this (welches Buch ist da gemeint: Jungs oder das hier?) book.

11 Jung: *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (see note 3), p. 205. Jung’s copy of the *Artis Auriferæ* has been digitized, along with other early books from his library, for an excellent Swiss database; see <http://www.e-rara.ch/alch/nav/classification/1133851> (last consulted June 5, 2011).

12 Jung: *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (see note 3), p. 209; *Erinnerungen, Träume, Gedanken* (see note 3), p. 213.

13 Quoted in Stephen Segaller and Merrill Berger: *The Wisdom of the Dream: The World of C. G. Jung*. Boston 1990, p. 11.

They reached an agreement. Jung would take her on as a patient and would waive the customary fee. Von Franz, in turn, would become his research assistant. She would read his books of alchemy, flag the passages she thought would interest him, and help prepare German translations. As a result, notes his recent biographer Deirdre Bair, „the still-teenage girl became the recipient of confidences Jung had hither told no one but Toni Wolff.”¹⁴ Wolff had served Jung as his research assistant and his guide during the „confrontation with the unconscious”. She would remain his official mistress for the rest of her life. However, von Franz soon found, and later told an interviewer, that, „intellectually, I replaced Toni Wolff in Jung’s life.”¹⁵

The collaboration lasted for the next quarter-century. During that time, Jung wrote four major books on alchemy and a shorter book on Paracelsus. Although he grew proficient in medieval Latin, and relied on von Franz only for translation of Byzantine alchemists like Zosimos, he owed much to her. Bair has remarked:

He could not have completed so much writing in so relatively few years without Marie-Louise von Franz. An extraordinarily devoted researcher, she followed vague trails through all the libraries and antiquarian bookstores of Europe, unearthing rare alchemical texts that had languished unread for centuries. To place them in historical context, she investigated the history and biography of their authors, with her dedicated sleuthing leading to still more writers and texts that might otherwise have escaped Jung’s purview. She trained herself to become expert in deciphering esoteric Medieval Latin handwritings and then translated the obscure texts into contemporary German, thus saving Jung literally years of labor. As a firsthand observer of his daily endeavor, she was uniquely positioned to describe what happened to his writing when alchemy became his paramount interest.¹⁶

Jung referred to von Franz as his „co-worker” in a prefatory note to the Swiss edition of *Mysterium Coniunctionis*.¹⁷ Published at the time of his eightieth birthday, this final book on alchemy was issued in three parts, the third of which was von Franz’s edition of an alchemical treatise attri-

14 Deirdre Bair: *Jung: A Biography*. Boston 2003, p. 370. Of the many biographies of Jung, Bair’s is probably the longest and most detailed to date. For discussion of Bair’s research and analysis see the review by Thomas Willard. In: *Magill’s Literary Annual 2004: Essay – Reviews of 200 Outstanding Books Published in the United States during 2003*. Pasadena, CA, 2004, pp. 396–399.

15 Bair: *Jung* (see note 14), p. 371.

16 Bair: *Jung* (see note 14), p. 475.

17 C. G. Jung: *Mysterium Coniunctionis: An Inquiry into the Separation and Synthesis of Psychic Opposites in Alchemy*. Trans. R. F. C. Hull. 2nd ed. Princeton 1970, p. xvi, n. 7.

buted to Thomas Aquinas.¹⁸ Jung explained the unusual arrangement by adding, „We have brought the book out jointly, because each author has participated in the work of the other.“ Von Franz „was said to have been bitterly disappointed“ that Jung’s Collected Works did not include her edition.¹⁹ William McGuire, editor of the English-language edition of the Collected Works, notes that the volume was „set aside from Jung’s writings on alchemy, the only example of what Mary Mellon [the American heiress who created the Bollingen Foundation] had aspired to publish in her Library of Alchemy.“²⁰

Ever loyal to Jung, von Franz became a lay (i. e., non-medical) analyst and the teacher of many future Jungian analysts. She was active in the creation of the C. G. Jung Institute in Zurich, after World War II, and with her daily access to Jung she considered herself the „final arbiter“ of the Institute’s curricula and syllabi.²¹ She wrote about Jung’s ideas, especially in the later part of his career, with a conviction that no one else could claim. She wrote, for example, about his belief that the material and psychic worlds were ultimately one and the same,²² and she discussed his alchemically inspired idea of a single world in a key chapter of her biography of Jung.²³ She gave a lucid summary of the Jungian view of alchemy in a series of English-language lectures at the Jung Institute in 1959. Here she discussed Dorn as a „genuine alchemist“, noting that he was a practicing chemist as well as a gifted Hermetic philosopher.²⁴ In the introduction to the English edition of *Aurora Consurgens*, written in 1964, she wrote:

.... the “secret” of alchemy, unlike certain other fields to which Jungian psychology can be applied, has never lost interest to me. The secret has to do with the relation of the unconscious psyche to inorganic matter and the unitary reality

18 Reissued as C. G. Jung and Marie-Louise von Franz, ed. and trans.: *Aurora Consurgens: Ein dem Thomas von Aquin zugeschriebenes Dokument der alchemistischen Gegensatzproblematik*. Zürich 1957 (Psychologische Abhandlung, 12). English translation Thomas de Aquino, *Aurora Consurgens*, ed. and trans. Marie-Louise von Franz and C. G. Jung. New York 1965 (Bollingen Series, 77).

19 Maggy Anthony: *The Valkyries: The Women around Jung*. Longmead, England 1990, pp. 64–69, esp. p. 66.

20 William McGuire: *Bollingen: An Adventure in Collecting the Past*. Princeton 1982, p. 136. McGuire describes von Franz as „the youngest of the inner circle [around Jung], and the most scholarly“ (p. 17).

21 Bair: *Jung: A Biography* (see note 14), p. 352.

22 Marie-Louise von Franz: „The Idea of the Macro- and Microcosmos in the Light of Jung’s Psychology.“ In: Marie-Louise von Franz: *Psyche and Matter*, trans. Robert Hinshaw. Boston 1992, pp. 169–184.

23 Marie-Louise von Franz: *C. G. Jung: His Myth in Our Time*, trans. W. H. Kennedy. Toronto 1998, pp. 235–252, esp. pp. 247–250.

24 Marie-Louise von Franz: *Alchemy: In Introduction to the Symbolism and the Psychology*. Toronto 1980 (Studies in Jungian Psychology, 5), p. 224.

which may be surmised as being their common substrate—that *unus mundus* which Jung describes in the last chapter of *Mysterium Coniunctionis*.²⁵

The term *unus mundus* („one world“) was taken from a tract by Dorn, where it refers to the original creation.²⁶ Dorn’s was concerned with the connection of mind and matter, though the mind in question was that of God the Creator. In her 1969 lectures on Dorn, von Franz would call it „God-Power in Matter“.²⁷

Very little is known about Dorn’s life.²⁸ Born in Belgium, he is variously known as Gerhard, or Gérard or Gerardus or Gerard, depending on whether the text is in German, French, Latin, or English. Although his dates are uncertain, he appears to have been born in early or mid 1530s and to have begun to study alchemy and medicine in the 1550s. He enrolled in the medical faculties at Besançon and Tübingen, though probably without earning a degree from either. In 1567, he published his first and most influential book, *Clavis Totius Philosophiae Chymisticae* („A Key to the Whole Chemical Philosophy“).²⁹ It might be more accurate to render the adjective as „chemistical“, for Dorn is clearly attracted to alchemical philosophy, and his subtitle promises that his „key“ is a tool „by which the obscure sayings of the philosophers are restored“ (*per quam obscura Philosophorum dicta referantur*).

Signing himself „the least disciple of Theophrastus“ (*ipsius Theophrasti minimus discipulus*),³⁰ Dorn dedicated this first book to Adam von Bodenstein (1528–1577), a physician who had been dismissed from the medical faculty at Basel for his wholehearted embrace of Paracelsus. Within months, he was collaborating with Bodenstein and working for Bodenstein’s publisher, Peter Perna, as the Latin translator of texts by Paracel-

25 Von Franz: *Aurora Consurgens* (see note 18), p. ix.

26 Gerard Dorn: „Physica Trismegistus.“ In *Theatrum Chemicum*, vol. 1 (see note 37), p. 370. Dorn is commenting on the *Tabula Smagardina* attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, which states that „all things were made from one by the mediation of one“ (*res omnes fuerunt ab uno, meditatione unius*). Jung quotes the passage in, *Mysterium Coniunctionis* (see note 17), p. 462.

27 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 21. This is the title of her second lecture.

28 The best study to date, building on original archival research as well as older studies, is that of Didier Kahn: „Les débuts de Gérard Dorn d’après le manuscrit autographe de sa *Clavis totius Philosophiae Chymisticae* (1565).“ In: *Analecta Paracelsica: Studien zum Nachleben Theophrastus von Hohenheims im deutschen Kulturgebiet der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Joachim Telle. Stuttgart 1994, pp. 59–126. Kahn has also written a brief biographical note: „Dorn, Gerhard.“ In: *Alchemie. Lexikon einer hermetischen Wissenschaft*, ed. Klaus Priesner and Karin Figala. Munich 1998, pp. 181–184.

29 Gerard Dorn: *Clavis Totius Philosophiae Chymisticae*. Lugdunum [Lyon]: Jacobus Junctus, 1567.

30 Dorn: *Totius* (see note 29), sigs. a2r–a3r. The dedication is dated Lyon, August 1656.

sus.³¹ He and Bodenstern edited one of the first volumes of Paracelsian texts to be published after the author's death in 1543.³² Dorn lived in Basel for a decade and worked with Perna for another decade, becoming the main Latin translator of Paracelsus.³³ He also wrote the first major defense of Paracelsus, in response to the first printed attack, from the Swiss physician and theologian Thomas Erastus³⁴; and he prepared one of the first dictionaries of Paracelsian terms, which has some of the first references to the spagyric (or alchemico-medical) school of Paracelsus (*Paracelsi schola spagyrica*).³⁵ After his death, ca. 1585, Dorn's *Clavis* was translated into German and published by the Straßburg firm of Lazarus Zetzner, which had undertaken to reissue the Huser edition of Paracelsus.³⁶ Zetzner had already reissued all of Dorn's original Latin writings in the first volume of his *Theatrum Chemicum*, where it fills more than half the volume (see Fig. 1).³⁷

