

C. G. JUNG

THE COLLECTED WORKS

Edited by Sir Herbert Read

Michael Fordham, M.D., M.R.C.P., and Gerhard Adler, Ph.D.

Volume Fourteen

MYSTERIUM
CONIUNCTIONIS

AN INQUIRY INTO THE
SEPARATION AND SYNTHESIS OF
PSYCHIC OPPOSITES IN ALCHEMY

2nd edition

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN
BY R. F. C. HULL

THE COLLECTED WORKS
OF
C. G. JUNG

VOLUME 14

EDITORS

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Alchemie, Parts I and II, published by
Rascher Verlag, Zurich, 1955 and 1956
(Vols. X and XI of *Psychologische Abhand-*
lungen, edited by C.G. Jung)

EDITORIAL NOTE *

Volume 14 of the Collected Works presents Jung's last great work, on which he was engaged for more than a decade, from 1941 to 1954. He finished it in his eightieth year. As is to be expected from its culminating position in his writings and from its subject matter, the book gives a final account of his lengthy researches into alchemy.

Jung's interest in the symbolical significance of alchemy for modern depth psychology first found expression, in 1929, in his commentary to *The Secret of the Golden Flower*. The theme was taken up again in his Eranos lectures of 1935 and 1936, which formed the basis of *Psychology and Alchemy*, originally published in 1944. Further researches led to the publication of essays now included in *Alchemical Studies*, Volume 13 of the Collected Works. A preliminary study of the special symbolism of the *coniunctio* in relation to psychotherapeutic problems appeared in *The Psychology of the Transference* (1946), while the connection between philosophical alchemy and Christianity was elaborated in *Aion* (1951). All these themes are brought together in *Mysterium Coniunctionis*, where Jung continues his work of interpretation by examining in detail a number of texts taken from the alchemical classics. The scope of the book is indicated in its subtitle: "An Inquiry into the Separation and Synthesis of Psychic Opposites in Alchemy." This process, summed up in the trenchant formula *solve et coagula*—"dissolve and coagulate"—underlies the *opus alchymicum* and may be symbolically understood as the process of psychic integration.

The focus of the book is on the symbolism of the *coniunctio* and the preceding stages of dissociation. These are known in alchemy as the *chaos* or *prima materia*, and they lead via the intermediate stages to a resolution of the conflict of opposites in the production of the *lapis philosophorum*. Fresh evidence is brought to bear upon Jung's thesis that the *lapis* is not only a

* Revised for the second edition (1970).

parallel of the Christ figure, but a symbolical prefiguration of psychic totality, or the self.

Jung's inquiry is of a highly advanced character and necessitates a wide knowledge of the concepts of analytical psychology in general and Jung's previous publications on alchemy in particular. The reader who follows Jung in his search for a deeper understanding of the *opus alchymicum* will not only discover in this book new and fascinating aspects of the history of the European mind but will also be rewarded by fresh insights into such basic psychological problems as the structure of the self and the ego and their relation to one another, the nature of transference and countertransference, and the process of active imagination. In many ways this book is the summing up of all Jung's later work.

*

The English edition differs from the Swiss in the following particulars. It comprises Volumes I and II of that version. Volume III is an edition and study by Marie-Louise von Franz of *Aurora Consurgens*, a thirteenth-century treatise traditionally attributed to Thomas Aquinas and rediscovered by Jung, which has been issued in English as a companion volume to *Mysterium Coniunctionis*, but outside the Collected Works. The paragraph numbers of the present work do not correspond to those in the two Swiss volumes, which run in separate sequence. Further, many of the longer paragraphs have been broken up, and in certain instances the material has been rearranged within the chapters to facilitate the exposition. The most important of these changes were made with the author's consent.

In order not to overload the footnotes, the Latin and Greek passages have been put into an appendix. An asterisk in a footnote indicates that the quotation translated there or in the main text will be found in the appendix under the corresponding footnote number of the chapter in question.

Two sections of this work were previously published: Chapter II, section 3, appeared as "Das Rätsel von Bologna" in *Beitrag zur Festschrift Albert Oeri* (Basel, 1945), pp. 265-79 (translated as "The Bologna Enigma," *Ambix*, London, II, 1946, 182-91); Chapter III, section 3, appeared as "De Sulphure" in *Nova Acta Paracelsica* (Einsiedeln), V (1948), 27-40.

For the second edition, numerous corrections and revisions have been made in cross-references to other volumes of the Collected Works now available, and likewise in the Bibliography.

The *Gesammelte Werke* edition of the present work appeared in 1968 as, in effect, a reprint of the 1955/1956 Swiss edition, retaining its textual arrangement and paragraph numbering. In order to facilitate cross-reference between the English and German text, a table has been added to this edition, correlating the paragraph numbers: see below, pp. 697ff.

One paragraph (183 in Vol. II, p. 124 of the *Gesammelte Werke* edition) was inadvertently omitted in the first edition of the present volume. It should follow paragraph 518 on page 368 and is translated here as paragraph 518a.

- 518a The reader must pardon my use of metaphors that are linguistically analogous to dogmatic expressions. If you have conceptions of things you can have no conceptions of, then the conception and the thing appear to coincide. Nor can two different things you know nothing of be kept apart. I must therefore expressly emphasize that I do not go in for either metaphysics or theology, but am concerned with psychological facts on the borderline of the knowable. So if I make use of certain expressions that are reminiscent of the language of theology, this is due solely to the poverty of language, and not because I am of the opinion that the subject-matter of theology is the same as that of psychology. Psychology is very definitely not a theology; it is a natural science that seeks to describe experienceable psychic phenomena. In doing so it takes account of the way in which theology conceives and names them, because this hangs together with the phenomenology of the contents under discussion. But as empirical science it has neither the capacity nor the competence to decide on questions of truth and value, this being the prerogative of theology.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

Standard translations of Latin and Greek texts have been used where they conformed more or less to the author's own versions, and they are referred to in the footnotes. Where such translations were unsuitable or nonexistent, as is particularly the case with the texts in the appendix, an English version has been supplied by Mr. A. S. B. Glover. To him I would like to express my deepest thanks for his tireless help in preparing this book. My thanks are also due to Miss Barbara Hannah and Dr. Marie-Louise von Franz, for reading through the typescript and making many valuable suggestions.

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FOREWORD

This book—my last—was begun more than ten years ago. I first got the idea of writing it from C. Kerényi's essay on the Aegean Festival in Goethe's *Faust*.¹ The literary prototype of this festival is *The Chymical Wedding* of Christian Rosencreutz, itself a product of the traditional hierosgamos symbolism of alchemy. I felt tempted, at the time, to comment on Kerényi's essay from the standpoint of alchemy and psychology, but soon discovered that the theme was far too extensive to be dealt with in a couple of pages. Although the work was soon under way, more than ten years were to pass before I was able to collect and arrange all the material relevant to this central problem.

As may be known, I showed in my book *Psychology and Alchemy*, first published in 1944,² how certain archetypal motifs that are common in alchemy appear in the dreams of modern individuals who have no knowledge of alchemical literature. In that book the wealth of ideas and symbols that lie hidden in the neglected treatises of this much misunderstood "art" was hinted at rather than described in the detail it deserved; for my primary aim was to demonstrate that the world of alchemical symbols definitely does not belong to the rubbish heap of the past, but stands in a very real and living relationship to our most recent discoveries concerning the psychology of the unconscious. Not only does this modern psychological discipline give us the key to the secrets of alchemy, but, conversely, alchemy provides the psychology of the unconscious with a meaningful historical basis. This was hardly a popular subject, and for that reason it remained largely misunderstood. Not only was alchemy almost entirely unknown as a branch of natural philosophy and as a religious movement, but most people were unfamiliar with the modern discovery of the archetypes, or had at least misunderstood them. Indeed, there were not a few who regarded them as sheer fantasy, although the well-known example of whole

¹ *Das Aegäische Fest: Die Meergötterszene in Goethes Faust II.*

² [First Swiss edn., 1944, but the two chief component essays first appeared in *Erano Jahrbuch* 1935 and 1936.—EDITORS.]

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numbers, which also were discovered and not invented, might have taught them better, not to mention the "patterns of behaviour" in biology. Just as numbers and instinctual forms do exist, so there are many other natural configurations or types which are exemplified by Lévy-Bruhl's *représentations collectives*. They are not "metaphysical" speculations but, as we would expect, symptoms of the uniformity of *Homo sapiens*.

Today there is such a large and varied literature describing psychotherapeutic experiences and the psychology of the unconscious that everyone has had an opportunity to familiarize himself with the empirical findings and the prevailing theories about them. This is not true of alchemy, most accounts of which are vitiated by the erroneous assumption that it was merely the precursor of chemistry. Herbert Silberer³ was the first to try to penetrate its much more important psychological aspect so far as his somewhat limited equipment allowed him to do so. Owing to the paucity of modern expositions and the comparative inaccessibility of the sources, it is difficult to form an adequate conception of the problems of philosophical alchemy. It is the aim of the present work to fill this gap.

As is indicated by the very name which he chose for it—the "spagyric"⁴ art—or by the oft-repeated saying "solve et coagula" (dissolve and coagulate), the alchemist saw the essence of his art in separation and analysis on the one hand and synthesis and consolidation on the other. For him there was first of all an initial state in which opposite tendencies or forces were in conflict; secondly there was the great question of a procedure which would be capable of bringing the hostile elements and qualities, once they were separated, back to unity again. The initial state, named the *chaos*, was not given from the start but had to be sought for as the *prima materia*. And just as the beginning of the work was not self-evident, so to an even greater degree was its end. There are countless speculations on the nature of the end-state, all of them reflected in its designations. The commonest are the ideas of its permanence (prolongation of life, immortality, incorruptibility), its androgyny, its spirituality and corporeality, its human qualities and resemblance to man (*homunculus*), and its divinity.

³ *Problems of Mysticism and Its Symbolism*, first pub. 1914.

⁴ From *σπάειν*, 'rend, tear, stretch out', *ἀγέλλειν*, 'bring or collect together'.

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The obvious analogy, in the psychic sphere, to this problem of opposites is the dissociation of the personality brought about by the conflict of incompatible tendencies, resulting as a rule from an inharmonious disposition. The repression of one of the opposites leads only to a prolongation and extension of the conflict, in other words, to a neurosis. The therapist therefore confronts the opposites with one another and aims at uniting them permanently. The images of the goal which then appear in dreams often run parallel with the corresponding alchemical symbols. An instance of this is familiar to every analyst: the phenomenon of the transference, which corresponds to the motif of the "chymical wedding." To avoid overloading this book, I devoted a special study to the psychology of the transference,⁵ using the alchemical parallels as a guiding thread. Similarly, the hints or representations of wholeness, or the self, which appear in the dreams also occur in alchemy as the numerous synonyms for the *lapis Philosophorum*, which the alchemists equated with Christ. Because of its great importance, this last relationship gave rise to a special study, *Aion*. Further offshoots from the theme of this book are my treatises "The Philosophical Tree," "Synchronicity: An Acausal Connecting Principle," and "Answer to Job."

The first and second parts of this work⁶ are devoted to the theme of the opposites and their union. The third part is an account of, and commentary on, an alchemical text, which, evidently written by a cleric, probably dates from the thirteenth century and discloses a highly peculiar state of mind in which Christianity and alchemy interpenetrate. The author tries, with the help of the mysticism of the Song of Songs, to fuse apparently heterogeneous ideas, partly Christian and partly derived from natural philosophy, in the form of a hymnlike incantation. This text is called *Aurora consurgens* (also *Aurea hora*), and traditionally it is ascribed to St. Thomas Aquinas. It is hardly necessary to remark that Thomist historians have always reck-

⁵ Cf. "Psychology of the Transference."

⁶ [This refers to the Swiss edition, which was published in three parts, each a separate volume, the third being devoted to a contribution by M.-L. von Franz. Parts I and II constitute the present volume. Part III has appeared in English under the title *Aurora Consurgens: A Document Attributed to Thomas Aquinas on the Problem of Opposites in Alchemy* (Bollingen Series LXXXVII, New York and London, 1966), as a companion volume to *Mysterium Coniunctionis* but outside the Collected Works.—EDITORS.]

FOREWORD

oned it, or wanted to reckon it, among the spurious and false writings, no doubt because of the traditional depreciation of alchemy. This negative evaluation of alchemy was due, in the main, to ignorance. People did not know what it meant to its adepts because it was commonly regarded as mere gold-making. I hope I have shown in my book *Psychology and Alchemy* that, properly understood, it was nothing of the sort. Alchemy meant a very great deal to people like Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon, and also to St. Thomas Aquinas. We have not only the early testimony of Zosimos of Panopolis from the third century, but that of Petrus Bonus of Ferrara from the beginning of the fourteenth century, which both point to the parallelism of the alchemical arcanum and the God-man. *Aurora consurgens* tries to amalgamate the Christian and alchemical view, and I have therefore chosen it as an example of how the spirit of medieval Christianity came to terms with alchemical philosophy, and as an illustration of the present account of the alchemical problem of opposites.⁷

Today, once again, we hear tendentious voices still contesting the hypothesis of the unconscious, declaring that it is nothing more than the personal prejudice of those who make use of this hypothesis. Remarkably enough, no consideration is given to the proofs that have been put forward; they are dismissed on the ground that all psychology is nothing more than a preconceived subjective opinion. It must be admitted that probably in no other field of work is there so great a danger of the investigator's falling a victim to his own subjective assumptions. He of all people must remain more than ever conscious of his "personal equation." But, young as the psychology of unconscious processes may be, it has nevertheless succeeded in establishing certain facts which are gradually gaining general acceptance. One of these is the polaristic structure of the psyche, which it shares with all natural processes. Natural processes are phenomena of energy, constantly arising out of a "less probable state" of polar tension. This formula is of special significance for psychology, because the conscious mind is usually reluctant to see or admit

⁷ [The Swiss edition adds: "For Parts I and II I am responsible, while my co-worker, Dr. Marie-Louise von Franz, is responsible for Part III. We have brought the book out jointly, because each author has participated in the work of the other."]

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the polarity of its own background, although it is precisely from there that it gets its energy.

The psychologist has only just begun to feel his way into this structure, and it now appears that the "alchemystical" philosophers made the opposites and their union one of the chief objects of their work. In their writings, certainly, they employed a symbolical terminology that frequently reminds us of the language of dreams, concerned as these often are with the problem of opposites. Since conscious thinking strives for clarity and demands unequivocal decisions, it has constantly to free itself from counterarguments and contrary tendencies, with the result that especially incompatible contents either remain totally unconscious or are habitually and assiduously overlooked. The more this is so, the more the unconscious will build up its counterposition. As the alchemists, with but few exceptions, did not know that they were bringing psychic structures to light but thought that they were explaining the transformations of matter, there were no psychological considerations to prevent them, for reasons of sensitiveness, from laying bare the background of the psyche, which a more conscious person would be nervous of doing. It is because of this that alchemy is of such absorbing interest to the psychologist. For this reason, too, it seemed necessary to my co-worker and myself to subject the alchemical conception of opposites, and their union or reconciliation, to a thoroughgoing investigation. However abstruse and strange the language and imagery of the alchemists may seem to the uninitiated, they become vivid and alive as soon as comparative research reveals the relationship of the symbols to processes in the unconscious. These may be the material of dreams, spontaneous fantasies, and delusional ideas on the one hand, and on the other hand they can be observed in works of creative imagination and in the figurative language of religion. The heterogeneous material adduced for comparison may seem in the highest degree baffling to the academically educated reader who has met these items only in an impersonal context—historical, ethnic, or geographical—but who does not know their psychological affinities with analogous formations, themselves derived from the most varied sources. He will naturally be taken aback, at first, if certain symbols in ancient Egyptian texts are brought into intimate relationship with modern find-

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ings concerning the popular religion of India and at the same time with the dreams of an unsuspecting European. But what is difficult for the historian and philologist to swallow is no obstacle for the physician. His biological training has left him with far too strong an impression of the comparability of all human activities for him to make any particular to-do about the similarity, indeed the fundamental sameness, of human beings and their psychic manifestations. If he is a psychiatrist, he will not be astonished at the essential similarity of psychotic contents, whether they come from the Middle Ages or from the present, from Europe or from Australia, from India or from the Americas. The processes underlying them are instinctive, therefore universal and uncommonly conservative. The weaver-bird builds his nest in his own peculiar fashion no matter where he may be, and just as we have no grounds for assuming that he built his nest differently three thousand years ago, so it is very improbable that he will alter his style in the next three thousand. Although contemporary man believes that he can change himself without limit, or be changed through external influences, the astounding, or rather the terrifying, fact remains that despite civilization and Christian education, he is still, morally, as much in bondage to his instincts as an animal, and can therefore fall victim at any moment to the beast within. This is a more universal truth than ever before, guaranteed independent of education, culture, language, tradition, race, and locality.

Investigation of alchemical symbolism, like a preoccupation with mythology, does not lead one away from life any more than a study of comparative anatomy leads away from the anatomy of the living man. On the contrary, alchemy affords us a veritable treasure-house of symbols, knowledge of which is extremely helpful for an understanding of neurotic and psychotic processes. This, in turn, enables us to apply the psychology of the unconscious to those regions in the history of the human mind which are concerned with symbolism. It is just here that questions arise whose urgency and vital intensity are even greater than the question of therapeutic application. Here there are many prejudices that still have to be overcome. Just as it is thought, for instance, that Mexican myths cannot possibly have anything to do with similar ideas found in Europe, so it is held to be a fantastic assumption that an uneducated modern man

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should dream of classical myth-motifs which are known only to a specialist. People still think that relationships like this are far-fetched and therefore improbable. But they forget that the structure and function of the bodily organs are everywhere more or less the same, including those of the brain. And as the psyche is to a large extent dependent on this organ, presumably it will—at least in principle—everywhere produce the same forms. In order to see this, however, one has to abandon the widespread prejudice that the psyche is identical with consciousness.

C. G. JUNG

October 1954

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MYSTERIUM CONIUNCTIONIS

AN INQUIRY

INTO THE SEPARATION AND SYNTHESIS

OF PSYCHIC OPPOSITES IN ALCHEMY

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I

THE COMPONENTS OF THE CONIUNCTIO

1. THE OPPOSITES

- ¹ The factors which come together in the coniunctio are conceived as opposites, either confronting one another in enmity or attracting one another in love.¹ To begin with they form a dualism; for instance the opposites are *humidum* (moist) / *siccum* (dry), *frigidum* (cold) / *calidum* (warm), *superiora* (upper, higher) / *inferiora* (lower), *spiritus-anima* (spirit-soul) / *corpus* (body), *coelum* (heaven) / *terra* (earth), *ignis* (fire) / *aqua* (water), bright / dark, *agens* (active) / *patiens* (passive), *volatile* (volatile, gaseous) / *fixum* (solid), *pretiosum* (precious, costly; also *carum*, dear) / *vile* (cheap, common), *bonum* (good) / *malum* (evil), *manifestum* (open) / *occultum* (occult; also *celatum*, hidden), *oriens* (East) / *occidens* (West), *vivum* (living) / *mortuum* (dead, inert), *masculus* (masculine) / *foemina* (feminine), Sol / Luna. Often the polarity is arranged as a quaternio (quaternity), with the two opposites crossing one another, as for instance the four elements or the four qualities (moist, dry, cold, warm), or the four directions and seasons,² thus producing the cross as an emblem of the four elements and symbol of the sublunary physical world.³ This fourfold Physis, the cross, also appears in the

¹ Ripley says: "The coniunctio is the uniting of separated qualities or an equalizing of principles." "Duodecim portarum axiomata philosophica," *Theatrum chemicum*, II, p. 128.

² Cf. the representation of the tetrameria in Stolcius de Stolcenberg, *Viridarium chymicum*, Fig. XLII.

³ Cf. "Consilium coniugii," *Ars chemica*, p. 79: "In this stone are the four elements, and it is to be compared to the world and the composition of the world." * [For the Latin or Greek of the quotations marked with an asterisk, see the Appendix.—EDITORS.] Also Michael Maier, *De circulo physico quadrato*, p. 17: "Nature, I say, when she turned about the golden circle, by that movement made its four qualities equal, that is to say, she squared that homogeneous simplicity turning back on itself, or brought it into an equilateral rectangle, in such a way that contraries are bound together by contraries, and enemies by enemies, as if with everlasting bonds, and are held in mutual embrace." * Petrus Bonus says: "The elements are conjoined in the circle in true friendship" * (*Bibliotheca chemica*, II, p. 35).

signs for earth ♁, Venus ♀, Mercury ☿, Saturn ♄, and Jupiter ♃.⁴

- * The opposites and their symbols are so common in the texts that it is superfluous to cite evidence from the sources. On the other hand, in view of the ambiguity of the alchemists' language, which is "tam ethice quam physice" (as much ethical as physical), it is worth while to go rather more closely into the manner in which the texts treat of the opposites. Very often the masculine-feminine opposition is personified as King and Queen (in the *Rosarium philosophorum* also as Emperor and Empress), or as *servus* (slave) or *vir rubeus* (red man) and *mulier candida* (white woman);⁵ in the "Visio Arislei" they appear as Gabricus (or Thabritius) and Beya, the King's son and daughter.⁶ Theriomorphic symbols are equally common and are often found in the illustrations.⁷ I would mention the eagle and toad ("the eagle flying through the air and the toad crawling on the ground"), which are the "emblem" of Avicenna in Michael Maier,⁸ the eagle representing Luna "or Juno, Venus, Beya, who is fugitive and winged like the eagle, which flies up to the clouds and receives the rays of the sun in his eyes." The toad "is the opposite of air, it is a contrary element, namely earth, whereon alone it moves by slow steps, and does not trust itself to another element. Its head is very heavy and gazes at the earth. For this reason it denotes the philosophic earth, which cannot fly [i.e., cannot be sublimated], as it is firm and solid. Upon it as a foundation the golden house⁹ is to be built. Were it not for the

⁴ Cf. John Dee, "Monas hieroglyphica," *Theatr. chem.*, II, p. 220.

⁵ Cf. "Consilium coniugii," *Ars chemica*, pp. 69f., and "Clangor buccinae," *Artis auriferae*, I, p. 484. In the Cabala the situation is reversed: red denotes the female, white (the left side) the male. Cf. Mueller, *Der Sohar und seine Lehre*, pp. 20f.

⁶ "Aenigmata ex visione Arislei," *Art. aurif.*, I, pp. 146ff. Union of sun and moon: Petrus Bonus (ed. Lacinius), *Pretiosa margarita novella* (1546), p. 112. The archetype of the heavenly marriage plays a great role here. On a primitive level this motif can be found in shamanism. Cf. Eliade, *Shamanism*, p. 75.

⁷ The most complete collection of the illustrations that appeared in printed works is Stolcius de Stolcenberg's *Viridarium chymicum figuris cupro incisus adornatum* (Frankfurt, 1624).

⁸ *Symbola aureae mensae*, p. 192.*

⁹ The "treasure-house" (*gazophylacium*, *domus thesauraria*) of philosophy, which is a synonym for the *aurum philosophorum*, or lapis. Cf. von Franz, *Aurora Consurgens*, pp. 101ff. The idea goes back to Alphonse (see "Consilium coniugii," *Ars chemica*, p. 108) and ultimately to Zosimos, who describes the lapis as a shining

earth in our work the air would fly away, neither would the fire have its nourishment, nor the water its vessel." ¹⁰

- 3 Another favourite theriomorphic image is that of the two birds or two dragons, one of them winged, the other wingless. This allegory comes from an ancient text, *De Chemia Senioris antiquissimi philosophi libellus*.¹¹ The wingless bird or dragon prevents the other from flying. They stand for Sol and Luna, brother and sister, who are united by means of the art.¹² In Lampspringk's "Symbols" ¹³ they appear as the astrological Fishes which, swimming in opposite directions, symbolize the spirit / soul polarity. The water they swim in is *mare nostrum* (our sea) and is interpreted as the body.¹⁴ The fishes are "without bones and cortex." ¹⁵ From them is produced a *mare immensum*, which is the *aqua permanens* (permanent water). Another symbol is the stag and unicorn meeting in the "forest." ¹⁶ The stag signifies the soul, the unicorn spirit, and the forest the body. The next two pictures in Lampspringk's "Symbols" show the lion and lioness,¹⁷ or the wolf and dog, the latter

white temple of marble. Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, III, i, 5.

¹⁰ *Symb. aur. mensae*, p. 200.

¹¹ The printing is undated, but it probably comes from Samuel Emmel's press at Strasbourg and may be contemporaneous with *Ars chemica*, which was printed there in 1566 and matches our libellus as regards type, paper, and format. The author, Senior Zadith filius Hamuel, may perhaps have been one of the Harranites of the 10th cent., or at least have been influenced by them. If the *Clavis maioris sapientiae* mentioned by Stapleton ("Muhammad bin Umail: His Date, Writings, and Place in Alchemical History") is identical with the Latin treatise of the same name, traditionally ascribed to Artefius, this could be taken as proved, since that treatise contains a typical Harranite astral theory. Ruska ("Studien zu M. ibn Umail") groups Senior with the *Turba* literature that grew up on Egyptian soil. ¹² Senior says: "I joined the two luminaries in marriage and it became as water having two lights" * (*De chemia*, pp. 15f.).

¹³ *Musaeum hermeticum*, p. 343. (Cf. Waite, *The Hermetic Museum Restored and Enlarged*, I, pp. 276f.)

¹⁴ *Corpus* (as *corpus nostrum*) usually means the chemical "body" or "substance," but morally it means the human body. "Sea" is a common symbol of the unconscious. In alchemy, therefore, the "body" would also symbolize the unconscious.

¹⁵ "Aenigmata philosophorum II," *Art. aurif.*, I, p. 149. Cf. *Aion*, pars. 195, 213 n. 51.

¹⁶ See *Psychology and Alchemy*, fig. 240.

¹⁷ They also appear in the "XI Clavis" of Basilus Valentinus, *Chymische Schrifften*, p. 68, and in *Viridarium*, Figs. XI, LV, LXII. Variants are lion and snake (*Viridarium*, Fig. XII), lion and bird (Fig. LXXIV), lion and bear (Figs. XCIII and CVI).

two fighting; they too symbolize soul and spirit. In Figure VII the opposites are symbolized by two birds in a wood, one fledged, the other unfledged. Whereas in the earlier pictures the conflict seems to be between spirit and soul, the two birds signify the conflict between spirit and body, and in Figure VIII the two birds fighting do in fact represent that conflict, as the caption shows. The opposition between spirit and soul is due to the latter having a very fine substance. It is more akin to the "hylical" body and is *densior et crassior* (denser and grosser) than the spirit.

- 4 The elevation of the human figure to a king or a divinity, and on the other hand its representation in subhuman, theriomorphic form, are indications of the *transconscious character* of the pairs of opposites. They do not belong to the ego-personality but are suprapordinate to it. The ego-personality occupies an intermediate position, like the "anima inter bona et mala sita" (soul placed between good and evil). The pairs of opposites constitute the phenomenology of the paradoxical *self*, man's totality. That is why their symbolism makes use of cosmic expressions like *coelum / terra*.¹⁸ The intensity of the conflict is expressed in symbols like fire and water,¹⁹ height and depth,²⁰ life and death.²¹

2. THE QUATERNIO AND THE MEDIATING ROLE OF MERCURIUS

- 5 The arrangement of the opposites in a quaternity is shown in an interesting illustration in Stolcenberg's *Viridarium chymicum* (Fig. XLII), which can also be found in the *Philosophia reformata* of Mylius (1622, p. 117). The goddesses represent the four seasons of the sun in the circle of the Zodiac (Aries, Cancer, Libra, Capricorn) and at the same time the four degrees of heat-

¹⁸ Cf. Petrus Bonus, "Pretiosa margarita novella," *Theatr. chem.*, V, pp. 647f.: "Hermes: At the end of the world heaven and earth must be joined together, which is the philosophical word." • Also *Mus. herm.*, p. 803 (Waite, II, p. 263).