- 31 Von Franz notes that he translated ten works during the period 1568–1570 and edited twenty-six Latin texts for Perna's edition of 1575: *Opera Latine Radditorum*, 2 vols. Basel 1575 (*Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 28). Bodenstern wrote a long preface for this edition (vol. 1, signatures *1r–**3r).
- 32 Paracelsus (attrib.): *Pyrophilia Vexationumque Liber*. Basel 1568. The book is sometimes referred to as the *Coelum Philosophorum*. Sudhoff places the volume with other *spira* in Paracelsus: *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Karl Sudhoff, part 1. 14 vols. Munich and Berlin 1922–1933, vol. 14, pp. 405–420. The University of Arizona Library owns a first edition of this rare tract.
- 33 For an excellent bibliography of Dorn's writings on natural philosophy as well as his translations and editions of Paracelsian texts, see Alfred Ribi: „Gerhard Dorn: Ein verkannter Fortsetzer paracelsischer Alchemie und paracelsischer Philosophie.“ In: *Nova Acta Paracelsica*, New Series 16 (2002): pp. 61–92, esp. pp. 87–92. I owe this reference to Dr. Urs Leo Gantenbein. Among older scholarship, Karl Sudhoff counted thirteen books of translation as well as three commentaries and a dictionary of Paracelsian terms. See *Bibliographia Paracelsica: Besprechung der unter Theophrast von Hohenheim's Namen 1527–1893 erschienenen Druckschriften*, ed. Karl Sudhoff. Berlin 1894, p. 700. Sudhoff listed writings by Dorn in „Ein Beitrag zur Bibliographie der Paracelsisten im 16 Jahrhundert.“ In: *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 10 (1890), pp. 316–326, 385–407, esp. pp. 385–391.
- 34 Appended to Gerard Dorn: *Commentaria in Archidoxorum libros X*. Frankfurt a. M. 1584.
- 35 Gerard Dorn: *Dictionarium Theophrasti Paracelsi*. Frankfurt a. M. 1583, pp. 142–147 ((?)); see note 35. Dorn glosses *spagyris* (a Paracelsian coinage from Greek words meaning separate and combine) as the art of removing impurities from matter and getting to the truth of things (p. 86).
- 36 Gerard Dorn: *Schlüssel ((?)) der Chymistischen Philosophy*, trans. I. F. I. A. Straßburg 1602. In 1603, Zetzner began the reissue of Paracelsus' *Opera: Bücher und Schriften*.
- 37 *Theatrum Chemicum*, vol. 1. Argentoratum [Straßburg] 1659, pp. 192–682 (edition cited). First published in 1602. For details about this largest of all alchemical anthologies see Thomas Willard: „Alchemy in the Theater, Museum, and Library, 1602–1702.“ In: *Mythical Metal of Gold: Essays on Alchemy and Renaissance Culture*, ed. Stanton J. Linden. New York 2007, pp. 215–230, esp. pp. 216–219.

ELENCHUS AUCTORUM
ET TRACTATUUM
Primæ Partis.

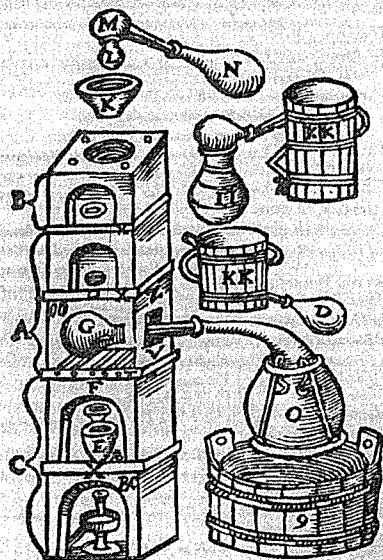
- ROBERTUS Vallenſis. De Veritate & Antiquitate
artis Chemicae & pulueris ſue Medicina philoſophorum
ſed auri potabiliſ, teſtimonia & theorematum ſarum
auctoribus.
- Jo. Chryſippus Fanianus. De artis Alchemia veterum aucto-
rum & præſertim jurisconſultorum judicium & reſponſa
ad quaſtionem, an Alchimiſta ſit ars legitima.
Item de arte metallica met amorphoſeos.
Teſtamentum novum Arnoldi à Villa nova.
- Thomæ Muſetti Londinatis Angli. Dialogus Apologeticus de
jure & præſtantia Chemicorum medicamentorum.
Epiſtola quadam medicinales ad Medicos aliquos con-
ſcripta.
- Theob. de Hoghelande Mittelburgenſis. De Alchemia diffi-
cultatibus: in quo docetur, quæd facere quidque vitare de-
beat Vera Chemia ſtudioſus ad perfectionem aſpirans.
- Gerardi Dornici Clavi totius philoſophia chemiſtica per quam
poſſima philoſophorum diſſenſiones auſerantur.
- Eiuſdem Liber de Phyſica Genetiſ.
Natura luce Phyſica Heimitis Trimegiſti.
ſica, ex Genetiſide Phyſica Trimegiſti.
ſumta, in qua Philoſophia Meditativa.
conſideratur. Philoſophia Chemica.
- Eiuſdem Congeries Paracelſica Chemia de transmutationi-
bus metallorum.
Genealogia Mineralium atque metallorum omnium.
- Bernad. G. Penoti, &c. De Vera preparatione & uſu Medica-
mentorum Chemicorum, Tractatus Sary.
- Bernardus Treviſanus. De Chemico miraculo, quod lapidem
philoſophia appellant.
- Dionyſij Zacharij Opusculum philoſophia naturali metallo-
rum cum annotationibus Nicolai Flammelli.

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Fig. 1

In the preface to the second half of his *Clavis*, says that although he admired the philosophy of Hermes Trismegistus, he „wasted both time and money“ in pursuit of alchemy and the „tinctures“ of metals. Only after he discovered the writings of Paracelsus did he see „that whatever medical

outcome one may desire may be achieved by divine aid." He adds: „I no longer have any doubts about the possibility of curing the human body by Alchemical means“³⁸ (*circa corporis humani curationem ex Alchemia haud amplius dubito*).³⁹ He is genuinely concerned with the work of chemistry, and the *Clavis* has illustrations of laboratory apparatus (see Fig. 2).⁴⁰ However, he says he has „taken up the study of the metallic medicines not to transmute metals, but only to tincture and illustrate“ (*non transmutare metalla, sed tingere tantum & illustrare*) – i. e., to prepare medicines from metals and find the proper uses for them.



De algerinis furnis struendis, quem acedia vocant.

Fig. 2

Jung encountered the writing of Dorn in Zetzner's anthology and later recalled his great absorption in the volume:

38 Gerald Dorn: *The Speculative Philosophy of Gerard Dorn*. Trans. Paul Ferguson. Edinburgh 2008 (Magnum Opus Hermetic Sourceworks, 34), pp. 9–10.

39 „De Speculativa Philosophia.“ In: *Theatrum Chemicum*, vol. 1 (see note 37), p. 231.

40 Reproduced from Dorn: *Clavis*, p. 58.

The journey to India (in 1938) formed an intermezzo in the intensive study of alchemical philosophy on which I was engaged at the time. This had so strong a grip upon me that I took along the first volume of the *Theatrum Chemicum* of 1602, which contains the principal writings of Gerardus Dorneus. In the course of the voyage I studied the book from beginning to end. Thus it was that this material belonging to the fundamental strata of European [„europäisches Gedankengut“] thought was constantly counterpointed by my impressions of a foreign mentality and culture. Both had emerged from original psychic experiences of the unconscious, and therefore had produced the same, similar, or at least comparable insights.⁴¹

When Jung's first book on alchemy appeared, five years later, it was full of references to Dorn, including a dozen indexed citations with notes referring to seven different tracts from Zetzner's anthology.⁴²

Why the intense fascination with Dorn, who had probably received no serious attention since the sixteenth century? Jung also cites work of writers much closer to the mainstream of European alchemy, including Flamel and Lull, Sendivogius and Basil Valentine, but he gives pride of place to Dorn. It seems that his view of alchemy was in a certain sense non-Western, for he remarks: „Light on the nature of alchemy began to come to me only after I had read the text of the *Golden Flower*, that specimen of Chinese alchemy which Richard Wilhelm sent me in 1928.“⁴³ Jung had met Wilhelm a few years earlier at Count Keyserling's School of Wisdom, in Darmstadt, and they quickly became friends. (Jung's memorial tribute is reprinted as an appendix to his memoirs.⁴⁴) Wilhelm had spent a good deal of his life in China and prepared German translations of two Taoist texts: the classic Book of Changes (*I Ching* in the old Giles-Wade system of transliteration) and a text of alchemy known as *The Secret of the Golden Flower* (*T'ai I Chin Hua Tsung Chih*).⁴⁵ The text is an important example of Taoist alchemy, but a relatively late one, probably written in the twelfth century C. E.⁴⁶ It draws upon the earlier texts, and incorporates their con-

41 Jung: *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 275; *Erinnerungen, Träume, Gedanken* (see note 3), p. 278.

42 C. G. Jung: *Psychology and Alchemy*. 2nd ed. Trans. R. F. C. Hull. Princeton 1968. Although this edition includes a thorough revision of the first English translation, it is based on the first German edition (Zurich 1943).

43 Jung: *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (see note 3), p. 204.

44 Jung: *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (see note 3), pp. 373–377.

45 *The Secret of the Golden Flower: A Chinese Book of Life*. Trans. from Chinese with commentary by Richard Wilhelm, and trans. from German by Cary F. Baynes. Revised edition, New York 1962.

46 The date is uncertain. Wilhelm's Chinese master said it came from the time of Lao Tse (sixth century B. C. E.), but he attributed the sayings to a Master Lue Yen in the eight century A. D. and noted that they were transmitted orally for centuries before a print edition appeared in the eighteenth century. More recent scholarship suggests a strong connection with the Quanzhen School of Taoism in the twelfth century.

cern with achieving long life through the use of elixirs that put the body in tune with the world. However, it reflects the shift to what one scholar of Taoism calls „Inner Alchemy (*nei-tan*) a form of Keeping the One which uses the theory and vocabulary of ordinary alchemy as a theoretical basis for the sublimation of the body's energies.“⁴⁷ Jung had long been interested in „psychic energy“ as a generalization of libido,⁴⁸ and found in the Chinese book a model of what he could do for western alchemy. Only after writing his „psychological commentary“ on the Chinese text did he instruct his Munich bookseller to look for old texts of Western alchemy.⁴⁹

There had been a similar development in the West, where books had been written on „spiritual alchemy“ and the „secret tradition“ that identified Man, or the *Anthropos*, as the vessel in which the great work of alchemy must take place.⁵⁰ Jung largely ignored these texts, which seldom are listed in the bibliographies that von Franz compiled for his own books on alchemy. To his credit, he started afresh with manuscripts and printed texts from the late Middle Ages and early modern times. He quoted passages from the old texts, often in conjunction with one another, and placed them in the tradition of later philosophy and psychology, leading up to and culminating in his own Analytical Psychology.

In effect, he treated the alchemical texts and their symbols as an allegory for Jungian psychology. The result was invigorating for his students; placing them in a long tradition of inner exploration, often condemned by religious and political authorities. It was also misleading, however; for it made of the old texts rather what the author wanted. It played down some major concerns like the transmutation of metals by allegorizing them, and it played up somewhat marginal themes like those in Dorn's *Clavis*. Given Jung's starting point in Taoist alchemy, as taught by Wilhelm's Chinese master and relayed to the west in translation, one could almost have predicted that Jung would lavish attention on the long-neglected texts of Dorn. For just as Paracelsus had expanded the possibilities of western alchemy to medical cures, and the conception of the patient's environment to include the stars and stones, so Dorn further expanded the Paracelsian philosophy to include leading themes of older philosophical and

47 Kristopher Schipper: *The Taoist Body*, trans. Karen C. Duval. Berkeley 1993, p. 175.

48 For his principal essay on the subject see C. G. Jung: *The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*, trans. R. F. C. Hull. Princeton 1960, esp. pp. 3-66.