¹⁹ Ms. Incipit: "Figurarum Aegyptiorum Secretarum." 18th cent. (Author's collection.)

²⁰ "Thus the height is hidden and the depth is made manifest" • (*Mus. herm.*, p. 652).

²¹ Cf. the oft-repeated saying: "From the dead he makes the living" • (Mylius, *Philosophia reformata*, p. 191).

ing,²² as well as the four elements "combined" around the circular table.²³ The synthesis of the elements is effected by means of the circular movement in time (*circulatio, rota*) of the sun through the houses of the Zodiac. As I have shown elsewhere,²⁴ the aim of the *circulatio* is the production (or rather, reproduction) of the Original Man, who was a sphere. Perhaps I may mention in this connection a remarkable quotation from Ostanès in Abu'l-Qasim, describing the intermediate position between two pairs of opposites constituting a quaternio:

Ostanès said, Save me, O my God, for I stand between two exalted brilliancies known for their wickedness, and between two dim lights; each of them has reached me and I know not how to save myself from them. And it was said to me, Go up to Agathodaimon the Great and ask aid of him, and know that there is in thee somewhat of his nature, which will never be corrupted. . . . And when I ascended into the air he said to me, Take the child of the bird which is mixed with redness and spread for the gold its bed which comes forth from the glass, and place it in its vessel whence it has no power to come out except when thou desirest, and leave it until its moistness has departed.²⁵

- 6 The quaternio in this case evidently consists of the two *malefici*, Mars and Saturn (Mars is the ruler of Aries, Saturn of Capricorn); the two "dim lights" would then be feminine ones, the moon (ruler of Cancer) and Venus (ruler of Libra). The opposites between which Ostanès stands are thus masculine / feminine on the one hand and good / evil on the other. The way he speaks of the four luminaries—he does not know how to save himself from them—suggests that he is subject to Heimarmene,

²² Mylius, p. 118. The fourth degree is the *coniunctio*, which would thus correspond to Capricorn.

²³ Mylius remarks (p. 115): ". . . equality arises . . . from the four incompatibles mutually partaking in nature." * A similar ancient idea seems to be that of the ἡλιακή τράπεζα (solar table) in the Orphic mysteries. Cf. Proclus, *Commentaries on the Timaeus of Plato*, trans. by Taylor, II, p. 378: "And Orpheus knew indeed of the Crater of Bacchus, but he also establishes many others about the solar table." * Cf. also Herodotus, *The Histories*, III, 17-18 (trans. by de Selincourt, p. 181), and Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, VI, 26, 2 (trans. by Jones, III, pp. 156ff.).

²⁴ Cf. *Psychology and Alchemy*, index, s.v. "rotundum," "sphere," "wheel," and especially (par. 469, n. 110) the wheel with twelve buckets for raising souls in the *Acta Archelai*.

²⁵ Holmyard, *Kitāb al-'ilm al-muktasab*, p. 38.

the compulsion of the stars; that is, to a transconscious factor beyond the reach of the human will. Apart from this compulsion, the injurious effect of the four planets is due to the fact that each of them exerts its specific influence on man and makes him a diversity of persons, whereas he should be *one*.²⁶ It is presumably Hermes who points out to Ostanes that something incorruptible is in his nature which he shares with the Agathodaimon,²⁷ something divine, obviously the germ of unity. This

²⁶ The idea of uniting the Many into One is found not only in alchemy but also in Origen, *In Libr. I Reg. [I Sam.] Hom.*, I, 4 (Migne, P.G., vol. 12, col. 998): "There was one man. We, who are still sinners, cannot obtain this title of praise, for each of us is not one but many . . . See how he who thinks himself one is not one, but seems to have as many personalities as he has moods, as also the Scripture says: A fool is changed as the moon." * In another homily, *In Ezech.*, 9, 1 (Migne, P.G., vol. 13, col. 732) he says: "Where there are sins, there is multitude . . . but where virtue is, there is singleness, there is union." * Cf. *Porphyry the Philosopher to His Wife Marcella*, trans. by Zimmern, p. 61: "If thou wouldst practise to ascend into thyself, collecting together all the powers which the body hath scattered and broken up into a multitude of parts unlike their former unity . . ." Likewise the Gospel of Philip (cited from Epiphanius, *Panarium*, XXVI, 13): "I have taken knowledge (saith the soul) of myself, and have gathered myself together out of every quarter and have not begotten (sown) children unto the Ruler, but have rooted out his roots and gathered together the members that were scattered abroad. And I know thee who thou art, for I (she saith) am of them that are from above." (James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 12.) Cf. also *Panarium*, XXVI, 3: "I am thou, and thou art I, and wherever thou art, there I am, and I am scattered in all things, and from wherever thou wilt thou canst gather me, but in gathering me thou gatherest together thyself." The inner multiplicity of man reflects his microcosmic nature, which contains within it the stars and their (astrological) influences. Thus Origen (*In Lev. Hom.*, V, 2; Migne, P.G., vol. 12, cols. 449-50) says: "Understand that thou hast within thyself herds of cattle . . . flocks of sheep and flocks of goats . . . Understand that the fowls of the air are also within thee. Marvel not if we say that these are within thee, but understand that thou thyself art another world in little, and hast within thee the sun and the moon, and also the stars . . . Thou seest that thou hast all those things which the world hath." * And Dorn ("De tenebris contra naturam," *Theatr. chem.* I, p. 533) says: "To the four less perfect planets in the heavens there correspond the four elements in our body, that is, earth to Saturn, water to Mercury [instead of the moon, see above], air to Venus, and fire to Mars. Of these it is built up, and it is weak on account of the imperfection of the parts. And so let a tree be planted from them, whose root is ascribed to Saturn," * etc., meaning the philosophical tree, symbol of the developmental process that results in the unity of the filius Philosophorum, or lapis. Cf. my "The Philosophical Tree," par. 409.

²⁷ The *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων* is a snakelike, chthonic fertility daemon akin to the "genius" of the hero. In Egypt as well it was a snakelike daemon giving life and healing power. In the Berlin Magic Papyrus it is the *ἀγαθὸς γυναικῶν* who fertilizes the earth. On Gnostic gems it appears together with Enoch, Enoch being an early

germ is the gold, the *aurum philosophorum*,²⁸ the bird of Hermes or the son of the bird, who is the same as the *filius philosophorum*.²⁹ He must be enclosed in the *vas Hermeticum* and heated until the "moistness" that still clings to him has departed, i.e., the *humidum radicale* (radical moisture), the *prima materia*, which is the original chaos and the sea (the unconscious). Some kind of coming to consciousness seems indicated. We know that the synthesis of the four was one of the main preoccupations of alchemy, as was, though to a lesser degree, the synthesis of the seven (metals, for instance). Thus in the same text Hermes says to the Sun:

. . . I cause to come out to thee the spirits of thy brethren [the planets], O Sun, and I make them for thee a crown the like of which was never seen; and I cause thee and them to be within me, and I will make thy kingdom vigorous.³⁰

This refers to the synthesis of the planets or metals with the sun, to form a crown which will be "within" Hermes. The crown signifies the kingly totality; it stands for unity and is not subject to Heimarmene. This reminds us of the seven- or twelve-rayed crown of light which the Agathodaimon serpent wears on Gnostic gems,³¹ and also of the crown of Wisdom in the *Aurora Consurgens*.³²

- 7 In the "Consilium coniugii" there is a similar quaternio with the four qualities arranged as "combinations of two contraries, parallel of Hermes. The Sabaeans who transmitted the Agathodaimon to the Middle Ages as the *πνεῦμα παρέδρον* (familiar spirit) of the magical procedure, identified it with Hermes and Orpheus. (Chwolson, *Die Sabier*, II, p. 624.) Olympiodorus (Berthelot, *Alch. grecs*, II, iv, 18) mentions it as the "more secret angel" (*μυστικώτερον ἄγγελον*), as the uroboros or "heaven," on which account it later became a synonym for Mercurius.

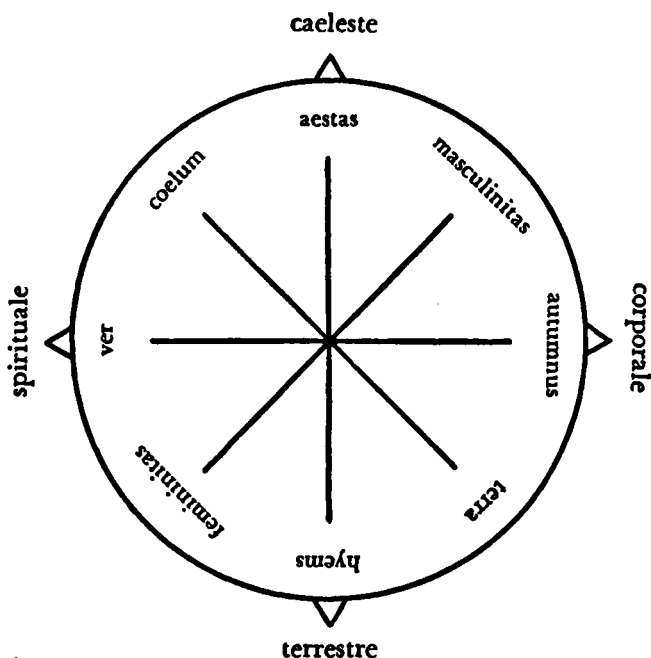
²⁸ Cf. the Indian teachings concerning *hiranyagarbha*, 'golden germ,' and *purusha*. Also "The Psychology of Eastern Meditation," pars. 917f.

²⁹ Cf. *θλη τῆς ὀρνιθογονίας* (the matter of the generation of the bird) in Zosimos (Berthelot, III, xlv, 1).

³⁰ Holmyard, p. 37.

³¹ Cf. *Psychology and Alchemy*, figs. 203-5.

³² von Franz, pp. 53f. Cf. also Goodenough, "The Crown of Victory. . . ." Senior (*De chemia*, p. 41) calls the *terra alba foliata* "the crown of victory." In *Heliiodori carmina*, v. 252 (ed. by Goldschmidt, p. 57) the soul, on returning to the body, brings it a *νικητικὸν στέμμα*, 'wreath of victory.' In the Cabala the highest Sefira (like the lowest) is called Kether, the Crown. In Christian allegory the crown signifies Christ's humanity: Rabanus Maurus, *Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam* (Migne, P.L., vol. 112, col. 909). In the Acts of John, §109 (James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 268) Christ is called the diadem.



cold and moist, which are not friendly to heat and dryness.”³³ Other quaternions are: “The stone is first an old man, in the end a youth, because the *albedo* comes at the beginning and the *rubedo* at the end.”³⁴ Similarly the elements are arranged as two “manifesta” (water and earth), and two “occulta” (air and fire).³⁵ A further quaternio is suggested by the saying of Bernardus Trevisanus: “The upper has the nature of the lower, and the ascending has the nature of the descending.”³⁶ The following combination is from the “Tractatus Micreris”: “In it [the Indian Ocean]³⁷ are images of heaven and earth, of summer,

³³ *Ars chemica*, p. 196.*

³⁴ “Opusculum auctoris ignoti,” *Art. aurif.*, I, p. 390. The author is generally cited as “Rhasis.” Cf. Ruska, *Turba Phil.*, pp. 161f. Also Ephraem Syrus, *Hymni et Sermones* (ed. Lamy, I, col. 136): “Thy babe, O Virgin, is an old man; he is the Ancient of Days and precedeth all time.” *

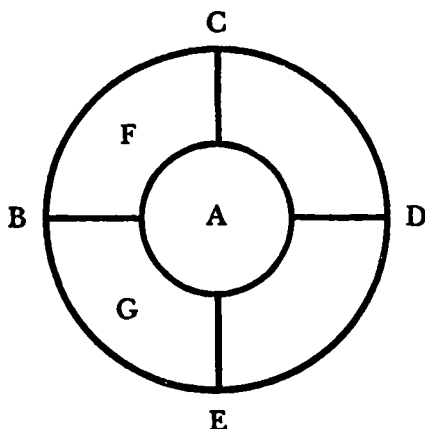
³⁵ Dorn in “Physica Trismegisti,” *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 420. The division of the elements into two higher “psychic” elements and two lower “somatic” elements goes back to Aristotle. Cf. Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie*, I, p. 147.

³⁶ “Liber de alchemia,” *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 775.

³⁷ Sea is a synonym for the prima materia.

autumn, winter, and spring, male and female. If thou callest this spiritual, what thou doest is probable; if corporeal, thou sayest the truth; if heavenly, thou liest not; if earthly, thou hast well spoken." ³⁸ Here we are dealing with a double quaternio having the structure shown in the diagram on page 10.

- ⁸ The double quaternio or ogdoad stands for a totality, for something that is at once heavenly and earthly, spiritual or corporeal, and is found in the "Indian Ocean," that is to say in the unconscious. It is without doubt the Microcosm, the mystical Adam and bisexual Original Man in his prenatal state, as it were, when he is identical with the unconscious. Hence in Gnosticism the "Father of All" is described not only as masculine and feminine (or neither), but as Bythos, the abyss. In the scholia to the "Tractatus aureus Hermetis" ³⁹ there is a quaternio consisting of *superius* / *inferius*, *exterius* / *interius*. They are united into one thing by means of the circular distillation, named the Pelican: ⁴⁰ "Let all be one in one circle or vessel." "For this vessel is the true philosophical Pelican, nor is any other to be sought after in all the world." The text gives the following diagram:



³⁸ *Theatr. chem.*, V, p. 111. This treatise (Micreris = Mercurius) is undoubtedly old and is probably of Arabic origin. The same saying is quoted by "Milvescindus" (Bonus, "Pretiosa marg. nov.," *Theatr. chem.*, V, pp. 662f.). In the *Turba* he is called "Mirnefindus."

³⁹ This treatise, of Arabic origin, is printed in *Bibliotheca chemica*, I, pp. 400ff.

⁴⁰ "For when she applies her beak to her breast, her whole neck with the beak is bent into the shape of a circle. . . . The blood flowing from her breast restores life to the dead fledglings." * *Ibid.*, p. 442 b.

- 9 B C D E represent the outside, A is the inside, "as it were the origin and source from which the other letters flow, and likewise the final goal to which they flow back," ⁴¹ F G stands for Above and Below. "Together the letters A B C D E F G clearly signify the hidden magical Septenary." The central point A, the origin and goal, the "Ocean or great sea," is also called a *circulus exiguus*, very small circle, and a "mediator making peace between the enemies or elements, that they may love one another in a meet embrace." ⁴² This little inner circle corresponds to the Mercurial Fountain in the *Rosarium*, which I have described in my "Psychology of the Transference." The text calls it "the more spiritual, perfect, and nobler Mercurius," ⁴³ the true arcane substance, a "spirit," and goes on:

For the spirit alone penetrates all things, even the most solid bodies.⁴⁴ Thus the catholicity of religion, or of the true Church, consists not in a visible and bodily gathering together of men, but in the invisible, spiritual concord and harmony of those who believe devoutly and truly in the one Jesus Christ. Whoever attaches himself to a particular church outside this King of Kings, who alone is the shepherd of the true spiritual church, is a sectarian, a schismatic, and a heretic. For the Kingdom of God cometh not with observation, but is within us, as our Saviour himself says in the seventeenth chapter of St. Luke.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Ibid.*

⁴² Ibid., 408 b. Cf. the words of the "bride" in *Aurora Consurgens*, p. 143: "I am the mediatrix of the elements, making one to agree with another; that which is warm I make cold . . . that which is dry I make moist . . . that which is hard I soften, and the reverse." (Cf. Senior, *De chemia*, p. 34.)

⁴³ *Bibl. chem.*, 408 a.

⁴⁴ "It will penetrate every solid thing" * ("Tabula smaragdina"). The sentence "for the spirit alone penetrates all things, even the most solid bodies," is probably not without reference to "for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God" in I Cor. 2:10 (AV). Likewise the Mercurius of the alchemists is a "spirit of truth," a *sapientia Dei*, but one who presses downward into the depths of matter, and whose acquisition is a *donum Spiritus Sancti*. He is the spirit who knows the secrets of matter, and to possess him brings illumination, in accordance with Paul's "even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God" (I Cor. 2:11).

⁴⁵ Luke 17 : 21f. Recently, "within you" (*intra vos*, ἐν τοῖς ὑμῶν) has been translated as "among you," therefore, as our author says, "in the visible and bodily gathering together of men." This shows the modern tendency to replace man's inner co-

That the Ecclesia spiritualis is meant is clear from the text: "But you will ask, where then are those true Christians, who are free from all sectarian contagion?" They are "neither in Samaria, nor in Jerusalem, nor in Rome, nor in Geneva, nor in Leipzig," but are scattered everywhere through the world, "in Turkey, in Persia, Italy, Gaul, Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, England, America, and even in farthest India." The author continues: "God is Spirit,⁴⁶ and those who worship him must worship him in the spirit and in truth. After these examinations and avowals I leave it to each man to judge who is of the true Church, and who not." ⁴⁷

- ¹⁰ From this remarkable excursus we learn, first of all, that the "centre" unites the four and the seven into one.⁴⁸ The unifying agent is the spirit Mercurius, and this singular spirit then causes the author to confess himself a member of the Ecclesia spiritualis, for the spirit is God. This religious background is already apparent in the choice of the term "Pelican" for the circular process, since this bird is a well-known allegory of Christ.⁴⁹ The idea of Mercurius as a peacemaker, the mediator between the warring elements and producer of unity, probably goes back to Ephesians 2 : 13ff.:

hesion by outward community, as though anyone who had no communion with himself would be capable of any fellowship at all! It is this deplorable tendency that paves the way for mass-mindedness.

⁴⁶ Πνεῦμα ὁ Θεός. John 4 : 24.

⁴⁷ *Bibl. chem.*, I, p. 443 a.

⁴⁸ In his "Speculativa philosophia" (*Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 291) Dorn says of this union: "Such is the philosophical love between the parts of inanimate things, and the enmity also, as between the parts of men. [An allusion to projection!] But no more in the former than in the latter can there be a true union, unless the corruption of the said parts be removed before they are joined together; wherefore that which thou doest is for the sake of peace between enemies, that friends may come together in unity. In all imperfect bodies and those that fall short of their ultimate perfection friendship and enmity are both innate [an apt formulation of the coexistence of opposites in the unconscious "imperfect" state]; if the latter be removed by the work or effort of man, needs must the other return to its ultimate perfection through the art, which we have set forth in the union of man." • Cf. "The Spirit Mercurius," pars. 259ff.

⁴⁹ Cf. Honorius of Autun, *Speculum de mysteriis ecclesiae* (Migne, P.L., vol. 172, col. 936): "For it is said that the pelican so loves her young that she puts them to death with her claws. But on the third day for grief she wounds herself, and letting the blood from her body drip upon the fledglings she raises them from the

But now in Christ Jesus you who once were far off have been brought near in the blood of Christ. For he is our peace, who has made both one, and has broken down the dividing wall of hostility, by abolishing in his flesh the law of commandments and ordinances, that he might create in himself one new man in place of two, so making peace, and might reconcile both to God in one body through the cross, thereby bringing the hostility to an end. And he came and preached peace to you who were far off and peace to those who were near; for through him we both have access in one Spirit to the Father. So then you are no longer strangers and sojourners, but you are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ himself being the chief cornerstone, in whom the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom you are also built into it for a dwelling place of God in the Spirit. [RSV] ⁵⁰

- ¹¹ In elucidating the alchemical parallel we should note that the author of the scholia to the "Tractatus aureus Hermetis" prefaces his account of the union of opposites with the following remark:

Finally, there will appear in the work that ardently desired blue or cerulean colour, which does not darken or dull the eyes of the beholder by the healing power of its brilliance, as when we see the splendour of the outward sun. Rather does it sharpen and strengthen them, nor does he [Mercurius] slay a man with his glance like the basilisk, but by the shedding of his own blood he calls back those who are near to death, and restores to them unimpaired their former life, like the pelican.⁵¹

Mercurius is conceived as "spiritual blood," ⁵² on the analogy

dead. The pelican signifies the Lord, who so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, whom on the third day he raised up, victor over death, and exalted above every name." * Pelican is also the name of a retort, the spout of which runs back into the belly of the vessel. [Cf. *Alchemical Studies*, fig. B7.]

⁵⁰ Cf. the comment on II Cor. 3 : 6 ("for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life") in Olympiodorus (Berthelot, II, iv, 41), where one with knowledge of the hidden alchemical art is speaking: "How, then, do I understand the transformation (μεταβολήν)? How are the water and the fire, hostile and opposed to one another by nature, how are they come together in one, through harmony and friendship?"

⁵¹ *Bibl. chem.*, I, p. 442 b.

⁵² The *aqua permanens* "whose power is the spiritual blood, that is, the tincture.

I. THE COMPONENTS OF THE CONIUNCTIO

of the blood of Christ. In Ephesians those who are separated "are brought near in the blood of Christ." He makes the two one and has broken down the dividing wall "in his flesh." *Caro* (flesh)⁵³ is a synonym for the *prima materia* and hence for Mercurius. The "one" is a "new man." He reconciles the two "in one body,"⁵⁴ an idea which is figuratively represented in alchemy as the two-headed hermaphrodite. The two have one spirit, in alchemy they have one soul. Further, the lapis is frequently compared to Christ as the *lapis angularis* (corner-stone).⁵⁵ As we know, the temple built upon the foundation of the saints inspired in the *Shepherd of Hermas* a vision of the great building into which human beings, streaming from the four quarters, inserted themselves as living stones, melting into it "without seam."⁵⁶ The Church is built upon the rock that gave Peter his name (Matthew 16 : 18).

- 12 In addition, we learn from the scholia that the circle and the Hermetic vessel are one and the same, with the result that the mandala, which we find so often in the drawings of our patients,

. . . For the body incorporates the spirit through the tincture of the blood: for all that has Spirit, has also blood." * (Mylius, *Phil. ref.*, pp. 42f.) These quotations come from the *Turba* (ed. by Ruska, p. 129) and from the book al Habîb (quoted by Ruska, pp. 42f.). For the Greek alchemists gold was the "red blood of silver" (Berthelot, II, iv, 38 and 44). Cf. also Philo, *Quaestiones in Genesim*, II, 59: "But blood is the essence of the sensible and vital spirit; for he says in another place [Leviticus 17 : 14]: The spirit of all flesh is its blood." * Cf. Leisegang, *Der heilige Geist*, p. 97 n. and p. 94 n.

⁵³ "Son, you must take of the fatter flesh." * (Quotation from Aristotle in *Rosarium philosophorum*, *Art. aurif.*, II, p. 318.) The *prima materia* "grows from flesh and blood." * ("Mahomet" in "Rosinus ad Sarratantam," *Art. aurif.*, I, p. 308.) "To take the egg in the flesh." * (Laurentius Ventura, *Theatr. chem.*, II, p. 274.) "Choose the tender flesh and you shall have the most excellent thing." * (Ibid., p. 292.) "Flesh and blood" correspond to the "inward and hidden fire." (Dorn, *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 599.) For the patristic view see Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, I, lx (Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 34, col. 616): "Perhaps he who was delivered for our transgressions [Christ] is signified by the flesh at evening." *

⁵⁴ Cf. "Aenigmata phil." *Art. aurif.*, I (1593), p. 151: "And then take the glass vessel with the bride and bridegroom and cast them into the furnace, and cause them to be roasted for three days, and then they will be two in one flesh." * (Cf. Gen. 2 : 24 and Matt. 19 : 5.)

⁵⁵ "As Christ in the holy Scriptures is called the Stone rejected by the builders, so also doth the same befall the Stone of the Wise" * ("Epilogus Orthelii," *Theatr. chem.*, VI, p. 431).

⁵⁶ "The Shepherd of Hermas," tr. by Lake, II, pp. 217ff., Similitude 9.

corresponds to the vessel of transformation. Consequently, the usual quaternary structure of the mandala⁵⁷ would coincide with the alchemists' quaternio of opposites. Lastly, there is the interesting statement that an Ecclesia spiritualis above all creeds and owing allegiance solely to Christ, the Anthropos, is the real aim of the alchemists' endeavours. Whereas the treatise of Hermes is, comparatively speaking, very old, and in place of the Christian Anthropos mystery⁵⁸ contains a peculiar paraphrase of it, or rather, its antique parallel,⁵⁹ the scholia cannot be dated earlier than the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁶⁰ The author seems to have been a Paracelsist physician. Mercurius corresponds to the Holy Ghost as well as to the Anthropos; he is, as Gerhard Dorn says, "the true hermaphroditic Adam and Microcosm":

Our Mercurius is therefore that same [Microcosm], who contains within him the perfections, virtues, and powers of Sol [in the dual sense of sun and gold], and who goes through the streets [*vicos*] and houses of all the planets, and in his regeneration has obtained the power of Above and Below, wherefore he is to be likened to their marriage, as is evident from the white and the red that are conjoined in him. The sages have affirmed in their wisdom that all creatures are to be brought to one united substance.⁶¹

Accordingly Mercurius, in the crude form of the prima materia, is in very truth the Original Man disseminated through the physical world, and in his sublimated form he is that reconstituted totality.⁶² Altogether, he is very like the redeemer of the Basilidians, who mounts upward through the planetary spheres, conquering them or robbing them of their power. The remark

⁵⁷ Cf. my "A Study in the Process of Individuation."

⁵⁸ Cf. Schweitzer's view of Christian concepts as "late Jewish eschatology": *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung*, p. 635.

⁵⁹ The text is in *Psychology and Alchemy*, par. 454.

⁶⁰ What would appear to be the first edition of the scholia, dated 1610, was published in Leipzig under the title *Hermetis Trismegisti Tractatus vere aureus de Lapidis philosophici secreto. Cum Scholiis Dominici Gnosii M.D.* The scholia are also printed in *Theatr. chem.*, IV, pp. 672ff., but there the author is said to be anonymous.

⁶¹ Dorn, "Congeries Paracelsicae chemicae," *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 578.

⁶² In *Aurora Consurgens*, also (pp. 129f.), the Adam composed of the four elements is contrasted with the Adam "from pure elements," who, as the concluding sentence shows, is produced by the circulation of the four elements.

that he contains the powers of Sol reminds us of the above-mentioned passage in Abu'l-Qasim, where Hermes says that he unites the sun and the planets and causes them to be within him as a crown. This may be the origin of the designation of the lapis as the "crown of victory."⁶³ The "power of Above and Below" refers to that ancient authority the "Tabula smaragdina," which is of Alexandrian origin.⁶⁴ Besides this, our text contains allusions to the Song of Songs: "through the streets and houses of the planets" recalls Song of Songs 3 : 2: "I will . . . go about the city in the streets, and in the broad ways I will seek him whom my soul loveth."⁶⁵ The "white and red" of Mercurius refers to 5 : 10: "My beloved is white and ruddy." He is likened to the "matrimonium" or coniunctio; that is to say he is this marriage on account of his androgynous form.