49 Jung: *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (see note 4), p. 204. Von Franz notes the parallel between Dorn's philosophical quest and that in *The Secret of the Golden Flower*. See von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 81. For a fuller account of parallels between Jung's thought and Taoism see David Rosen: *The Tao of Jung: The Way of Integrity*. New York 1996.

50 The classic study in English, which Jung also used, is Arthur Edward Waite: *The Secret Tradition in Alchemy: Its Development and Records*. London 1922. Jung owned a copy and cited it repeatedly.

religious writing. We shall return to this point, and to the uses and value of Jung's work on alchemy, but first we must see what Dorn actually says about the alchemical philosophy.

Dorn appealed to Jung as one of the western alchemists who saw their art as „a matter of their own transformation. For example, Jung wrote in the first part of his first book on alchemy: „For example Gerhard Dorn exclaims: 'Transmutemini [. . .] in vivos lapides philosophicos!' (Transform yourselves into living philosophical stones.)“⁵¹

As noted earlier, Dorn's *Clavis* is divided into two main sections or books, the first on „Chemistical Art“ (*Ars Chymistica*) and the second on „Speculative Philosophy“ (*Philosophia Speculativa*). Knowing that the move from the one topic to the other would seem unusual, he explains:

Ne videar etiam alicui de physico in mea Clave positus principiis in moralem philosophicam incidisse, doctis hoc revelabo secretum. Ea que videntur physica quandoque, licet non semper, moralia sunt philosophis, tum occulta legentibus manifestissima sibi, quae non minus aliis pro occultissimis reputantur.⁵²

[Lest I seem also to have given a moral philosophical "twist" to something that is to be found among the essentially physical principles set forth in my "Key", I shall now reveal to the learned the secret behind such an approach. Just as those things that appear to be physical sometimes, although not always, have a moral aspect when seen through the eyes of philosophers, so things that are considered to be no less obscure than anything else could be are actually very clear to the readers themselves.]⁵³ He reiterates the point later on:

Erant haec studiosis proponenda prius, ut cognoscerent, qua ratione metaphysica cum physicis & moralibus hic miscuerim, & quando moralia metaphysicis, & haec illis comparanda sunt ac physicis: no forte sub labyrintho haerentibus, introitum ad rem capessendam (ut solent plurimi) praestruisse videar lectoribus.⁵⁴

[I had to explain these matters to students in advance so that they would understand why I have confounded metaphysics with physics and morals, and sometimes morals with metaphysics, and why the latter have to be compared with the former and with physics, lest I might by chance seem to have made it unnecessarily difficult for those readers who have lost their way in the maze (as most are accustomed to do) to access material that it is essential for them to understand.]⁵⁵

51 Jung: *Psychology and Alchemy* (see note 42), p. 148. The quotation is from „De Speculativa Philosophia“ (see note 39), p. 239. It alludes to the „living stone“ of 1 Peter 2: 4.

52 Dorn: „De Speculativa Philosophia“ (see note 39), p. 229.

53 Dorn: *Speculative Philosophy* (see note 38), p. 8.

54 Dorn: „De Speculativa Philosophia“ (see note 39), p. 238.

55 Dorn: *Speculative Philosophy* (see note 38), p. 20.

Jung quoted from this last statement, in a chapter on „The Psychic Nature of the Alchemical Work“, adding, that the term *moral* has been replaced in later centuries by the word *psychological*.⁵⁶

To clarify further, we may note that the word *physics*, as Dorn uses it, refers to natural science as observed by the five senses and that *metaphysics* refers to what is literally beyond physics: the *prima philosophia* of the ancients, concerned with the workings of the soul. We should note further that Dorn uses the term *speculative philosophy* in a different way than Kant or Hegel. The American philosopher John Dewey identified three types of philosophical speculation:

Meditation or reflection of the mind upon itself, or upon spiritual things

A form of theorizing which goes beyond verifiable observation and reflection

The conclusion and completion of the movement of thought which apprehends the unity of categories in and through their opposition.⁵⁷

Dorn's speculation belongs to the first variety, Hegel's to the third. As we shall see, Paracelsus himself used *Spekulation* in the second sense.

Dorn offers this definition at the start of his first chapter:

SPECULATIVA Philosophia dicitur bene compositae mentis a corpore voluntaria distractio: quia facilis circa veritatis cognitionem versari queat animus.⁵⁸

[The art of achieving a voluntary withdrawal from the Body of a well-composed Mind is called Speculative Philosophy. By this method the Rational Soul may more easily concern itself with the cognition of all aspects of the Truth.]⁵⁹

This is a philosophy of ecstasy, in the literal sense of standing outside the body—the *extasis* that visionaries and ascetics, poets and shamans, have tried to achieve throughout the centuries. Dorn later referred to it as *philosophia meditativa*,⁶⁰ changing only the adjective and otherwise retaining the definition. Dorn's essay „De Speculativa Philosophia“ could be called a meditation with commentaries. Over the course of eight chapters, Dorn describes a series of seven steps, in the meditative or speculative process.⁶¹

56 Jung: *Psychology and Alchemy* (see note 42), p. 269. He also quotes the statement cited in note 63 below.

57 See John Dewey: „Speculation.“ In: *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*, ed. John Mark Baldwin, London and New York 1911, vol. 2, p. 568.

58 Dorn: „De speculativa philosophia“ (see note 39), p. 232. Compare the opening sentence of Dorn's „De philosophia meditativa.“ In: *Theatrum Chemicum* (see note 37), vol. 1, p. 399.

59 Dorn: *Speculative Philosophy* (see note 38), p. 11. Ferguson uses „Rational Soul“ to translate *animus*.

60 Gerard Dorn: „De Philosophia Meditativa.“ In: *Theatrum Chemicum* (see note 37), vol. 1, pp. 399–417.

61 The English translation has nine chapters, correcting what seems to be an error in the Latin text, which seems to have two chapters numbered 3. However, the new chapter 4 of the English edition is actually the *recapitulatio* of chapter 3.

Dorn adds a summary, or recapitulation, at the end of each chapter. Chapter eight includes a recap of the entire text, showing how the steps of Dorn's meditation correspond to the seven stages of the alchemical work (see Table 1).

Chapter	Step	Alchemy	Philosophy
Chapter 1	(introduction)		the speculative philosophy
Chapter 2	step one <i>primus gradus</i>	putrefaction <i>putrefactio</i>	study <i>studium</i>
Chapter 3	step two <i>secundus gradus</i>	solution <i>solutio</i>	Cognition <i>Cognitio</i>
Chapter 4	step three <i>tertius gradus</i>	congelatio <i>congelatio</i>	Philosophical Love <i>Amor Philosophicus</i>
Chapter 5	step four <i>quartus gradus</i>	ablution <i>ablutio</i>	Constancy <i>Frequentia</i>
Chapter 6	step five <i>quintus gradus</i>	composition <i>compositio</i>	Virtue <i>Virtus</i>
Chapter 7	step six <i>sextus gradus</i>	fixation <i>fixatio</i>	Power <i>Potentia</i>
Chapter 8	step seven <i>septimus gradus</i>	projection (tincture) <i>projection (tinctura)</i>	Truth <i>Veritas</i>

Table 1. The seven steps

The capitalized nouns represent allegorical figures who serve as guides in a series of dialogues.

The first few correspondences are fairly easy to grasp. Study can throw one into self-doubt at first, whether the new subject is philosophy or alchemy. One's old ideas lose their strength as one learns the new subject; indeed, in the American vernacular, they turn out to be rotten. However, as the old structure of thought breaks up, a new kind of understanding, or cognition, takes hold, and ideas gel or congeal. Thus the old maxim of the alchemists: *solve et coagula*, dissolve and coagulate; hence too the Paracelsian coinage *spagyria*, from

Greek words meaning separate and unite.⁶² The process is repeated as the new substance is washed, the new knowledge tested, and a stronger one is composed. Out of this new strength comes a power, or alchemical tincture, that can be shared or projected. This last term will need some clarification later.

62 See note 36 above.

Dorn uses various literary devices to make his point, including apostrophe in the second step, as the writer directly addresses the Philosophers' Stone, and dialogue in the third, fourth, fifth, and six steps. Because these dialogues are the focus of the last four of von Franz's six lectures on *Alchemical Active Imagination*, we must pay close attention to the story that they develop.

The story concerns three brothers, three fraternal triplets, named Body, Soul, and Spirit (*Corpus, Anima, and Spiritus*).⁶³ It thus is an allegory, about the different components of the individual human being. Spirit is clearly the oldest brother, and he starts the story going by urging Soul and Body to go with him to a lofty citadel that he has seen in a dream or vision. Body is just as clearly the youngest, and he needs the greatest prodding. Soul is the middle brother, and he makes some effort to mediate between the others, though his greater loyalty is to Spirit. Over the course of their journey, they meet four allegorical figures: Philosophical Love, Constancy, Virtue, and Power. Each of these offers guidance to the worthy travelers and directs them toward their final goal: the truth, as represented by a figure that speaks directly to the reader. Of these, only Virtue speaks specifically about alchemy. However, Dorn makes the shift from moral to physical, or natural, philosophy in each chapter's recapitulation. Moreover, von Franz makes the useful suggestion that Philosophical Love is to be understood as *Alchemia* and should thus be thought of as feminine.

During the travels from the earthly realm to the spiritual one, the cast of characters is enlarged while the dialogue becomes more focused. At the first stop, Philosophical Love (*Amor Philosophicus*) separates Spirit and Soul from Body. While the youngest is given food and drink, and is left to ramble or rest at will, the older brothers are treated to spiritual food in the form of lectures. By the time they are ready to rejoin their youngest sibling, they have actually been united, after drinking from the Fountain of Philosophical Love, and have been replaced for all purposes by the new brother Mind. Body is completely confused, but willing to learn as they proceed to the Garden of Constancy (*Frequentia*) and onward to the fortress of Virtue (*Virtus*), where they are told of their interdependence. When Mind and Body both drink from the Fountain of Virtue, they merge into the single new character Man (*Vir*). Here the dialogues end, leading one to wonder whether Man is ultimately merged with Truth (*Veritas*). Just as awareness of the different components of human beings

63 For Spirit, Dorn uses both *Spiritus* and *Animus*. The English translates, both as Rational Soul, in contrast to *Anima* or Feeling Soul. The words *spiritus* and *animus* have the same meaning for Dorn, but the *spiritus* word allows him more easily to distinguish it from Love (*Amor*), when abbreviating the names of speakers in the dialogues.

became possible through cognition and study, the different components of reality are ultimately subsumed into the single truth of God's creation. Here it may help to expand our table somewhat, placing the philosophical abstractions and their alchemical counterparts next to the human faculties engaged in dialogue:

Chapter and Step	Allegorical Power	Human Aspects
chapter 4	Philosophical Love	Spirit, Soul, Body, Mind
step 3	<i>Amor Philosophicus</i>	<i>Spiritus, Anima, Corpus, Mens</i>
chapter 5	Constancy	Mind and Body
step 4	<i>Frequentia</i>	<i>Mens et Corpus</i>
chapter 6	Virtue	Mind, [Body]
step 5	<i>Virtus</i>	<i>Mens, [Corpus]</i>
chapter 7	Power	Man
step 6	<i>Potentia</i>	<i>Vir</i>

Table 2. Participants in the Dialogue

The Body is placed in brackets at step 5 because it is present but has no part in the dialogue. Mind alone converses with Virtue, complaining mightily about Body's dullness. Virtue, which etymologically suggests manly might and merit, has the important task of explaining the complex fraternal relationships: how Mind contains Spirit and Soul, and to what extent they all need Body and should treat it charitably.