3. THE ORPHAN, THE WIDOW, AND THE MOON

- ¹³ In the text cited at the end of the last section Dorn continues: "Hermes Trismegistus called the stone 'orphan'."⁶⁶ "Orphan" as the name of a precious stone is found in Albertus Magnus. The stone was called "orphan" because of its uniqueness—"it was never seen elsewhere"—and it was said to be in the Emperor's crown. It was "wine-coloured" and sometimes shone in the night, "but nowadays it does not shine [any more] in the darkness."⁶⁷ As Albertus Magnus was an authority on alchemy, he may have been the direct source both for Dorn and for Petrus Bonus (see n. 66). "Orphan" as the name of a gem may therefore mean something like the modern "solitaire"—a very apt name for the unique lapis Philosophorum. Apart from Dorn and Petrus Bonus, it seems that this name is found only in the

⁶³ Gratarolus, *Verae alchemiae*, II, p. 265.

⁶⁴ "He receives the power of the higher and the lower things. So shall you have the glory of the whole world." * "Tabula smaragdina," *De alchemia*, p. 363. Also Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina*, p. 2.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Aurora Consurgens*, p. 135.

⁶⁶ *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 578. * I do not know to which Hermes text Dorn is referring here. The orphan first appears in the *Pretiosa margarita novella* of Petrus Bonus: "This Orphan stone has no proper name" * (*Theatr. chem.*, V. p. 663). It is also in the edition of Janus Lacinius, 1546, p. 54^r.

⁶⁷ Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s.v. "Orphanus."

Carmina Heliodori.⁶⁸ There it refers to the ὀρφανὸς ἕξαικος (homeless orphan) who is slain at the beginning of the work for purposes of transformation.

- ¹⁴ The terms "son of the widow" and "children of the widow" appear to be of Manichaean origin. The Manichaeans themselves were called "children of the widow."⁶⁹ The "orphan" referred to by Hermes must therefore have for his counterpart a *vidua* (widow) as the *prima materia*. For this there are synonyms such as *mater*, *matrix*, *Venus*, *regina*, *femina*, *virgo*, *puella praegnans*, "virgin in the centre of the earth,"⁷⁰ *Luna*,⁷¹ *meretrix* (whore), *vetula* (old woman), more specifically *vetula extenuata* (enfeebled, exhausted),⁷² *Mater Alchimia*, "who is dropsical in the lower limbs and paralysed from the knees down,"⁷³ and finally *virago*. All these synonyms allude to the virginal or maternal quality of the *prima materia*, which exists without a man⁷⁴ and yet is the "matter of all things."⁷⁵ Above all, the *prima materia* is the mother of the lapis, the *filius philosophorum*. Michael Maier⁷⁶ mentions the treatise of an anonymous author Delphinus, which he dates to some time before

⁶⁸ Ed. by Goldschmidt, I, vv. 112–14, p. 29. Heliodorus was a Byzantine of the 8th cent. (Goldschmidt, p. 2: "In 716–17, in the reign of Theodosius [III].") Cassel (*Aus Literatur und Symbolik*, p. 248) gives Arnold (Arnaldus?), cited in Lesser's *Lithotheologie*, p. 1161, as the source for "Orphanus." I was unable to verify this statement.

⁶⁹ It is said that in the Book of Secrets, Mani spoke of "the son of the widow," Jesus (Schaefer, *Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems*, p. 75 n.). Bousset (*The Antichrist Legend*, p. 70) mentions the reign of a widow who will precede the Antichrist (according to a Greek and Armenian Apocalypse of Daniel, p. 68). Freemasons are also reckoned among the "children of the widow" (Eckert, *Die Mysterien der Heidenkirche, erhalten und fortgebildet im Bunde der alten und neuen Kinder der Wittwe*). "Widow" in the Cabala is a designation for Malchuth. Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, I, p. 118.

⁷⁰ Mylius, *Phil. ref.*, p. 173.

⁷¹ Gratarolus, *Verae alch.*, II, p. 265.

⁷² This expression appears for the first time in *Aurora consurgens*, Part II, *Art. aurif.*, I, p. 201. Mylius (*Phil. ref.*), copies it. The "vieille exténuée" mentioned in Pernety (*Dictionnaire mytho-hermétique*, p. 280) goes back to the same source. Cf. also "a mistress of about a hundred years of age" in "Aureum saeculum redivivum," *Mus. herm.*, p. 64 (Waite, I, p. 59).

⁷³ *Aurora consurgens* II, *Art. aurif.*, I, p. 196.

⁷⁴ In *Aurora Consurgens*, p. 77, seven women seek one husband.

⁷⁵ Cf. the "matrices of all things" in Rulandus, *Lexicon of Alchemy*, p. 226.

⁷⁶ *Symb. aur. mensae*, p. 344.

1447.⁷⁷ He stresses that this author insisted particularly on the mother-son incest. Maier even constructs a genealogical tree showing the origin of the seven metals. At the top of the tree is the lapis. Its father is "Gabritius," who in turn was born of Isis and Osiris. After the death of Osiris Isis married their son Gabritius;⁷⁸ she is identified with Beya—"the widow marries her son." The widow appears here as the classical figure of the mourning Isis. To this event Maier devotes a special "Epithalamium in Honour of the Nuptials of the Mother Beya and Her Son Gabritius."⁷⁹ "But this marriage, which was begun with the expression of great joyfulness, ended in the bitterness of mourning," says Maier, adding the verses:

Within the flower itself there grows the gnawing canker:

Where honey is, there gall, where swelling breast, the chancre.⁸⁰

For, "when the son sleeps with the mother, she kills him with the stroke of a viper" (*viperino conatu*). This viciousness recalls the murderous role of Isis,⁸¹ who laid the "noble worm" in the path of the heavenly Father, Ra.⁸² Isis, however, is also the healer, for she not only cured Ra of the poisoning but put together the dismembered Osiris. As such she personifies that arcane substance, be it dew⁸³ or the *aqua permanens*,⁸⁴ which unites the hostile

⁷⁷ Printed in *Theatr. chem.*, III, pp. 871ff. under the title "Antiqui Philosophi Galli Delphinati anonymi Liber Secreti Maximi totius mundanae gloriae."

⁷⁸ Gabritius therefore corresponds to Horus. In ancient Egypt Horus had long been equated with Osiris. Cf. Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter*, p. 406. The Papyrus Mimaüt has: "Do the terrible deed to me, the orphan of the honoured widow." * Preisendanz relates the "widow" to Isis and the "orphan" to Horus, with whom the magician identifies himself (*Papyri Graecae Magicae*, I, pp. 54f). We find the "medicine of the widow" in the treatise "Isis to Horus," Berthelot, *Alch. grecs*, I, xiii, 16.

⁷⁹ *Symb. aur. mensae*, p. 515. The epithalamium begins with the words: "When the mother is joined with the son in the covenant of marriage, count it not as incest. For so doth nature ordain, so doth the holy law of fate require, and the thing is not unpleasing to God." *

⁸⁰ "Est quod in ipsis floribus angat,

Et ubi mel, ibi fel, ubi uber, ibi tuber."

⁸¹ In Greco-Roman times Isis was represented as a human-headed snake. Cf. illustration in Erman, *Religion der Ägypter*, p. 391. For Isis as *δράκων* see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 31.

⁸² Erman, p. 301. The text derives from the time of the New Kingdom.

⁸³ Preisendanz, *Papyri Graec. Magicae*, II, p. 74: "I am Isis who am called dew." *

⁸⁴ Synonymous with *aqua vitae*. The relation of the "soul-comforting" water of the Nile to Isis is indicated on a bas-relief (illustrated in Eisler, *Weltenmantel und*

elements into one. This synthesis is described in the myth of Isis, "who collected the scattered limbs of his body and bathed them with her tears and laid them in a secret grave beneath the bank of the Nile."⁸⁵ The cognomen of Isis was *χημεία*, the Black One.⁸⁶ Apuleius stresses the blackness of her robe (*palla niger-rima*, 'robe of deepest black'),⁸⁷ and since ancient times she was reputed to possess the elixir of life⁸⁸ as well as being adept in sundry magical arts.⁸⁹ She was also called the Old One,⁹⁰ and she was rated a pupil of Hermes,⁹¹ or even his daughter.⁹² She appears as a teacher of alchemy in the treatise "Isis the Prophetess to her Son Horus."⁹³ She is mentioned in the role of a whore in Epiphanius, where she is said to have prostituted herself in Tyre.⁹⁴ She signifies earth, according to Firmicus Maternus,⁹⁵ and was equated with Sophia.⁹⁶ She is *μυριώνυμος*, 'thousand-named', the vessel and the matter (*χώρα καὶ ὕλη*) of good and evil.⁹⁷ She is the moon.⁹⁸ An inscription invokes her as "the One, who art All."⁹⁹ She is named *σώτριά*, the redemptrix.¹⁰⁰ In

Himmelszelt, I. p. 70) in the Vatican, of a priestess of Isis bearing the *situla* (water-vessel). The two great parallels are the cup of water in the Early Christian communion, and the water vessel of Amitabha. For the Christian cup of water see "Transformation Symbolism in the Mass," pars. 311ff.; for the holy water in the worship of Amitabha, see Hastings, *Encyclopaedia*, I, p. 386 b, "Amitayus."

⁸⁵ Latin MS, 18th cent., "Figurarum Aegyptiorum secretarum." (Author's possession.)

⁸⁶ Eisler, II, p. 328, n. 1.

⁸⁷ The Golden Ass, XI, 3 (trans. Adlington and Gaselee, p. 543): "utterly dark cloak." Cf. Hippolytus, *Elenchos*, I, 8.

⁸⁸ Diodorus, *Bibliothèque Historique*, I, 25: τὸ τῆς ἀθανασίας φάρμακον.

⁸⁹ She tried to make the child of the king of Phoenicia immortal by holding him in the fire. Plutarch, "Isis and Osiris," 16, *Moralia* (trans. by Babbitt, V, pp. 40f.).

⁹⁰ Diodorus, I, § 11.

⁹¹ Ibid., I, 27.

⁹² The great Paris Magic Papyrus, line 2290. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graec. Mag.*, I, p. 143.

⁹³ Berthelot, *Alch. grecs*, I, xiii. Ἴσις προφήτης τῷ υἱῷ Ὀρῷ.

⁹⁴ *Ancoratus* (ed. by Holl), c. 104, I, p. 126.

⁹⁵ *Liber de errore profanarum religionum* (ed. by Halm), II, 6: "The earth is the body of Isis." * Cf. Plutarch, "Isis and Osiris," 38, pp. 92f.

⁹⁶ Reitzenstein, *Zwei religionsgeschichtliche Fragen*, p. 108, and *Poimandres*, p. 44.

⁹⁷ Plutarch, 53, pp. 130f.

⁹⁸ Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 270.

⁹⁹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, X, No. 3800 (= 3580), from Capua: "TE TIBI / UNA QUAE / ES OMNIA / DEA ISIS / ARRIUS BAL / BINUS V.C." (Now in Naples Museum.)

¹⁰⁰ Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (1927), pp. 27ff.

Athenagoras she is "the nature of the Aeon, whence all things grew and by which all things are." ¹⁰¹

- ¹⁵ All these statements apply just as well to the prima materia in its feminine aspect: it is the moon, the mother of all things, the vessel, it consists of opposites, has a thousand names, is an old woman and a whore, as Mater Alchimia it is wisdom and teaches wisdom, it contains the elixir of life in potentia and is the mother of the Saviour and of the *filius Macrocosmi*, it is the earth and the serpent hidden in the earth, the blackness and the dew and the miraculous water which brings together all that is divided. The water is therefore called "mother," "my mother who is my enemy," but who also "gathers together all my divided and scattered limbs." ¹⁰² The *Turba* says (Sermo LIX):

Nevertheless the Philosophers have put to death the woman who slays her husbands, for the body of that woman is full of weapons and poison. Let a grave be dug for that dragon, and let that woman be buried with him, he being chained fast to that woman; and the more he winds and coils himself about her, the more will he be cut to pieces by the female weapons which are fashioned in the body of the woman. And when he sees that he is mingled with the limbs of the woman, he will be certain of death, and will be changed wholly into blood. But when the Philosophers see him changed into blood, they leave him a few days in the sun, until his softness is consumed, and the blood dries, and they find that poison. What then appears, is the hidden wind. ¹⁰³

The coniunctio can therefore take more gruesome forms than the relatively harmless one depicted in the *Rosarium*. ¹⁰⁴

- ¹⁶ It is clear from these parallels that Maier was fully justified in giving the name Isis to the prima materia or feminine transformative substance. ¹⁰⁵ As Kerényi has brilliantly shown, using

¹⁰¹ Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis*, 22 (Migne, P.G., vol. 6, col. 939f.).

¹⁰² *Ros. phil., Art. aurif.* (1572), II, p. 413. From the so-called "Dicta Belini" (Apollonius of Tyana), "Allegoriae sapientum," *Distinctio* 28, *Theatr. chem.*, V. p. 97.

¹⁰³ Ruska, *Turba philosophorum*, p. 247. The wind is the pneuma hidden in the prima materia. The final illustration in Maier's *Scrutinium chymicum* shows this burial.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. also the μάχη θηλεία (female combat) in *Carmen Archelai*, one of the *Carmina Heliodori* (p. 56, IV, lines 230f.) (ed. by Goldschmidt), where the materia flees under the rain of projectiles and ends up as a "corpse" in the grave.

¹⁰⁵ The corresponding masculine substance is red sulphur, the *vir* or *servus rubeus*, whose redness relates him to Typhon. In a "dirge for Gabricus who died after recently celebrating his marriage," Maier (*Symb. aur. mensae*, p. 518) does in fact

the example of Medea,¹⁰⁶ there is in that myth a typical combination of various motifs: love, trickery, cruelty, motherliness, murder of relatives and children, magic, rejuvenation, and—gold.¹⁰⁷ This same combination appears in Isis and in the prima materia and forms the core of the drama instigated by the mother-world, without which no union seems possible.

¹⁷ In Christian tradition the widow signifies the Church; in St. Gregory ¹⁰⁸ the analogy is the story of the widow's cruse of oil (II Kings 4). St. Augustine says: "The whole Church is one widow, desolate in this world." ¹⁰⁹ She "lacketh a husband, lacketh a man," for her bridegroom has not yet come. So too the soul is "destitute in the world." "But," Augustine continues, "thou art not an orphan, thou art not reckoned as a widow . . . Thou hast a friend . . . Thou art God's orphan, God's widow." ¹¹⁰

¹⁸ Another tradition to be considered in regard to the widow is the Cabala. There the abandoned Malchuth is the widow, as Knorr von Rosenroth says: "[Almanah] Widow. This is Malchuth, when Tifereth is not with her." ¹¹¹ Tifereth ¹¹² is the son ¹¹³ and is interpreted by Reuchlin as the Microcosm. Malchuth ¹¹⁴ is Domina, the Mistress.¹¹⁵ She is also called Shekinah,¹¹⁶ the "indwelling" (of God), and virago.¹¹⁷ The Sefira

mention Typhon as a possible cause of his death. He begins by saying: "She who was the cause of your life is also the cause of your death," but he then adds: "Three there seem to be who may have caused your death: Typhon, your mother, and Mulciber's [Vulcan's] furnace. He [Typhon] scatters the limbs of your body; it may be your mother alone, instead of your brother. But your mother feigns innocence." It is clear that Maier suspects the mother in particular, and wants to make Typhon, the red slave, only a "causa ministerialis."

¹⁰⁶ Kerényi, *Töchter der Sonne*, pp. 92ff.

¹⁰⁷ For this reason, the story of Medea's murder of Creon, her father-in-law, was also interpreted as an alchemical arcanum. Cf. Petrus Bonus, *Theatr. chem.*, V, p. 686.

¹⁰⁸ *Super Ezechielem Hom.*, III (Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 76, col. 808).

¹⁰⁹ *Expositions of the Book of Psalms*, Ps. 131, 23, vol. 6, p. 105.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Ps. 145, 18f., vol. 6, p. 356.

¹¹¹ *Kabbala denudata*, I, 1, p. 118.* Knorr's source is Moses Cordovero, *Pardes Rimmonim*, ch. 23.

¹¹² *Tifereth* means 'beauty.' ¹¹³ *Kabbala denudata*, p. 202.

¹¹⁴ *Malchuth* means 'kingdom, dominion.' ¹¹⁵ *Kabbala denudata*, p. 528.

¹¹⁶ She is called moon (p. 456), earth (p. 156), bride (p. 477), matron, queen of heaven, fish-pool (p. 215), sea, well, tree of knowledge of good and evil, hind of loves ("so is Malchuth especially called because of the mystery of the new moon," p. 77), belly (p. 192), etc.* ¹¹⁷ *Kabbala denudata*, p. 163.

I. THE COMPONENTS OF THE CONIUNCTIO

Tifereth is the King, and in the usual arrangement of the Sefiroth he occupies the second place:

Kether
Tifereth
Yesod
Malchuth.

Kether, the Crown, corresponds to the upward-growing root of the Tree of the Sefiroth.¹¹⁸ Yesod¹¹⁹ signifies the genital region of the Original Man, whose head is Kether. Malchuth, conforming to the archetypal pattern, is the underlying feminine principle.¹²⁰ In this wicked world ruled by evil Tifereth is *not* united with Malchuth.¹²¹ But the coming Messiah will reunite the King with the Queen, and this mating will restore to God his original unity.¹²² The Cabala develops an elaborate hierogamos fantasy which expatiates on the union of the soul with the Sefiroth of the worlds of light and darkness, "for the desire of the upper world for the God-fearing man is as the loving desire of a man for his wife, when he woos her."¹²³ Conversely, the Shekinah is present in the sexual act:

¹¹⁸ According to some authorities, Sefira is derived from *σφαίρα*. Cf. Hastings, *Encyclopedia*, VII, p. 625 b, "Kabbala." According to a more recent view the word is derived from the root *sfr*, 'primordial number.' Cf. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 76ff. For the Tree of the Sefiroth see "The Philosophical Tree," par. 411, and Scholem, pp. 214ff.

¹¹⁹ *Yesod* means 'foundation.' In the MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Fr. 14765, pl. 8, Yesod is depicted like the Son of Man in Revelation 1:12 ff., with the seven stars in his right hand, the sword issuing from his mouth, and standing between the seven candlesticks. See *infra*, our Plate 3.

¹²⁰ Cf. *Kabbala denudata*, I, p. 240, 4: "... for Malchuth shall be called a watered garden, Isaiah 58:11, when Yesod is in her, and fills her, and waters her with waters from on high." * P. 477: "When Malchuth receives the inflowing from the fifty gates through Yesod, then is she called bride." * For Yesod as *membrum genitale*, *ibid.*, p. 22. Cf. also Scholem, pp. 227f., and Hurwitz, *Archetypische Motive in der chassidischen Mystik*, pp. 123ff.

¹²¹ Cf. the legend of Father Okeanos and Mother Tethys, who could no longer come together in a conjugal embrace. *Iliad*, XIV, ll. 300 ff. (trans. by Rieu), p. 265, and Roscher, *Lexikon*, V, col. 394 B, lines 30ff. This reference points only to the similarity of the motif, not to an equivalence of meaning.

¹²² Cf. the cohabitation of Gabricus and Beya brought about by the intervention of the philosophers.

¹²³ *Der Sohar* (ed. by Mueller), p. 234. There is a parallel to this in the psychotic experiences of Schreber (*Memoirs of My Nervous Illness*), where the "rays of God" longingly seek to enter into him.

The *absconditus sponsus* enters into the body of the woman and is joined with the *abscondita sponsa*. This is true also on the reverse side of the process, so that two spirits are melted together and are interchanged constantly between body and body. . . . In the indistinguishable state which arises it may be said almost that the male is with the female, neither male nor female,¹²⁴ at least they are both or either. So is man affirmed to be composed of the world above, which is male, and of the female world below. The same is true of woman.¹²⁵

- 19 The Cabala also speaks of the *thalamus* (bride chamber) or nuptial canopy beneath which sponsus and sponsa are consecrated, Yesod acting as *paranymphus* (best man).¹²⁶ Directly or indirectly the Cabala was assimilated into alchemy. Relationships must have existed between them at a very early date, though it is difficult to trace them in the sources. Late in the sixteenth century we come upon direct quotations from the *Zohar*, for instance in the treatise "De igne et sale" by Blasius Vigenerus.¹²⁷ One passage in this treatise is of especial interest to us as it concerns the mythologem of the coniunctio:

[The Sefiroth] end in Malchuth or the moon, who is the last to descend and the first to ascend from the elemental world. For the moon is the way to heaven, so much so that the Pythagoreans named her the heavenly earth and the earthly heaven or star,¹²⁸ because in the elemental world all inferior nature in respect to the heavenly, and the heavenly in respect to the intelligible world, is, as the *Zohar* says, feminine and passive, and is as the moon to the sun. In the same measure as [the moon] withdraws from the sun, until she is in opposition to him, so does her light increase in relation to us in this lower world, but diminishes on the side that looks upwards. Contrariwise, in her conjunction, when she is totally darkened for us, she is fully illuminated on that side which faces the sun. This should teach us that the more our intellect descends to the things

¹²⁴ Cf. the parallel in the Gospel according to the Egyptians (James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 11): "When the two become one and the male with the female is neither male nor female."

¹²⁵ Waite, *The Holy Kabbalah*, p. 381.

¹²⁶ *Kabbala denudata*, I, p. 338.

¹²⁷ *Theatr. chem.*, VI, pp. 1ff. Blaise de Vigenère or Vigenaire (1523-96) was a learned scholar of Hebrew. He was secretary to the Duc de Nevers and then to Henry III of France.

¹²⁸ Cf. Proclus, *Commentaries on the Timaeus of Plato*, where he says that Orpheus called the moon the heavenly earth (41 c), and the Pythagoreans the aetheric earth (32 b).

of sense, the more it is turned away from intelligible things, and the reverse likewise.¹²⁹

The identification of Malchuth with Luna forms a link with alchemy, and is another example of the process by which the patristic symbolism of sponsus and sponsa had been assimilated much earlier. At the same time, it is a repetition of the way the originally pagan hierosgamos was absorbed into the figurative language of the Church Fathers. But Vigenerus adds something that seems to be lacking in patristic allegory, namely the darkening of the other half of the moon during her opposition. When the moon turns upon us her fullest radiance, her other side is in complete darkness. This strict application of the Sol-Luna allegory might have been an embarrassment to the Church, although the idea of the "dying" Church does take account, to a certain extent, of the transience of all created things.¹³⁰ I do not mention this fact in order to criticize the significance of the ecclesiastical Sol-Luna allegory. On the contrary I want to emphasize it, because the moon, standing on the borders of the sublunary world ruled by evil, has a share not only in the world of light but also in the daemonic world of darkness, as our author clearly hints. That is why her changefulness is so significant symbolically: she is duplex and mutable like Mercurius, and is like him a mediator; hence their identification in alchemy.¹³¹ Though Mercurius has a bright side concerning whose spirituality alchemy leaves us in no doubt, he also has a dark side, and its roots go deep.

- 20 The quotation from Vigenerus bears no little resemblance to a long passage on the phases of the moon in Augustine.¹³² Speaking of the unfavourable aspect of the moon, which is her changeability, he paraphrases Ecclesiasticus 27:12 with the words: "The wise man remaineth stable as the sun, but a fool is

¹²⁹ *Theatr. chem.*, VI, p. 17. Malchuth is also called moon (*Kabb. denud.* I, 1, pp. 195 and 501). Other cognomens are house and night, and in Joseph Gikatila (*Shaare ora*) fountain, sea, stone, sapphire, tree of knowledge, land of life. (This information was supplied by Dr. S. Hurwitz.) Malchuth is the "kingdom of God," described in the *Zohar* as Keneseth Israel, "the mystical archetype of the community of Israel" (Scholem, p. 213).

¹³⁰ Cf. Rahner, "Mysterium Lunae," pp. 313ff.

¹³¹ Jung, "The Spirit Mercurius," par. 273.

¹³² Epistola LV, 7f. (*CSEL*, XXXIV, pp. 176f.)

changed as the moon,"¹³³ and poses the question: "Who then is that fool who changeth as the moon, but Adam, in whom all have sinned?"¹³⁴ For Augustine, therefore, the moon is manifestly an ally of corruptible creatures, reflecting their folly and inconstancy. Since, for the men of antiquity and the Middle Ages, comparison with the stars or planets tacitly presupposes astrological causality, the sun causes constancy and wisdom, while the moon is the cause of change and folly (including lunacy).¹³⁵ Augustine attaches to his remarks about the moon a moral observation concerning the relationship of man to the spiritual sun,¹³⁶ just as Vigenerus did, who was obviously acquainted with Augustine's epistles. He also mentions (Epistola LV, 10) the Church as Luna, and he connects the moon with the wounding by an arrow: "Whence it is said: They have made ready their arrows in the quiver, to shoot in the *darkness of the moon* at the upright of heart."¹³⁷ It is clear that Augustine did not understand the wounding as the activity of the new moon herself but, in accordance with the principle "omne malum ab homine," as the result of man's wickedness. All the same, the addition "in obscura luna," for which there is no warrant in the original text, shows how much the new moon is involved. This hint of the admitted dangerousness of the moon is confirmed

¹³³ The Vulgate has: "Homo sanctus in sapientia manet sicut sol, nam stultus sicut luna mutatur" (DV: "A holy man continueth in wisdom as the sun, but a fool is changed as the moon").

¹³⁴ "Quis ergo est ille stultus, qui tamquam luna mutatur, nisi Adam, in quo omnes peccaverunt?"

¹³⁵ Sol corresponds to the conscious man, Luna to the unconscious one, i.e., to his anima.

¹³⁶ "For man's soul, when it turns away from the sun of righteousness, that is, from inward contemplation of the unchangeable truth, turns all its strength to earthly things, and thereby is darkened more and more in its inward and higher parts; but when it begins to return to that unchangeable wisdom, the more it draws nigh thereto in loving affection, the more is the outward man corrupted, but the inward man is renewed from day to day; and all that light of natural disposition, which was turned towards lower things, is directed to the higher, and in a certain wise is taken away from things of earth, that it may die more and more to this world and its life be hid with Christ in God." * (CSEL, XXXIV, p. 178.)

¹³⁷ "Unde est illud: Paraverunt sagittas suas in pharetra, ut sagittent in *obscura luna* rectos corde." The Vulgate, Psalm 10:3, has only "in obscuro" (DV: "For behold, the wicked bend their bow, they fit the arrow to the string, to shoot in the darkness at the upright of heart"). Cf. the "arrows drunk with blood" in *Aurora Consurgens*, p. 67.

when Augustine, a few sentences later on, cites Psalm 71 : 7: "In his days justice shall flourish, and abundance of peace, until the moon shall be destroyed."¹³⁸ Instead of the strong "interficiatur" the Vulgate has the milder "auferatur"—shall be taken away or fail.¹³⁹ The violent way in which the moon is removed is explained by the interpretation that immediately follows: "That is, the abundance of peace shall grow until it consumes all changefulness of mortality." From this it is evident that the moon's nature expressly partakes of the "changefulness of mortality," which is equivalent to death, and therefore the text continues: "For then the last enemy, death, shall be destroyed, and whatever resists us on account of the weakness of the flesh shall be utterly consumed." Here the destruction of the moon is manifestly equivalent to the destruction of death.¹⁴⁰ The moon and death significantly reveal their affinity. Death came into the world through original sin and the seductiveness of woman (= moon), and mutability led to corruptibility.¹⁴¹ To eliminate the moon from Creation is therefore as desirable as the elimination of death. This negative assessment of the moon takes full account of her dark side. The "dying" of the Church is also connected with the mystery of the moon's darkness.¹⁴² Augustine's cautious and perhaps not altogether unconscious disguising of the sinister aspect of the moon would be sufficiently explained by his respect for the Ecclesia-Luna equation.