In the last two dialogues, Constancy and Virtue establish the proper hierarchical relationship. Constancy tells Mind:

Corpus nihil speculatur, animus est qui tacitas imaginationum operationes exercet, quas demum corpus conater exequi: conceptio mentis est, corporis autem executio.⁶⁴

[The Body scrutinises nothing: it is the Rational Soul that performs the silent operations of the imagination, which eventually the Body tries to execute. For conception is a task of the Mind, execution a task of the Body.]⁶⁵

Although Spirit draws sensory images from Spirit, it also draws ideas from the heavenly world, and ultimately from God, who breathed his spirit into man at the creation of the world. Thus Dorn's *Mens* seems closer to the *Nous* of Gnostic Christians than to that of Neoplatonists.⁶⁶ Similarly, Virtue tells Mind:

64 Dorn: „De speculativa philosophia“ (see note 39), pp. 262–263.

65 Dorn: *Speculative Philosophy* (see note 38), p. 62.

66 For a discussion of the „fourfold anthropology“ of mind, spirit, soul, and body in Gnosticism, see Jean-Yves Leloup, ed. and trans.: *The Gospel of Mary Magdalene*, trans. Joseph Rowe. Rochester, VT, 2002, pp. 119–122.

Quicquid ex coelo non est, virtus dici non potest, sed ejus simulacrum falsum.⁶⁷
 [Whatever is not from heaven cannot be said to be a virtue, but merely its false simulacrum.]⁶⁸

Here the mortal body, suffering the consequences of Original Sin, seems to be the simulacrum or false image, and the unfallen body of the new-created Adam seems the true one.

Human components
Man (invisible, heavenly body)
Spirit
Mind
Soul
Body (visible, terrestrial body)

Table 3. The human hierarchy

Dorn's Man is not the individual man but the universal man, comparable to the Adam Kadmon of the Qabbalists and the *interior homo* of Paracelsus.⁶⁹ Because this man no longer depends on the physical body, it should come as no surprise that a modern psychologist like von Franz would notice that the body poses a problem for Dorn.

When von Franz gave her course of lectures on the active imagination in alchemy, she began by saying, quite graciously and with no reference to her own contributions, that Jung had quoted from all the important primary texts and had summarized all their important contributions to psychological science. All that she could do was „to take one of the interesting alchemists (but where, actually, Jung has already skimmed off the cream) and go through his texts as a whole, so that you get an impression of the original material and context.“⁷⁰ This was a good strategy, for the attention to the text as a whole allowed her to answer the charge that Jung

67 Dorn: „De speculativa philosophia“ (see note 39), p. 265.

68 Dorn: *Speculative Philosophy* (see note 38), 68.

69 See Jung: *Psychology and Alchemy* (see note 42), p. 174. Also see C. G. Jung: *Aion: Researches into the Phenomenology of the Self*, trans. R. F. C. Hull, 2nd ed. Princeton 1959, p. 38, n. 10.

70 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 17. Although the accuracy of Jung's scholarship remains unquestioned, several scholars have criticized his methodology. See, e.g., Barbara Obrist: *Les Débuts de l'imagerie alchimique (XIV^e-XV^e siècles)*. Paris 1982, pp. 15-18. Also see Lawrence M. Principe and William R. Newman: „Some Problems with the Historiography of Alchemy.“ In: William R. Newman and Anthony Grafton, ed.: *Secrets of Nature: Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, MA, and London 2001, pp. 385-431, esp. pp. 401-408.

had „cherry-picked“ what best suited his purposes. She could show how careful analysis of Dorn's text would support Jung's take on alchemy. Von Franz chose Dorn for special attention and noted that he was both a practicing alchemist and an alchemical philosopher or, in Jungian terms, both an extravert and an introvert:

One of his extraverted pharmacological contributions was the discovery that if certain chemical medicines were applied in a refined way, if they were better distilled, they then had a better and more heightened effect. Dorn was [also] an introvert and a very religious man, and if you have read the last chapters of [Jung's] *Mysterium Coniunctionis* where Jung quotes him and comments upon his work, you see that he is also remarkable for another reason: namely that he not only, as an introvert, kept aware of the inner psychic aspects of the alchemical work, but that he also tried in an absolutely genuine way to do active imagination.⁷¹

Although most members of her audience would have engaged in active imagination, if at all, in order to get in touch with unconscious ideas and psychological complexes, it was quite possible to enter into dialogue with chemicals or with laboratory procedures involved in their production.⁷²

Before discussing the four dialogues, von Franz devotes one lecture to the importance of alchemy as a science touching on the relationship of mind and body. She also gives a lecture to the chemical philosophy that precedes the speculative philosophy in Dorn's book. She quotes in English, and appears to be translating at sight from a copy of the *Theatrum Chemicum* available at the Jung Institute. (She notes that she owns an earlier edition.)⁷³ In the opening section, Dorn discusses the generation of matter that starts with form. The heavens impose individual forms onto the earthly elements, and this form comes from God. Matter is alive in all its manifestations. There is a plan of mathematical precision, and von Franz finds patterns of ones, two, and threes throughout the chemical section. She notes that Dorn's *ternarius* has parallels not only to the Christian Trinity but to the three main colors associated with the production of the Philosophers' Stone: black, white, and red. His *binarius* is captured in the motto *solve et coagula* („dissolve and coagulate“), which refers to „the dissolution of the body“ and „the coagulation or condensation of the spirit“.⁷⁴ His monad is the Philosophers' Stone, which unites all contraries, or its human counterpart, the enlightened alchemist. To illustrate the binary opposition in alchemy, von Franz uses the „simile“ of „the dragon

71 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 18.

72 See von Franz's comments on this matter in *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), pp. 12-19.

73 The transcription mistakenly gives the date 1679. Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 28.

74 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 35. She quotes from *Theatrum Chemicum* (see note 37), vol 1, p. 211.

that carries the Aesculapian staff⁶, the destroyer that heals.⁷⁵ Laying the ground for future discussion, she suggests that the dragon represents a „projection onto reality“ and thus may be viewed as „the unconsciousness of a human being“.⁷⁶ She ends the second lecture by suggesting that Dorn is like any good physician in promoting balance in one's life.

The third lecture in the series has the suggestive title „The Problem of the Body“. Dorn's speculative philosophy requires that „separation“ (*dis-tractio*) of the mind from the body, and von Franz notes that the body was all too often debased in the religious thought of Christianity, even during the Reformation. In the first of Dorn's dialogues, the Body is a reluctant „brother“, who accompanies the Spirit and Soul rather as a horse accompanies the riders in a horse-drawn carriage. Extraverted by nature, the Body is fed and put out to pasture while the introverted brothers are entertained by the first host, Philosophical Love. The older Spirit needs to persuade the younger and less introverted Soul to join him in the introspective separation from the body. Speaking to an audience of analysts, students, and patients, von Franz tries to „translate this into our modern psychology“.⁷⁷

In psychological terms, she suggests, the Soul represents to the inner experience of external reality, through sense perception or dream, while both the Spirit and the Mind represent aspects of the „conscious ego“, though the Spirit seems more aware of the higher images that beckon and thus closer to the higher soul that Jung calls the „objective psyche.“ The Body, meanwhile, corresponds to the Jungian Shadow, the archetype of the all that the conscious mind ignores and rejects.⁷⁸ This much is true for Dorn as a Christian male in the early modern period, for von Franz finds that he perpetuates the view that the body is by nature sinful and corrupt. However, she finds a remarkable source of unity in the universal Medicine that he extols. In Jungian terms, the medicine is the Self, „the archetype of order“ that Jung also calls the *imago dei* or god image. Because Dorn says the Medicine is hidden in the Body, von Franz concludes that the separation from of Body from the Soul and Spirit is simply temporary. The Spirit needs the Body as much as the Body needs the Spirit. Again a table will be helpful (see Table 4).

75 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 36. She quotes from *Theatrum Chemicum* (see note 37), vol 1, p. 214.

76 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 37, 39.

77 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 41.

78 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), pp. 46, 48. For Jungian terms consult the glossary in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (see note 3), pp. 379–390.

Dorn	Von Franz
Man	Self
Spirit	Ego, Objective psyche
Mind	Conscious ego (intellect)
Soul	Psyche (perception)
Body	Shadow (unconscious)

Table 4. Jungian counterparts

The obvious objection to this allegory is that von Franz has psychologized the whole of human experience. The Self at the top and the Shadow at the bottom are both archetypes – transcendent realities that Jung termed „psychoid“, meaning that they are psychic realities which cannot be directly perceived or represented and which are therefore represented and perceived through symbols. Although these symbols are created from sensory perceptions and emerge in dreams, they are not fully grasped by the intellect but only by the higher mind that Jung terms the objective psyche.

Von Franz is well aware of the objection that she and Jung „turn religion into something which is *only* psychological“. She replies that this view reduces the psyche to a „*nothing but*“, translating Jung's *nicht als*. Dorn, she says, „goes back to the inner image of God saying it is there in Christianity but is never recognized.“⁷⁹ Dorn writes about the medicine:

In corpore humano latet quaedam substantia metaphysica, paucissimis nota, quae nullo penitus indiget medicamento, sed ipsa medicamentum est incorruptum. Verum quia physicorum corporum corruptionibus obruitur, & impeditur quo minus vim perficiendi suas actiones exercent, philosophi divino quodam afflatu cognoverunt hanc virtutem, coelestemque virogem a suis compedibus liberari posse.⁸⁰

[In the human body is hidden a certain metaphysical substance which is known to very few people and which needs no medicine because it is itself the incorruptible medicine. The philosophers, through some divine inspiration, recognized the strength and heavenly virtue of this substance and how to free it from its fetters, but by a similar medicine in itself.]⁸¹

One might similarly say that she has reduced the body to a mental image, but she would reply that the Church has already done that. In a well known metonymy, Christianity has reduced the body to the flesh, and has insisted on its evil.

79 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 53. The case against Jung is well made by the Swiss Perennialist Titus Buckhardt. See his essay „Cosmology and Modern Science.“ In: *The Sword of Gnosis; Metaphysics, Cosmology, Tradition, Symbolism*, ed. Jacob Needleman. London 1974, pp. 122–178, esp. pp. 174–178.