- 21 All the more ruthlessly, therefore, does alchemy insist on the dangerousness of the new moon. Luna is on the one hand the brilliant whiteness of the full moon, on the other hand she is the blackness of the new moon, and especially the blackness of the eclipse, when the sun is darkened. Indeed, what she does to

¹³⁸ "Orietur, inquit, in diebus eius iustitia et abundantia pacis, quoad usque interficiatur luna."

¹³⁹ DV: "In his days justice shall flourish, and abundance of peace, until the moon shall fail."

¹⁴⁰ Augustine further remarks that the name "Jericho" means "moon" in Hebrew, and that the walls of this city, the "walls of mortal life," collapsed (*Epist.*, LV, 10).

¹⁴¹ According to Origen, the sun and the moon were involved in the Fall (*Peri Archon*, I, 7, 4). Cited in Rahner, "Mysterium Lunae," p. 327.

¹⁴² Rahner (p. 314) speaks very aptly of the "mystical darkness of its (the moon's, i.e., the Church's) union with Christ" at the time of the new moon, the latter signifying the "dying" Church.

the sun comes from her own dark nature. The "Consilium coniugii" ¹⁴³ tells us very clearly what the alchemists thought about Luna:

The lion, the lower sun,¹⁴⁴ grows corrupt through the flesh. [His flesh is weak because he suffers from "quartan fever." ¹⁴⁵] Thus is the lion ¹⁴⁶ corrupted in his nature through his flesh, which follows the times of the moon,¹⁴⁷ and is eclipsed. For the moon is the *shadow of the sun*, and with corruptible bodies she is consumed, and through her corruption is the lion eclipsed with the help of the moisture of Mercurius,¹⁴⁸ yet his eclipse is changed to usefulness and to a better nature, and one more perfect than the first.

The changefulness of the moon and her ability to grow dark are interpreted as her corruptibility, and this negative quality can even darken the sun. The text continues:

During the increase, that is during the fullness of the blackness of the lead, which is our ore, my light ¹⁴⁹ is absent, and my splendour is put out.

Then comes a passage which may have inspired the picture of the death of the royal pair in the *Rosarium*, but which is also significant as regards the dark side of the conjunction of Sol and Luna: ¹⁵⁰

¹⁴³ First printing in *Ars chemica* (1566), p. 136.

¹⁴⁴ The text has "id est Sol inferius," and so has the later printing of 1622 (*Theatr. chem.*, V, p. 515) as well as Manget's *Bibl. chem.* (II, p. 248a). It could therefore mean "the sun below." This would presumably be a "subterranean sun" equivalent to the *Sol niger* (Mylius, *Phil. ref.*, p. 19, and Ripley, *Chymische Schriften*, p. 51).

¹⁴⁵ The quartan fever occurs every fourth day. The text has here: "For on every fourth day he naturally suffers from a quartan fever." *

¹⁴⁶ Leo, as the *domicilium solis*, stands for the sun, i.e., for the active (red) Mercurius.

¹⁴⁷ "Per carnem suam sibi contemporaneam Lunarem vilescit." The original Arabic text of Senior (*De chemia*, p. 9) has "canem" instead of "carnem." The dog is Hecate's animal and pertains to the moon (pars. 174ff.). In Manichaeism it is said of the Original Man and his sons, who descended into matter, that "consciousness was taken from them, and they became like one who is bitten by a mad dog or a snake" (Theodore bar Konai, cited in Reitzenstein and Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland*, p. 343).

¹⁴⁸ The *aqua permanens*.

¹⁴⁹ Sol is speaking.

¹⁵⁰ "Consilium coniugii," pp. 141f. *

I. THE COMPONENTS OF THE CONIUNCTIO

After this¹⁵¹ is completed, you will know that you have the substance which penetrates all substances, and the nature which contains nature, and the nature which rejoices in nature.¹⁵² It is named the Tyriac¹⁵³ of the Philosophers, and it is also called the poisonous serpent, because, like this, it bites off the head of the male in the lustful heat of conception, and giving birth it dies and is divided through the midst. So also the moisture of the moon,¹⁵⁴ when she receives his light, slays the sun, and at the birth of the child of the Philosophers she dies likewise, and at death the two parents yield up their souls to the son, and die and pass away. *And the parents are the food of the son . . .*

- 22 In this psychologem all the implications of the Sol-Luna allegory are carried to their logical conclusion. The daemonic quality which is connected with the dark side of the moon, or with her position midway between heaven and the sublunary world,¹⁵⁵ displays its full effect. Sun and moon reveal their antithetical nature, which in the Christian Sol-Luna relationship is so obscured as to be unrecognizable, and the two opposites cancel each other out, their impact resulting—in accordance with the laws of energetics—in the birth of a third and new thing, a son who resolves the antagonisms of the parents and is himself a “united double nature.” The unknown author of the “Consilium”¹⁵⁶ was not conscious of the close connection of his psy-

¹⁵¹ The preceding passage runs: “. . . let the residual body, which is called earth, be reduced to ashes, from which the tincture is extracted by means of water . . . Then join it to its head and tail.” * This refers to the production of the uroboros as the arcane substance that changes the natures.

¹⁵² This is the well-known formula of Democritus. Berthelot, *Alch. grecs*, II, i, 3: “Nature rejoices in nature, nature subdues nature, nature rules over nature.” *

¹⁵³ *Tyria tinctura* or *Tyrius color* (*Turba*, Sermo XIV), *lapis tyrii coloris* (Sermo XXI, XXVII). “Thus we call our Tyrian (colour) at each step of the procedure by the name of its colour” * (Sermo LXII). “This is the red sulphur, shining in the darkness; and it is the red jacinth, and the fiery and death-dealing poison, and the conquering Lion, and the evil-doer, and the cleaving sword, and the Tyrian (tincture) which heals all infirmities” * (*Theatr. chem.*, V, p. 705). *Tyriaca* is identical with *Theriaca*, which is none other than the arcane substance.

¹⁵⁴ Luna sends the dew.

¹⁵⁵ Where the aerial realm of the demons and Satan begins.

¹⁵⁶ Schmieder (*Geschichte der Alchemie*, p. 106) thinks the author was an Arab of the 13th cent. The fact that the author took over *carnem* / *canem*, a mistake possible only in Latin, shows, however, that he must have been one of the early Latinists.

chologem with the process of transubstantiation, although the last sentence of the text contains clearly enough the motif of *teoqualo*, the "god-eating" of the Aztecs.¹⁵⁷ This motif is also found in ancient Egypt. The Pyramid text of Unas (Vth dynasty) says: "Unas rising as a soul, like a god who liveth upon his fathers and feedeth upon his mothers."¹⁵⁸ It should be noted how alchemy put in the place of the Christian sponsus and sponsa an image of totality that on the one hand was material, and on the other was spiritual and corresponded to the Paraclete. In addition, there was a certain trend in the direction of an Ecclesia spiritualis. The alchemical equivalent of the God-Man and the Son of God was Mercurius, who as an hermaphrodite contained in himself both the feminine element, Sapientia and matter, and the masculine, the Holy Ghost and the devil. There are relations in alchemy with the Holy Ghost Movement which flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and was chiefly connected with the name of Joachim of Flora (1145-1202), who expected the imminent coming of the "third kingdom," namely that of the Holy Ghost.¹⁵⁹

- 23 The alchemists also represented the "eclipse" as the descent of the sun into the (feminine) Mercurial Fountain,¹⁶⁰ or as the disappearance of Gabricus in the body of Beya. Again, the sun in the embrace of the new moon is treacherously slain by the snake-bite (*conatu viperino*) of the mother-beloved, or pierced by the *telum passionis*, Cupid's arrow.¹⁶¹ These ideas explain the strange picture in Reusner's *Pandora*,¹⁶² showing Christ being pierced with a lance by a crowned virgin whose body ends in a

157 Cf. Bernardino de Sahagún, *General History of the Things of New Spain*, Book 3: *The Origin of the Gods* (trans. by Anderson and Dibble), pp. 5f.; also "Transformation Symbolism in the Mass," p. 224.

158 Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, I, p. 45.

159 Cf. my account in *Aion*, pars. 137ff., 232ff.

160 Cf. the Koran, Sura 18 (trans. by Dawood, p. 96), "the sun setting in a pool of black mud."

161 Ripley, *Opera omnia*, p. 423. "Consilium coniugii," *Ars chemica*, p. 186: "He slew himself with his own dart." "Rosinus ad Sarrat," *Art. aurif.*, I, p. 293: "Who with an arrow from our quiver bound together, that is, joined in one body, wretched me, that is, I who possess the matter of Mercury and the Moon . . . and my beloved, that is, the fatness of the Sun with the moisture of the Moon." *

162 1588 edn., p. 249. The picture is reproduced in my "Paracelsus as a Spiritual Phenomenon," fig. B4.

serpent's tail.¹⁶³ The oldest reference to the mermaid in alchemy is a quotation from Hermes in Olympiodorus: "The virginal earth is found in the tail of the virgin."¹⁶⁴ On the analogy of the wounded Christ, Adam is shown in the Codex Ashburnham pierced in the side by an arrow.¹⁶⁵

- ²⁴ This motif of wounding is taken up by Honorius of Autun in his commentary on the Song of Songs.¹⁶⁶ "Thou hast wounded my heart, my sister, my spouse; thou hast wounded my heart with one of thy eyes, and with one hair of thy neck" (DV).¹⁶⁷ The sponsa says (1 : 4): "I am black, but comely," and (1 : 5) "Look not upon me because I am black, because the sun hath scorched me." This allusion to the *nigredo* was not missed by the alchemists.¹⁶⁸ But there is another and more dangerous reference to the bride in 6 : 4f.: "Thou art beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, terrible as an army with banners. Turn away thine eyes from me, for they have overcome me . . . 10: Who is this that looketh forth as the rising dawn [*quasi aurora consurgens*],¹⁶⁹ fair as the moon, bright as the sun, terrible as an army with banners?"¹⁷⁰ The bride is not only lovely

¹⁶³ The drawing of this tail is certainly odd, and one wonders whether it represents water (?) or steam (?). The prototype of the picture can be found in the so-called *Drivaltigkeitsbuch*, fol. 2r. (Codex Germanicus Monacensis 598, 15th cent.) as well as in the Codex Germ. Alch. Vad., 16th cent. There she has a proper snake's tail. One text describes the vapours as arrows ("Consil. coniug.," p. 127). Cf. the eagles armed with arrows in the picture of Hermes Trismegistus from Senior (*Psychology and Alchemy*, fig. 128).

¹⁶⁴ Berthelot, *Alch. grecs*, II, iv, 24.*

¹⁶⁵ Cf. *Psychology and Alchemy*, fig. 131.

¹⁶⁶ Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 172, col. 419.

¹⁶⁷ "Vulnerasti cor meum soror mea sponsa. Vulnerasti cor meum in uno oculorum tuorum et in uno crine colli tui." The correct translation is [as in AV]: "Thou hast ravished my heart, my sister, my spouse; thou hast ravished my heart with one of thine eyes, with one chain of thy neck."

¹⁶⁸ Cf. *Aurora Consurgens*, p. 133.

¹⁶⁹ Here is, significantly enough, the source of the title of that mysterious treatise discussed in von Franz, *Aurora Consurgens*, which complements the present work.

¹⁷⁰ AV mod.* A more exact translation of the original text would be "terrible as a host of armies." The Hebrew word *nidgālôt* is read by recent commentators as *nirgālôt*, plural of Nirgal or Nergal. The Babylonian Nergal was the god of war and the underworld, the Lord of spirits, and the god of the midday heat of summer. Wittekindt (*Das Hohe Lied und seine Beziehungen zum Ištarkult*, p. 8) therefore translates "terrible as the planets." "Evidently the opposites in the figure of Istar are meant. . . . She is the gracious goddess of love and beauty, but she is also warlike, a slayer of men" (p. 9). On account of his magic, even greater con-

and innocent, but witch-like and terrible, like the side of Selene that is related to Hecate. Like her, Luna is "all-seeing," an "all-knowing" eye.¹⁷¹ Like Hecate she sends madness, epilepsy, and other sicknesses. Her special field is love magic, and magic in general, in which the new moon, the full moon, and the moon's darkness play a great part. The animals assigned to her—stag, lion, and cock¹⁷²—are also symbols of her male partner in alchemy. As the chthonic Persephone her animals, according to Pythagoras, are dogs,¹⁷³ i.e., the planets. In alchemy Luna herself appears as the "Armenian bitch."¹⁷⁴ The sinister side of the moon plays a considerable role in classical tradition.

- ²⁵ The sponsa is the dark new moon—in Christian interpretation the Church in the nuptial embrace¹⁷⁵—and this union is at the same time a wounding of the sponsus, Sol or Christ. Honorius comments on "Thou hast wounded my heart" as follows:

By heart is signified love, which is said to be in the heart, and the container is put in the place of the contained; and this metaphor is taken from the lover who loves his beloved exceeding much, so that his heart is wounded with love. So was Christ upon the cross wounded for love of his Church: ¹⁷⁶ "Thou didst first wound my heart when I was scourged for thy love, that I might make thee my sister. . . . Again thou didst wound my heart with one of thine

sideration should be given to the underworld aspect of Nergal as the Lord of spirits. Cf. Morris Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, I, pp. 361, 467. The reading *nirgālôt* is also accepted by Haller (*Das Hohe Lied*, p. 40). Hebrew *d* and *r* are very easily confused.

¹⁷¹ Roscher, *Lexikon*, II, col. 3138.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, col. 3185.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ Cf. *infra*, par. 174; also "The Psychology of the Transference," par. 458, n. 4.