80 Dorn: „De speculativa philosophia“ (see note 39), p. 237.

81 Translated in Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 51.

In the first active-imagination dialogue, the Body and Spirit quickly come to an impasse. Neither can understand the other until the Soul intervenes. The Body appeals to the Soul, and complains that it prefers the Spirit. The Soul answers, „You are completely insane“ (*Deliras omnino*).⁸² The Body starts to sulk, saying that it should never have stayed behind. The dialogue continues:

A. id fecilles. C. Non potui praeter te, qua sine nihil possum exequi. A. Nec ego praeter Spiritum valeo gradum sistere: sine quo, te sine sim necesse est. C. Et tu parabolice loqui tam brevi didicisti tempore? S. Non nisi simpliciter? Sed quae nuda est oratio, sicuti tenebris involutum es, amphibologica, vel allegorica videtur. C. Vobiscum nil effecero, tacebo, sicut ipsa tu dudum, ut haec in posterum reservares mihi. A. Nil nisi bonum. C. Spiritus te seduxit. S. Minime vere, at ego ipsam & te huc ad salutem duco. C. Dicis tamen.⁸³

[Feeling Soul. Well you could have done.

Body. I couldn't have done so without you, without whom I can accomplish nothing.

Feeling Soul. Nor am I strong enough to take one step without the aid of Spirit. Without Spirit I would also have to be without you.

Body. And have you really learned to speak in riddles in such a short time?

Spirit. Is it simplicity you want? That is indeed a very stark form of speech. As you're enveloped in shadows, so what I say strikes you as ambiguous and allegorical.

Body. I will get nowhere with you, so I shall remain silent, just like you yourself were a little while ago so that you might subsequently unleash these things on me.

Feeling Soul. I want nothing except what is good for you.

Body. Spirit has led you astray.

Spirit. Not at all – I am leading Feeling Soul and you to safety.

Body. So you say.⁸⁴

As a modern reader, von Franz expresses real sympathy for the Body, which never quite understands what is happening.

After the Soul and Spirit are merged, the Mind teases and berates the Body even more. After a series of references to Holy Scripture, the Mind asserts its superiority:

mens hominis immortalis est; ideo mortem non timet, imo viriliter illam superat, corpus morti subjectum est omne, quapropter eam apprime formidat. C. Quis scis quod morti mens non subjicitur. M. Scitur ex eo scilicet. Omne quod ex morte

82 *Speculative Philosophy* (see note 38), p. 43; „De speculativa philosophia“ (see note 39), p. 252.

83 Dorn: „De speculativa philosophia“ (see note 39), p. 252.

84 Dorn: *Speculative Philosophy* (see note 38), p. 43. *Anima* is here translated as „Feeling Soul“ to distinguish it from the *Animus* or Rational Soul. See Aristotle, *De Anima*, book 2, chapter 1: „the soul is the actuality of the body“.

sunsit originem, est mortale; quod ex vita primordium ducit, non moritur, nec id quod inter vitam & mortem est medium adhaerens vitae.⁸⁵

[... The Mind of Man is immortal: for that reason it does not fear death. Indeed it overcomes it manfully. But the whole body is subject to death, and for that reason dreads it to the utmost extent.

Body. How do you know that the Mind is not subject to death?

Mind. From this: everything that owes its origin to death is mortal, but what the primordial derives from life does not die, nor that which is half-way between life and death adhering to life.⁸⁶

To this very Paracelsian proposition the Body responds, „You speak too obscurely“ (*Non nisi clara*). The Mind shows no mercy and go ones to bewail the „wretched and insatiable body“ (*miserum & insatiabile corpus*).⁸⁷

Taking the exchange of Body and Mind as an active imagination, von Franz recognizes that Body shows willingness to understand his new companion and even learn from her. (The words *corpus* and *mens* are masculine and feminine, respectively.) Body even makes some very intelligent word associations in the effort to understand. However, Mind remains unconscious of what the body represents and projects on the Body what it cannot accept. When Body says in frustration, „I am no wiser than I was before“, von Franz interjects, „Neither am I!“⁸⁸ Only gradually and with the help from Constancy does Mind see that Body is trying to learn about death, difficult though that be, and thus cease to think of Body as rebellious. Finally, with help from Virtue, Mind recognizes the need, and the difficulty, of saving Body. (Incidentally, all but two of the allegorical powers are grammatically feminine. *Studium* is neuter and *Amor* is masculine, though von Franz suggests that Philosophical Love really means *Alchemia* and thus is feminine. Meanwhile, all of the Latin words for the chemical processes are feminine as well.)

The final teachings of Virtue are explicitly concerned with Paracelsian notions and lead von Franz into a lecture, or chapter, on „Medieval Magic“. Virtue tells Mind about „Nature's magnetic force“:

verum chemista physicus non contentus experimento solum, nec quod a coelo habeat, sed a qua parte coeli, perquirat, anatomiam creaturae magnae, cum ea quae de microcosmo fieri potest, comparisonem faciens. Quod quatuor modis & instrumentis efficere nititur, utpote, Geometria, Hydromantia, Pyromantia, & Astronomia. Geometria terrarum in rebus naturalibus: aquarum Hydromantia: ignium Pyromantia, coelestiumque virtutum Astronomia.⁸⁹

85 Dorn: „De speculativa philosophia“ (see note 39), pp. 258–259.

86 Dorn: *Speculative Philosophy* (see note 38), p. 56.

87 Dorn: *Speculative Philosophy* (see note 38), pp. 56, 57.

88 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 70.

89 Dorn: „De speculativa philosophia“ (see note 39), p. 266.

[Indeed the physical chemist is not content with experiment alone, nor what he may have from heaven, but from what part of heaven he may thoroughly investigate the anatomy of the Great Creature {i. e., macrocosm}, making a comparison with that creature that can come into existence from the microcosm {i. e., man}.

This he strives to bring about in four ways and using four tools: Geometry, Hydromancy, Pyromancy and Astronomy. Geometry is concerned with the nature of soils, Hydromancy with that of waters, Pyromancy with that of fire and Astronomy with that of the celestial virtues.]⁹⁰

Here Dorn uses the words *Geometria* and *Astronomia* as substitutes for *Geomantia* as *Astromantia*, divination by earth and stars.⁹¹ Because the act of divining is literally that of discovery with divine assistance, von Franz notes in Dorn's statement the „interesting idea that the religious faith within the unknown part of a personality coincides with a spirit in material things, and if they are both freed miracles can be performed.“⁹² She then attempts to explain such miracles and works of magic in terms that her Jungian audience can readily grasp. To this end, she invokes the principle that Jung famously called synchronicity.

In his 1952 essay „Synchronicity: An Acausal Connecting Principle“, Jung worked from examples of meaningful coincidence in modern life. He used the astrological charts of married couples as well as examples of synchronistic thinking in earlier centuries. Only then did he attempt a definition. Among the precursors he paid special attention to Chinese philosophy and to „alchemy, astrology, and the mantic arts“ in the West, which, he said, had outlooks very close to the Chinese.⁹³ Much of what Jung says about alchemy and astrology has to do with the relation of the microcosm or „little world“ of man to the „macrocosm“ or great world. Almost inevitably, Paracelsus is quoted on the necessity of making the microcosm agree with the macrocosm before performing any medical diagnosis.⁹⁴ Paracelsus referred to this process of seeking correspondences between the little and great worlds the *anatomia mundi* or anatomy of the world. That is precisely what Dorn refers to in the quotation that leads up to the various mantic arts, for these are *instrumenta* to perform that sort of non-morbid anatomy.

90 Dorn: *Speculative Philosophy* (see note 38), pp. 69–70.

91 Dorn defines the two terms in his *Dictionarium* (see note 35), p. 46. Paracelsus: *Opera Omnia Medico-Chemico-Chirurgica*, ed. Fredericus Bitiskius, 3 vols. Geneva 1658, vol. 2, p. (??)

92 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 97.

93 C. G. Jung: *Synchronicity: An Acausal Connecting Principle*, trans. R. F. C. Hull. Princeton 1973, p. 69. First published in C. G. Jung and Wolfgang Pauli: *The Interpretation of Nature and the Psyche*, trans. Bollingen Series, 51. New York 1955.

94 Jung: *Synchronicity* (see note 93), p. 79. Also see von Franz: „The Idea of the Macro- and Microcosmos,“ cited in note 24.

Developing on Jung's ideas about synchronicity, von Franz notes that one may seek correspondences in either the individual or the cosmos. Here she invokes Paracelsus, as she looks for a point between the heavens and the physical body:

... he had an in-between stage, namely the idea of the inner cosmos or firmament and its re-constellation, and we could say that was an interesting beginning of "taking back". We would now say, from a psychological standpoint, that in astrology the contents of the collective unconscious are projected onto the constellations of the sky and there the projection begins to come back. ... We would say the human being has a constellation of archetypes within himself and via that he is affected.⁹⁵

For Paracelsus, the philosopher is not a helpless victim of heavenly bodies. Indeed, he says:

der weis man das gestirn regiren und meistern kan und das gestirn nicht in. das gestirn ist in underworfen, muß im nachfolgen und er nit dem gestirn. einen viehischen menschen aber regirt, meistert, zwingt und nötigt das gestirn, also das er dem gestirn muß nachgehen was ist anderst die ursach dan das derselbig mensch sich selbs nicht erkennt und seine eigene kreft, so in im verborgen, nit zugebrauchen weißt, das das gestirn in im und das er die kleine welt ist, und auch das ganz firmament mit allen iren kreften in im hat.⁹⁶

[The stars are subject to the philosopher, they must follow him, and not he them. Only the man who is still animal is governed, mastered, compelled, and driven by the stars, so that he has no choice but to follow them ... [T]he reason for all this is that such a man does not know himself and does not know how to use the energies hidden in him, nor does he know that he carries stars within himself, that he is the microcosm, and thus carries in him the whole firmament with all its influences.]⁹⁷

Before taking questions, von Franz describes Jung's ambivalence about astrology. He found some remarkable correlations when he and his associates examined the charts of married couples, but he was reluctant to draw any conclusions from such random patterns. As he discussed his doubts with von Franz, on a retreat at his handmade retreat in Bollingen, he pointed to the random patterns of light and shadow as the late afternoon sun hit the stones on the tower. Suddenly he saw the face of a laughing man. He took it to be the trickster god Mercurius, laughing at him.⁹⁸

95 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 98.

96 Paracelsus: *Die 9 Bücher de Natura rerum*, book 9 („De signatura rerum naturalium ((Anführung oben)))“). In: *Sämtliche Werke* (see note 32), vol. 11, pp. 373–403; here p. 378.

97 Paracelsus: *Selected Writings*, ed. Jolanda Jacobi, trans. Norbert Guterman, 2nd ed. Princeton 1958 (Bollingen Seriesm 28), p. 154. Originally published as *Paracelsus: Arzt und Gottsucher an der Zeitenwende: Eine Auswahl aus seinem Werk* (Zurich 1942); reissued with an introduction by Gerhard Wehr (Olten 1991).

98 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 102.

In the final lecture, von Franz notes that the man who emerges from the Fortress of Virtue is "one man" (*vir unus*). When Virtue beckons Body and Mind to his fountain, he says:

ambo tunc unum facti, pacem habeatis in unione. ... O admiranda fontos efficacia ... de mente & corpore virum unum efficit.⁹⁹

[With the two of you then made one, you will have peace in union. ... O admirable efficacy of the fountain, which makes one from two and brings peace between enemies. ... [I]t makes one man from Mind and Body.]¹⁰⁰

Von Franz detects a Christian theme, and she notes that the Church Father Origen spoke of candidates for baptism as having multiple impulses, or *mores*, and of the new Christian as being made whole, a single man, through the working of the Holy Spirit.¹⁰¹ When Dorn's *vir unus* is received at their next destination, Power says this Man has proven „worthy of confirmation“ (*confirmatione dignum*).¹⁰² With the help of Christian virtues, along with natural chemical virtues, he will be able to overcome all the powers of the world, including violence, tyranny, and even death.¹⁰³ After the dialogue ends, Dorn ends the story with a peroration on Truth, which requires all the other allegorical qualities: Love, Constancy, Virtue, and Power. He recalls the story of a philosopher who bits off his tongue and spats it at a tyrant rather than tell a lie.¹⁰⁴

Dorn remains a man of his time, caught in the dialectic of good and evil and unable to see beyond it. Von Franz is forced to conclude that, „in spite of all his attempts to conceive of a more central position between good and evil and to integrate the body and matter, thereby de-spiritualizing to a certain extent the one-sided spiritual attitude of Christianity, Dorn gets nowhere in the ultimate ethical realm, but stays within the traditional concepts.“¹⁰⁵ She later adds:

Dorn floated over abysses of the mysteries which Jung penetrated. Nevertheless he was endeavoring to cope with the same problems as we cope with, but he could not deal with the problem of evil. After attempting to remove the shadow from the body he slips, and again projects it back into the body. He was caught

99 Dorn: *De speculativa philosophia* (see note 38; see note 39), p. 267.

100 Dorn: *Speculative Philosophy* (see note 38), p. 70.

101 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 104.

102 Dorn: *Speculative Philosophy* (see note 38), p. 73 „De speculativa philosophia“ (see note 39), p. 268.

103 Dorn: *Speculative Philosophy* (see note 38), p. 74 „De speculativa philosophia“ (see note 39), pp. 269–270.

104 Dorn: *Speculative Philosophy* (see note 38), p. 75. The story is told by Diogenes Laertius in *Lives*, 9.10.3; it is retold in Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae*, liber 2, prosa 6.

105 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 107.

by and bound to the Christian belief that God is only good and that he cannot contain the problem of evil.¹⁰⁶

Building on Jung's work,¹⁰⁷ von Franz concludes with a fascinating addition. In addition to unifying the Spirit, Soul, and Body, Dorn needs to bring Man into harmony with the Cosmos or Universe. This includes everything that Christianity dismisses as „the world“, including all human experience, both good and evil. This final union occurs, she suggests, when the „one man“ is joined to „one world“ (*unus mundus*). Von Franz explains, „The idea of a *unus mundus* is a variation of our concept of the collective unconscious“,¹⁰⁸ which is to say of all that is unknown to us in human experience. To merge the one man (or one human) with the one world would lead to the kind of clairvoyance associated with saints and sages. It would lead to those strange but meaningful connections that Jung calls synchronicities. It would seem to be life at its truest and best – „the ultimate stage of the process of individuation“.¹⁰⁹ And yet, von Franz suggests at the end of her final lecture: „This is a stage of development man approaches only at death.“¹¹⁰ In the terms of our symposium, the real life of a human being – the absorption of the individual into the collective and, beyond that, into the cosmos – comes only with the being's real death.

All this might lead us to conclude that Dorn's speculative philosophy more than a preparation for the philosophical life. In the great Socratic tradition, it prepares one for death.¹¹¹ In a collection of essays on dreams and death, von Franz later noted that there is no clear distinction between matter and energy in the world after Einstein, where the one is regularly converted into the other. In such a world, the dead body is quite conceivably converted into psychic energy, and that energy is contained in new human beings. Hence Jung's rather oracular statement, „Sooner or later all the dead become what we also are.“¹¹²

To understand the relationship between von Franz and Jung, on the one hand, and Dorn and Paracelsus, on the other, one can hardly do better than to consider the key word in the title of her lectures: *imagination*. Jung quotes approvingly the famous Paracelsian definition of imagination

106 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 114.

107 See note 25 above.

108 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 114.

109 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 115.

110 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 116.

111 Plato: *Phaedo*, 62D.

112 Marie-Louise von Franz: *On Dreams and Death: A Jungian Interpretation*. Chicago 1998, p. 143.

as „the star in man“.¹¹³ He suggests that this inner light of Paracelsus may be closer to the *imago dei* or god within than readers may have realized. In his own definition of the „image“, he asserts that „it is just in the imagination that a man's highest value may lie.“¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, Jung tends to use the word *imagination* in the Romantic sense of a higher form of fancy rather than the older sense of a mental faculty. Aristotle placed the imagination midway between sense perception and the mind,¹¹⁵ and Aristotelians in the late Middle Ages taught that the mind thought in remembered images.¹¹⁶ That is how Dorn presents the case when he has Virtue tell Mind that the Spirit „performs the silent operations of the imagination.“¹¹⁷ Whereas Jung has the image come from the personal or collective unconscious, and develop into an idea,¹¹⁸ Paracelsians have some images flow from above and, at least symbolically, from the stars. Hence the formula equating the imagination and the star in man:

Imaginatio, est astrum in homo, coeleste sive supercoeleste corpus.¹¹⁹

[Imagination is the star in man, the celestial or supercelestial body.]

Jungians tend to overlook the second half of this formula.¹²⁰ Von Franz, for example, insists that Dorn „discards what still persists in certain traditions nowadays in Europe regarding an astral or a subtle body.“¹²¹ This may be true so far as such a body would be thought to exist outside the human body, but Dorn seems committed to the Paracelsian concept of the interior man. In his dictionary of Paracelsian terms we find this entry:

113 C. G. Jung: „Paracelsus as a Spiritual Phenomenon.“ In: *Alchemical Studies*, trans. R. F. C. Hull. Princeton 1967, pp. 109–189; here p. 127.

114 C. G. Jung: *Psychological Types*, trans. R. F. C. Hull. Princeton 1971, p. 63.

115 Aristotle: *De Anima*, book 3, chapter 3.

116 See Murray Wright Bundy: *The Theory of Imagination in Classical and Medieval Thought*, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 12.2-3. Urbana, IL 1927.

117 See note 85 above.

118 Jung: *Psychological Types* (see note 114), pp. 442–447.

119 Dorn: *Dictionarium* (see note 35), p. 56. This definition is quoted with a German translation in Martin Ruland: *Lexicon Alchemiae, sive Dictionarium Alchemisticum, cum obscuriorum Verborum, & Rerum Hermeticarum, tum Theophrast-Paracelsicarum Phrasium Planum Explicatio*. Frankfurt a. M. 1661, p. 264. First published in 1612.

120 Nevertheless, Dorn's definition is quoted and expanded in the glossary prepared by Jung's associate Jolande Jacobi, who equates the imagination with the „astral man“ (her quotation marks). See Paracelsus: *Selected Writings*, ed. Jacobi (see note 97), p. 254.

121 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), pp. 50–51. The reference is most directly to the Anthroposophical Society of Rudolf Steiner. See, e. g., Victor Boit: *An Introduction to Anthroposophical Medicine: Extending the Art of Healing*. Forest Row, England 2004. Translation of *La Médecine Anthroposophique* (1972).

Adech, est interior & invisibilis homo noster, qui singulorum exemplaria praefigurat in animo nostro, quae manibus suis fingit ac imitatur exterior iste homo noster visibilis, uterque juxta suam naturam operatur.¹²²

[The Adech is our interior and invisible man, which prefigures the unique visible man in our soul, and which serves the visible man's nature.]

Paracelsus coined the term Adech, perhaps used only in the difficult final chapter of his five-book *De Vita Longa*.¹²³ Dorn's commentary on the chapter identifies the Adech as the *homo interior* and the *invisibilis homo maximus*.¹²⁴ Jung alighted on this passage and compared the Adech to archetypal images east and west, ranging from the Kabbalistic Metatron to the Hindu Purusha, „who is also 'the size of a thumb' and dwells in the heart of every man.“ The concept is an important one for him, but is psychologized into an archetype of the collective unconscious.¹²⁵ After all, Jung is concerned with consciousness and with what individuals know, do not know, or intuit on a pre-conscious level.

Paracelsus, meanwhile, treated the imagination as a way of knowing. In the fragmentary book „On the imaginative power“ (*fragmentum libri De virtute imaginativa*), which was intended to be part of his *Philosophia Magna*, he maintained that man has two bodies, one visible and one invisible, and that imagination serves the invisible body as a mouth through which nourishment enters and from which ideas flow.¹²⁶ Just as the human eye brings visible objects to the attention of the physical body, so the imagination brings invisible ideas to the body that Paracelsus calls the interior man. As the occult scholar Arthur Edward Waite noted, Paracelsus „lays special stress on the power exercised by the imagination.“¹²⁷ For example, Paracelsus remarks that „the pregnant mother forms the fruit [i. e., child] in her body according to her imagination, and as her stars are.“¹²⁸ As Dorn notes in separate dictionary entries, Paracelsus distinguished inclination (*inclinatio*) on the one hand from influence (*influentia*), on the other. Inclination comes from nature and would now be called an urge, impulse, or instinct. Influence comes from the stars or planets in the firmament.¹²⁹

122 Dorn: *Dictionarium* (see note 35), p. 56.

123 Theophrastus Paracelsus: *Libri V De Vita Longa, Brevis, & Sana, de que Triplex Corpore*. ed. with commentary by Gerard Dorn. Frankfurt a. M. 1583, pp. 174–175; book 5, chapter 5.

124 Paracelsus, *De Vita Longa* (see note 123), p. 178.

125 Jung: „Paracelsus as a Spiritual Phenomenon“ (see note 113), pp. 170–179.

126 Paracelsus: *Sämtliche Werke* (see note 32), vol. 14, pp. 309–319. Waite summarizes the book in vol. 2 (see note 127), p. 7.

127 Arthur Edward Waite, ed.: *The Hermetic and Alchemical Writings of Paracelsus* (trans. Julius Kohn? (??)), 2 vols. London 1894, vol. 1, p. 122 note (??).

128 Paracelsus: „Concerning the Nature of Things.“ In: *The Hermetic and Alchemical Writings* (see note 126), vol. 1, p. 122.

129 Dorn: *Dictionarium* (see note 35), pp. 56–57.

Either one can be good or bad. For example, diseases can descend from the stars; hence the term *influenza*, still used to this day. Such diseases are said to be of the imagination, though their effects are real enough.

Then again, basic instincts can be positive, like the instinct to reproduce and multiply, especially when the inclination is supported by a powerful imagination of the child to be brought into the world. It is the job of the alchemical physician to separate the pure from the impure. Just as this purification process can lead to a better life for the mind, it can move the alchemist to produce elixirs and essences that improve life for the body. Thus Dorn ends his text with a list of chemical remedies. These are homeopathic cures, designed to strengthen the body and restore its natural balance. Von Franz tends to take them metaphorically, as comments on archetypes from the collective unconscious; however, she observes that each age has its wonder-working drugs, and compares the old elixirs to the new hormone-replacement therapies of her time. In our day, many of the „wonder drugs“ are genetically engineered to counter mufated genes – a process made possible by the discovery of a new *corpus invisibilis*: the human genome.

Antoine Faivre, a leading authority in the field of Western esotericism, has remarked that the imagination in the early-modern period could be „a faculty acting on nature, exercised on the body of the imagining subject (intransitive action) or on objects exterior to him (transitive action).“¹³⁰ In writers from Marsilio Ficino to Cornelius Agrippa to Giordano Bruno, he notes „a theory of the imagination conceived as the principal instrument of magical and religious processes.“¹³¹ He adds that Paracelsus goes further than any of them „in his conception of the *vis imaginativa*“ and that „taking a very anthropocentric orientation [Paracelsus] follows the rôle of imagination to its final consequences“, including „the incarnation of the thought in the image.“¹³² Faivre’s proof text is a sentence from one of the supplements to the *Astronomia Magna*, also known as the *Philosophia Sagax*:

der glauben gibt imaginationem, die imagination gibt ein sidus, das sidus gibt effectum. also glauben in got gibt imaginationem in got; got gibt den ausgang und das werk.¹³³

[Belief gives imagination, imagination gives a star, the star gives the effect. Thus belief in God gives the imagination of God, God gives the result and the work.]

130 Antoine Faivre: *Accès de l'ésotérisme occidental*, 2 vols. Paris 1996 (Bibliothèque des Sciences Humaine), vol. 2, p. 172.

131 Faivre: *Accès* (see note 130), vol. 2, pp. 176–177.

132 Faivre: *Accès* (see note 130), vol. 2, p. 178.

133 Paracelsus: *Sämtliche Werke* (see note 32), vol. 12, p. 473. Quoted in Faivre: *Accès*, vol. 2, p. 179 n. 1; see note 130. On the relation of imagination and belief, see Alexandre Koyré: *Paracelse (1493–1541)*. Paris 1997, p. 93 and n. 2; reprinted from Koyré: *Mystiques, spirituelles, alchimistes: Schwenckfeld, Séb. Franck, Weigel, Paracelse*. Paris 1955.

This is not to say, with the Modernist poet Wallace Stevens, that “God and the imagination are one.”¹³⁴ For Paracelsus, they are two separate entities, connected by the stars. As „the star in man“, his imagination is an inner voice of God, but the God of Paracelsus is both immanent and transcendent, a Creator present in the creature. Indeed, his belief in God and in the special relation of God and man underlies his whole medical theory. The quotation above continues:

also auch ein exempel. glauben in die arzney gibt den geist der arzney, der geist gibt erkantnus der arzney, die arzney gibt die gesuntheit.

[Here is another example. The physician’s belief gives him the spirit, the spirit gives him knowledge, the physician gives health.]

Thus his insistence that the physician comes from nature, and, like nature, is created by God.¹³⁵

The correspondence between heaven and earth, the relation of the stars above to the people below, is precisely what Paracelsus means by Astronomy – which he understands as one of the four pillars of medicine, along with philosophy, alchemy, and ethics.¹³⁶ „He is an Astronomer who knows what the spirit has seen and said“ (*Qui ASTRONOMUS est, is scit, quis spiritus loquitur & videatur*).¹³⁷ Astronomy, for Paracelsus, includes Astrology, Magic, Divination, Nigromancy (which deals with spirits and visions rather than corpses), Signatures, Uncertain Arts, and Manual Arts, including the mathematics and geometry used by modern astronomers (see Fig. 3).¹³⁸ All of these arts, excepting only the manual ones, would seem uncertain, being incapable of scientific proof. However, medicine itself, which is the queen of sciences for Paracelsus, necessarily relies upon inspired guesswork and is thus an uncertain art. Of the arts the fall under Astronomy, Paracelsus lists the following as „uncertain“: geomancy, hydromancy, pyromancy, and *ventinina* or divination by the winds. These are lesser forms of divination, the higher forms being named as dreams, haruspicy, thinking, speculation, and fantasia (*somnia, bruta, animus, speculatio, phantasia*).¹³⁹

134 Wallace Stevens: „Final Soliloquy of the Interior Paramour“, line 14. In: *The Collected Poems of Wallace Stevens*. New York 1955, p. 524.

135 See Paracelsus: *Selected Writings*, ed. Jacobi (see note 97), pp. 49–82, esp. p. 66.

136 See Paracelsus: *Selected Writings*, ed. Jacobi, pp. 59–60 (*Das Buch Paragranum* [see note 97], preface).

137 Paracelsus: „Explicatio Totius Astronomiae Doct. Theophr. Hohenemii“, pp. 647–674; here p. 665. In: Paracelsus, *Opera Omnium Medico-Chemico-Chirurgica*, 3 vols. Geneva 1658, vol. 2, p. 665 (*Interpretatio Totius Astronomiae*).

138 Paracelsus: „Explicatio Totius Astronomiae“ (see note 137), p. 666.

139 The German version of the text lacks the term fantasy. See Paracelsus: „Erklärung der ganzen Astronomiei.“ In: Paracelsus, *Werke*, part 1, vol. 12, pp. 447–466; here p. 449.

Here speculation is used to indicate a higher form of fantasy, that is, as a cognate of imagination. Indeed, it is equated with a „strong imagination“:

SPECULATIO. Si quis rem sedulo trutinat & speculator, & per fortem imaginati-
onem, quod querit invenit id ad hanc speciem referri debet. Haec oritur ex Astris,
quae circa hominem occupantur, ac ipsem docent.¹⁴⁰

SPECULATION. If any one carefully weighs and speculates, and, by means of a
strong imagination, finds what he seeks it ought to be referred to this' species [of
divination]. It arises from the stars, which are occupied about man and teach
him.¹⁴¹

Simply put:

SPECULATIO: Quod coelum operatur in eo, qui speculatur.¹⁴²

[What is performed by the sky in those who watch it]

Another summary includes this definition:

Speculatio ist, so der mensch an im selbs speculirt und finnet und dieselbig
findung vereinigt sich mit dem himel und der himel wirkt in ir, das do mer ge-
funden wird dan menschlich ist.¹⁴³

In speculation, as Paracelsus defines it, one draws heavenly influences into
one's self and makes them human.

These definitions come from a précis of a large section of the *Astro-
nomia Magna's* first book, concerned with the regulation and process of
astronomy (*Ordnung und Prozeß*).¹⁴⁴ Paracelsian speculation integrates the
different faculties involved in the scientist's thought process.

Here is a powerful claim for the power of speculation:

Speculatio haec parit imaginationem, imaginatio operationem, operatio iudicium
& sententiam. Iam vero Imaginatione in carne & sanguine non versatur, sed in Spi-
ritu Astri, cuilibet homini inexistente. Spiritus is multa novit, futura, praesentia,
preterita, omnes artes & scientias.¹⁴⁵

[Speculation is the wishing to know this or that thing. This speculation produces
imagination; imagination begets operation; and operation leads to judgment and
opinion. Now imagination is concerned, not with the flesh and blood, but with

140 Paracelsus: „Explicatio Totius Astronomiae“ (see note 137), p. 667.

141 Waite (see note 127), vol. 2 ((weiter vorn ohne Punkt hier mit – wie jetzt??)), p. 296.

142 Paracelsus: *Opera omnia*, vol. 2, p. 648. The German text reads: „Speculation, so der himel
wirkt in dem so einer spekulirt.“ See „Von erkantnus des gestirns.“ In: Paracelsus:
Sämtliche Werke (see note 32), vol. 12, pp. 495–500; here p. 499.

143 Paracelsus: „Von erkantnus des gestirns“ (see note 142), p. 499.

144 Excerpts from the key chapter of *Astronomia Magna* (book 1, chapter 4: „How Many Kinds
of Astronomy There Are“) are translated in Paracelsus: *Essential Readings*, ed. Nicholas
Goodrick-Clarke. Berkeley, CA, 1999, pp. 120–141. Also see Dane T. Daniel, *Paracelsus'
Astronomia Magna (1537/1538): Bible-Based Science and the Religious Roots of the Scientific Revo-
lution*. Bloomington, IN, 2003.

145 Paracelsus: „Explicatio Totius Astronomiae“ (see note 137), p. 669.

the spirit of the star which exists in every man. This spirit knows many things: fu-
ture, present, and past, all arts and sciences.]¹⁴⁶



Fig. 3 [Speculation is such as man speculates in himself and finds, and the same
discovery unites in himself that whatever is found has then become human.]

146 Waite (see note 127), vol. 2, p. 306. It should be understood that the English translation is
based on the Latin edition of 1658; see note 91.

Paracelsus is speaking here about proof in the uncertain arts. It differs from imagination in that it goes beyond the passive receiving of images and impressions, whether from the nature or the stars. It is an active form of imagination, and thus may be termed a sixteenth-century anticipation of Jung's *aktive Imagination* and von Franz's „alchemical active imagination“.

When Jung heard a dream voice saying that he was stuck in the seventeenth century, he had not begun his study alchemy. Von Franz remarks that it was only „when studying alchemical texts later that he realized what his dream meant, and that he was condemned to study this discarded tradition 'from the very beginning'“.¹⁴⁷ Only after making that study could resolve Dorn's problem regarding the „permanent state of controversy“ (*omnia ... in controversia*) between body and soul.¹⁴⁸ Working from the perspective of modern psychotherapy, Jung recognized „that the conflict could lie in another realm, that is, in the unconscious psyche“. That, von Franz continued was „why Jung had to go back to the 17th century and be imprisoned in it and pick up the process from there.“¹⁴⁹

In returning to the seventeenth century, Jung read Dorn and Paracelsus as they were read at the time – not as late examples of pre-scientific chemistry and medicine but as deeply curious thinkers attempting to understand the relationship of matter and spirit by making analogies. It can thus be argued that Paracelsus was the true precursor of Jung. Along this line, the American analyst John Bebee has written that Jung took a long time to find his true precursor:

Jung was trying in all kinds of ways to be the wrong kind of physician. He tried to be Bleuler's assistant as a psychiatrist [at the Burgholzi Hospital], he tried to be Freud's assistant as a psychoanalyst, and it took him quite a bit of time to catch on to the kind of physician he was – neither a scientist like Bleuler, nor an artist like Freud, but something else – some kind of bombastic healing personality, like Paracelsus.¹⁵⁰

Jung seems to have identified with Paracelsus, to a certain extent. He liked to think that medieval magic was still practiced on cows and crops in rural areas of Switzerland, and told a foreign interviewer: „Things you read about in Paracelsus still exist. I've met sorcerers, spell-casters.“¹⁵¹ One biographer has written:

147 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 20.

148 Dorn: *Speculative Philosophy* (see note 38), p. 67. *Theatrum chemicum* (see note 37), vol. 1, p. 265.

149 Von Franz: *Alchemical Active Imagination* (see note 1), p. 76.

150 Quoted in Segaller and Berger: *The Wisdom of the Dream* (see note 13), p. 161 (their brackets).

151 C. G. Jung *Speaking: Interviews and Encounters*, ed. William McGuire and R. F. C. Hull; Bollingen Series, 97 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 142.

Jung was convinced that both he and Paracelsus were investigating bodies of thought formed over time by communities or collectives and then passed down through succeeding generations that hardened them into ritual and doctrine.¹⁵²

What he wrote in the conclusion of his first essay on his Swiss precursor may perhaps be said of Jung himself:

Wie PARACELSUS ein Bahnbrecher der medizinischen Wissenschaft war, so wird er uns heute, wie es scheint, zum Symbol einer wichtigen Veränderung unserer Anschauung vom Wesen der Krankheit sowohl wie vom Wesen der Lebendigen überhaupt.¹⁵³

[Just as Paracelsus was the great medical pioneer of his age, so today he is symbolic of an important change in our conception of disease and of life itself.]¹⁵⁴

Just as Paracelsus speculated about the role of the invisible inner body in a person's health, Jung explored the psyche and its connection to the creation and to the collective thoughts of humankind; and much as Dorn systematized and popularized the ideas of his *praceptor*, von Franz clarified and extended those of her teacher and *Mitarbeiter*.

Excursus: The Body in Paracelsus

In addition to the physical or earthly body (*elementischer Leib*), Paracelsus distinguishes the sidereal or heavenly body (*siderischer Leib* or *Gestirnleib*) and the resurrected or light body (*Lichtleib*). The earthly body is made of earth and water, the heavenly body of fire and air, and the resurrected or light body of light itself, God's first creation.¹⁵⁵ These bodies have a basis in Christian theology, notably in 1 Corinthians 15, where Paul distinguishes the terrestrial bodies (*corpora terrestria* or *somata hepigieia*) from the celestial bodies (*corpora coelestia* or *somata hepourania*; v. 40) and the natural body (*corpus animale* or *soma psykikon*) from the spiritual body (*corpus spirituale* or *soma pneumatikon*; v. 44). Since Paul's natural body and earthly body are almost the same thing, we have three levels of being in Scripture: terrestrial, celestial, and supercelestial, and these three bodies correspond to the elemental, sidereal, and light bodies of Paracelsus.

152 Deirdre Bair: *Jung: A Biography* (see note 14), p. 474.

153 C. J. Jung: „Paracelsus.“ In: Carl Gustav Jung, *Paracelsus: Alchemie und die Psychologie des Unbewussten*, ed. Martin Haeusler. Krummvisch 2001, pp. 33–34. This edition offers an excellent introduction (pp. 9–19) as well as explanatory notes (pp. 183–219).

154 C. G. Jung: „Paracelsus.“ In: C. G. Jung: *The Spirit in Man, Art, and Literature*, trans. R. F. C. Hull. Princeton 1966 (Bollingen Series, 20), pp. 3–12; here p. 12.

155 See the glossary entry on „body“ (*Leib*) in *Paracelsus: Arzt und Gottsucher an der Zeitenwende*, ed. by Jolande Jacobi. Olten and Freiburg i. Br.: Olten, 1991 (1942), pp. 321–322. For the English translation see Paracelsus: *Selected Writings*, ed. Jacobi (see note 97), p. 249.

Dorn's dictionary of Paracelsian terms defines the celestial body as one that contains the astral virtues (*astrales virtutes*) and the supercelestial body as one that can be recognized only through the imagination in the mind and not with the carnal eye (*per mentem in imaginatione solum, & non oculis carneos cognoscuntur*).¹⁵⁶

Dorn also defines the invisible body (*corpus invisibilis*) as the soul (*anima*), whose body serves as a medium between the physical or visible body (*corpus visibile*) and the invisible spirit (*spiritus invisibile*).¹⁵⁷ Because „soul body“ is a better translation of Paul's *soma psykikon* than the „natural body“ of the King James Version or the „physical body“ of the New Revised Standard Version, one might say that Paracelsus identifies four bodies: the physical body, the soul body, the astral body, and the light body or body of resurrection.¹⁵⁸ The first three are subject to corruption and death; only the last is immortal. The light body comes from God and returns to Him.¹⁵⁹

There is, admittedly, a question whether Paul regarded the heavenly body as coexistent with the earthly, as seems true with Paracelsus, or merely contained in *potentia*. This, in turn, opens the whole question of his relation to Gnosticism.¹⁶⁰ Indeed, there is a further question exactly how much Paracelsus incorporated esoteric ideas into his medical ideas and how much they were added by later writers. As the medical ideas of Paracelsus began to spread, many adherents tried to separate the Alchemy from the Astronomy and Magic, and the chemical cures from the old-style alchemy.¹⁶¹

The Astronomy of Paracelsus differs from the astrology practiced by many physicians of his time, and before, in that it recognizes the existence of an inner heaven within the mind of man and an inner earth or body

156 Dorn: *Dictionarium* (see note 35), p. 36.

157 Dorn: *Dictionarium* (see note 35), p. 37. Dorn insists that these definitions are meant to be natural and not theological (*has definitiones physicas, & non theologicas esse*).

158 For Paracelsus, the soul body „the instincts corresponding to its nature“. See *Paracelsus' Selected Writings*, ed. Jacobi (see note 97), p. 249.

159 To these four bodies one might also compare the five „entities“ (*Entien*) identified in an early tract of Paracelsus. In addition to the „bases“ (*Grundlagen*), there are the astral being (*ens astrale*), the animal being (literally, the poison being or *ens veneni*), the spiritual being (*ens spirituale*), the natural being (*ens naturale*), and the medical being (*ens deale*) containing all the sickness and health that God has given it. See Paracelsus: *Vom Licht der Natur und des Geistes: Eine Auswahl*, ed. Kurt Goldammer. Stuttgart 1970, pp. 120–122. Cf. Paracelsus: *Sämtliche Werke* (see note 32), vol. 1, pp. 163–239.

160 For which see, e. g., Elaine Pagels: *The Gnostic Paul: Gnostic Exegesis of Pauline Letters*. Philadelphia 1975.

161 See, e. g., the chapter on „The Elizabethan Compromise“ in Allen G. Debussche: *Paracelsus*. New York 1965, pp. 49–85.

within the physical body – a heaven and earth affecting the outer counterparts through the imagination.¹⁶²

162 The present essay builds on my contribution to *Theophrastus Paracelsus Studien 3*, which treats Dorn's commentaries on Paracelsus and Jung's use of Dorn. See Thomas Willard: „Living the Long Life: Physical and Spiritual Health in Two Early Paracelsian Treatises.“

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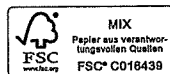
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Gutes Leben und guter Tod von der Spätantike bis zur Gegenwart

Ein philosophisch-ethischer Diskurs
über die Jahrhunderte hinweg

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Inhalt

Einleitung	
<i>Albrecht Classen</i>	1
Lebenskunst des Naturzeitraums	
<i>Andreas Brenner</i>	111
Das gute Leben in einstürzenden Welten: Paracelsus, Valentin Weigel und Jakob Böhme	
<i>Andrew Weeks</i>	137
Leben, Tod und Jenseits bei Paracelsus	
<i>Urs Leo Gantenbein</i>	157
Alter und neuer Leib: Tod und Überwindung des Todes in Paracelsus' Abendmahlschriften	
<i>Nikolaus Czjzfra</i>	195
Wahres Leben bei Jacob Böhme	
<i>Bo Andersson</i>	215
The Spider and the Gout: The Thousand Year History of a Fable	
<i>Thomas G. Benedek</i>	229
„Ignoranz der doktoren, welche sie umbs leben gebracht ...“ Medizin und Hygiene im 17. Jahrhundert	
<i>Werner Heinz</i>	251
Auf den Spuren von Leben und Tod in einem städtischen Gemeinwesen im 16. Jahrhundert - Ein Rundgang	
<i>Jürgen Kiefer</i>	281

Christliches Lebensideal und Lebensideal der Diätetik im 16. Jahrhundert <i>László András Magyar</i>	297
The Concept of Good Life According to the King's Physician Johann Kopp von Raumenthal <i>David Tomiček</i>	309
„Ein Meister der Chymi und aller Artzeney“ – der Mediziner und Chemiker Johannes Michaelis (1606–1667) <i>Ingrid Kästner</i>	317
Die Glorie Gottes im mystischen Gedicht: Catharina Regina von Greiffenbergs (1633–1694) poetologisches Konzept vom guten Leben <i>Albrecht Classen</i>	339
A Seventeenth-Century Prophet Confronts his Failures: Paul Felgenhauer's <i>Speculum Poenitentiae</i> , Buß-Spiegel (1625) <i>Leigh T. I. Penman</i>	361
Utopie und gelingendes Leben im 17. Jahrhundert: Johann Valentin Andreae und Jan Amos Comenius <i>Reinhold Münster</i>	393
„[...] felix / Hora fuit, plane occisae victoria Mortis“ – Das „einzigste Leben“ bei Johann Theodor von Tschesch <i>Tünde Beatrix Karnitscher</i>	403
The Star in Man: C. G. Jung and Marie-Louise von Franz on the Alchemical Philosophy of Gerard Dorn <i>Thomas Willard</i>	425
Register.....	463

Einleitung

Albrecht Classen

Gutes Leben und guter Tod von der Spätantike bis zur
Gegenwart: Ein philosophisch-ethischer Diskurs über die
Jahrhunderte hinweg.

1. Moderne Reflexionen

Eine der immer wieder auftretenden, generell unangenehmen oder sogar schmerzlichen Erfahrungen des Menschen besteht darin, sich eine Krankheit zuzuziehen und sich elend zu fühlen. Leiden gehört genauso zum Leben wie Glück und Freude, Anfang und Ende. Wenn der Tod schließlich naht, empfindet man natürlich noch viel größere Not oder sogar Angst, insbesondere wenn nicht die entsprechende geistige, religiöse, soziale oder philosophische Vorbereitung oder Reflexion darüber lange vorher schon durchgeführt worden ist. Nur, kann man dies? Vermag der Mensch überhaupt, sich so innerlich, geistig oder seelisch genau auf diesen Verlust der Gesundheit oder gar des Lebens einzustellen, dass man im entscheidenden Augenblick die nötige Kraft besitzt, rational oder gleichmütig darauf zu reagieren bzw. intellektuell und konstruktiv damit umzugehen? Wie korrelieren diese beiden Bereiche miteinander, wenn es denn überhaupt spezifische Kontaktpunkte gibt? Wie müsste der eine gestaltet sein, um zu bestätigen, dass der andere den Erwartungen entspricht?

Sicher ist nur eines, wer theoretisch-philosophisch oder theologisch-ethisch über den Tod sprechen will, muss genauso die wesentlichen Strukturelemente und Wertkonzepte des Lebens im Blick behalten, denn das eine gibt es nicht ohne das andere, d.h. Leben setzt auch den Tod voraus und umgekehrt. Die jeweilige kritische Diskussion öffnet Perspektiven, die einander sozusagen konkav und konvex zurückspiegeln und dabei deutlich machen, wie innig beide Bereiche letztlich doch miteinander verbunden sind. Wer einen guten Tod 'leiden' will, muss auch im Stande sein, ein 'gutes Leben' zu führen. Wie dies zu erreichen wäre,