¹⁷⁵ In Cabalistic interpretation she is Israel, bride of the Lord. Thus the *Zohar* says: "And when is he (God) called One? Only at that hour when the *matrona* (= Malchuth) will pair with the King, and 'the kingdom will belong to God,' as is said. What is meant by kingdom? It is the children of Israel, for the King unites himself with her, as is said: 'On that day God is known . . . as One.'"

¹⁷⁶ Augustine (*Sermo suppositus*, 120, 8) says: "Like a bridegroom Christ went forth from his chamber, he went out with a presage of his nuptials into the field of the world. . . . He came to the marriage bed of the cross, and there, in mounting it, he consummated his marriage. And when he perceived the sighs of the creature, he lovingly gave himself up to the torment in the place of his bride, . . . and he joined the woman to himself for ever." *

eyes¹⁷⁷ when, hanging upon the cross, I was wounded for love of thee, that I might make thee my bride to share my glory."¹⁷⁸

- ²⁶ The moment of the eclipse and mystic marriage is death on the cross. In the Middle Ages the cross was therefore logically understood as the mother. Thus in the Middle English "Dispute between Mary and the Cross," the cross is a "false tree" that destroyed Mary's fruit with a deadly drink. She laments: "My sonys stepmodir I thee calle." Sancta Crux replies:

Lady, to thee I owe honour . . .

Thi fruyt me florysschith in blood colour.¹⁷⁹

- ²⁷ The motif of wounding in alchemy goes back to Zosimos (3rd cent.) and his visions of a sacrificial drama.¹⁸⁰ The motif does not occur in such complete form again. One next meets it in the *Turba*: "The dew is joined to him who is wounded and given over to death."¹⁸¹ The dew comes from the moon, and he who is wounded is the sun.¹⁸² In the treatise of Philaletha, "Introitus apertus ad ocllusum Regis palatium,"¹⁸³ the wounding is caused

¹⁷⁷ It is remarkable that in ancient Egypt as well the eye is connected with the hierogamos of the gods. The first day of autumn (i.e., of the dwindling sun) is celebrated in the Heliopolitan inscriptions as the "feast day of the goddess Yusasit," as the "arrival of the sister who makes ready to unite herself with her father." On that day "the goddess Mehnit completes her work, so that the god Osiris may enter into the left eye." Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter*, p. 286.

¹⁷⁸ Honorius, loc. cit.* The wounding of the Redeemer by love is an idea that gave rise to some curious images among the later mystic writers. The following is from a *Libellus Desideriorum Joannis Amati*: "I have learnt an art, and have become an archer, good intention is my bow and the ceaseless desires of my soul are the arrows. The bow is spanned continually by the hand of God's gracious help, and the Holy Ghost teaches me to shoot the arrows straight to heaven. God grant that I may learn to shoot better, and one day hit the Lord Jesus." Held, *Angelus Silesius: Sämtliche Poetische Werke*, I, p. 141.

¹⁷⁹ Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, pp. 197ff.

¹⁸⁰ Berthelot, *Alch. grecs*, III, i-vi. The aspect of killing is discussed in my "The Visions of Zosimos," pars. 91ff., and the sacrificial death in "Transformation Symbolism in the Mass," pars. 376ff.

¹⁸¹ Ruska, *Turba*, Sermo 58, p. 161.*

¹⁸² Hg (the alchemical "dew") "penetrates" the gold (sun) by amalgamation.

¹⁸³ The treatise is supposed to have been written in 1645. Printed in *Mus. herm.*, pp. 647ff. (Waite, II, pp. 165ff.). The name of the author, Eirenaeus Philaletha, is a pseudonym ("peaceful lover of truth"); the real author is conjectured to be the English alchemist Thomas Vaughan (1621-65)—incorrectly, it seems to me. See Waite, *The Works of Thomas Vaughan*, pp. xivff., and Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, II, p. 194.

by the bite of the rabid "Corascene" dog,¹⁸⁴ in consequence of which the hermaphrodite child suffered from hydrophobia.¹⁸⁵ Dorn, in his "De tenebris contra naturam," associates the motif of wounding and the poisonous snake-bite with Genesis 3: "For the sickness introduced into nature by the serpent, and the deadly wound she inflicted, a remedy is to be sought."¹⁸⁶ Accordingly it is the task of alchemy to root out the original sin, and this is accomplished with the aid of the *balsamum vitae* (balsam of life), which is "a true mixture of the natural heat with its radical moisture." "The life of the world is the light of nature and the celestial sulphur,¹⁸⁷ whose substance is the aetheric moisture and heat of the firmament, like to the sun and moon."¹⁸⁸ The conjunction of the moist (= moon) and the hot (= sun) thus produces the balsam, which is the "original and incorrupt" life of the world. Genesis 3 : 15, "he shall bruise your head, and you shall bruise his heel" (RSV), was generally taken as a prefiguration of the Redeemer. But since Christ was free from the stain of sin the wiles of the serpent could not touch him, though of course mankind was poisoned. Whereas the Christian belief is that man is freed from sin by the redemptory act of Christ, the alchemist was evidently of the opinion that the "restitution to the likeness of original and incorrupt nature" had still to be accomplished by the art, and this can only mean that Christ's work of redemption was regarded as incomplete. In

¹⁸⁴ See *infra*, par. 174.

¹⁸⁵ *Mus. herm.*, p. 658: "This is the infant Hermaphrodite, who from his very cradle has been bitten by the mad Corascene dog, wherefore he rages in madness with perpetual fear of water (hydrophobia)." * (See *infra*, pars. 176f.) The "rabid black dog" is chased away "with water and blows," and "thus will the darkness be dispelled." From this it can be seen that the mad dog represents the nigredo and thus, indirectly, the dark new moon, which eclipses the sun (cf. Senior, *De chemia*, p. 9: "Leo decays, weakened by the dog [flesh]").* The "infant" would correspond to the raging Attis, *κατηφὲς ἀκουσμα* 'Ρέας, "the dark rumour of Rhea," "whom the Assyrians call thrice-desired Adonis," the son-lover who dies young (Hippolytus, *Elenchos*, V, 9, 8). According to the legend of Pessinus, Agdistis (Cybele), the mother of Attis, was herself hermaphroditic at first but was castrated by the gods. She drove Attis mad, so that he did the same thing to himself at his wedding. Zeus made his body incorruptible, and this forms the parallel to the *incorruptibilitas* of the alchemical "infant." Cf. Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, VII, 17 (Frazer trans., III, pp. 266f.).

¹⁸⁶ *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 518.*

¹⁸⁷ *Lux naturae* and *caeleste sulphur* are to be understood as identical.

¹⁸⁸ *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 518.*

view of the wickednesses which the "Prince of this world,"¹⁸⁹ undeterred, goes on perpetrating as liberally as before, one cannot withhold all sympathy from such an opinion. For an alchemist who professed allegiance to the *Ecclesia spiritualis* it was naturally of supreme importance to make himself an "unspotted vessel" of the Paraclete and thus to realize the idea "Christ" on a plane far transcending a mere imitation of him. It is tragic to see how this tremendous thought got bogged down again and again in the welter of human folly. A shattering example of this is afforded not only by the history of the Church, but above all by alchemy itself, which richly merited its own condemnation—in ironical fulfilment of the dictum "*In sterquiliniis invenitur*" (it is found in cesspools). Agrippa von Nettesheim was not far wrong when he opined that "Chymists are of all men the most perverse."¹⁹⁰

- 28 In his "*Mysterium Lunae*," an extremely valuable study for the history of alchemical symbolism, Rahner¹⁹¹ mentions that the "waxing and waning" of the bride (*Luna, Ecclesia*) is based on the *kenosis*¹⁹² of the bridegroom, in accordance with the words of St. Ambrose:¹⁹³

Luna is diminished that she may fill the elements. Therefore is this a great mystery. To her it was given by him who confers grace upon all things. He emptied her that he might fill her, as he also emptied himself that he might fill all things. He emptied himself that he might come down to us. He came down to us that he might rise again for all. . . . Thus has Luna proclaimed the mystery of Christ.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ John 12 : 31. ¹⁹⁰ *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences* (anon. trans.), p. 315.*

¹⁹¹ *Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, LXIII, p. 431.

¹⁹² = emptying. See next paragraph.

¹⁹³ *Hexameron*, IV, 8, 32 (Migne, P.L., vol. 14, col. 204).*

¹⁹⁴ Prof. Rahner was kind enough to send me the following explanation: "The fundamental idea of the theologians is always this: the earthly fate of the Church as the body of Christ is modelled on the earthly fate of Christ himself. That is to say the Church, in the course of her history, moves towards a death, as well in her individual members (here is the connecting-link with the doctrine of 'mortification') as in her destiny as a whole, until the last day when, after fulfilling her earthly task, she becomes 'unnecessary' and 'dies,' as is indicated in Psalm 71 : 7: 'until the moon shall fail.' These ideas were expressed in the symbolism of *Luna* as the Church. Just as the *kenosis* of Christ was fulfilled in death, even death on the cross (Phil. 2 : 8), and out of this death the 'glory' of the divine nature (2 : 9f.) was bestowed on Christ's 'form as a servant' (2 : 7), whence this whole process can be compared with the setting (death) of the sun and its rising anew (glory), even so it is with the parallel *kenosis* of *Ecclesia-Luna*. The closer *Luna* approaches to

- ²⁹ Thus the changefulness of the moon is paralleled by the transformation of the pre-existent Christ from a divine into a human figure through the "emptying," that passage in Philip-
 pians (2 : 6) which has aroused so much comment: ". . . who, though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be clung to, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men" (RSV / DV).¹⁹⁵ Even the most tortuous explanations of theology have never improved on the lapidary paradox of St. Hilary: "Deus homo, immortalis mortuus, aeternus sepultus" (God-man, immortal-dead, eternal-buried).¹⁹⁶ According to Ephraem Syrus, the *kenosis* had the reverse effect of unburdening Creation: "Because the creatures were weary of bearing the prefigurations of his glory, he disburdened them of those prefigurations, even as he had disburdened the womb that bore him." ¹⁹⁷

the sun, the more is she darkened until, at the conjunction of the new moon, all her light is 'emptied' into Christ, the sun. (It is well worth noting that just at this point Augustine speaks of the strange speculations of the Manichaeans about the two 'light-ships,' when the ship of Luna pours out its light into the ship of the sun, *Epistola* 55, iv, 6.) Augustine now applies this to the individual Christians of whom the Ecclesia is composed. The remarkable paradox of Luna, that she is darkest when nearest the sun, is a symbol of Christian asceticism: 'The more the inward man draws nigh to the sun, the more is the outward man destroyed, but the inward man is renewed from day to day' (a variation of II Cor. 4 : 16). That is, the Christian dies like Luna and his life is 'hid with Christ in God' (Coloss. 3 : 3). All this Augustine says in *Epistola* 55, v, 8. Afterwards he applies it to the Church and her destiny (*Epistola* 55, vi, 10): she will vanish into Christ, the sun, at the end of time: 'donec interficiatur Luna.' Augustine here translates the ἀνταναιρεθῆ of Psalm 71 : 7 by 'interficiatur'; in his *Enarratio in Ps. 71* (Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 36, cols. 907f.) he expatiates on the translation of this Greek word and there renders it by 'tollatur' (is removed) and 'auferatur' (taken away). The doctrine implied in all these passages is that the Church in her future glory ceases her work of salvation, which is destined only for the earth, and that she is totally eclipsed by the splendour of Christ the sun, because (and this again is a strange paradox) in the resurrection of the flesh she herself has become the 'full moon,' and indeed the 'sun.' 'Permanebit cum Sole,' she 'shall live while the sun endures,' as Ps. 71 : 5 (RSV 72 : 5) says."

¹⁹⁵ "Ὁς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβών.

¹⁹⁶ *De trinitate*, I, 13 (Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 10, col. 35). The passage says literally: "Hence, just as the truths that God became man, that the Immortal died, that the Eternal was buried, do not belong to the order of the rational intellect but are an exceptional work of power, so it is an effect not of intellect but of omnipotence that he who is man is likewise God, that he who died is immortal, that he who was buried is eternal." *

¹⁹⁷ *Hymni et Sermones* (ed. Lamy), II, col. 802. *

³⁰ St. Ambrose's reference to the *kenosis* makes the changing of the moon causally dependent on the transformation of the bridegroom. The darkening of Luna then depends on the sponsum, Sol, and here the alchemists could refer to the darkening of the beloved's countenance in Song of Songs 1: 4-5. The sun, too, is equipped with darts and arrows. Indeed, the secret poisoning that otherwise emanates from the coldness and moisture of the moon is occasionally attributed to the "cold dragon," who contains a "volatile fiery spirit" and "spits flames." Thus in Emblem L of the *Scrutinium* ¹⁹⁸ he is given a masculine role: he wraps the woman in the grave in a deadly embrace. The same thought occurs again in Emblem V, where a toad is laid on the breast of the woman so that she, suckling it, may die as it grows.¹⁹⁹ The toad is a cold and damp animal like the dragon. It "empties" the woman as though the moon were pouring herself into the sun.²⁰⁰

4. ALCHEMY AND MANICHAISM

³¹ At the beginning of the last section I mentioned the term "orphan" for the lapis. Here the motif of the unknown or absent father seems to be of special importance. Mani is the best-known example of the "son of the widow." His original name was said to be Κούβρικος (Cubricus); later he changed it to Manes, a Babylonian word meaning "vessel."²⁰¹ As a four-year-old boy he was sold as a slave to a rich widow. She came to love him, and later adopted him and made him her heir. Together with her wealth he inherited the "serpent's poison" of his doctrine—the four books of Scythianos, the original master of his adoptive father Terebinthos, named "Budda."²⁰² Of this Scythianos there is a

¹⁹⁸ Maier, *Scrut. chymicum*, p. 148.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 13, from "Tractatulus Aristotelis," *Art. aurif.*, I, p. 369.

²⁰⁰ Cf. the Manichaean idea of the moon emptying her "soul-content" into the sun.

²⁰¹ Epiphanius, *Panarium*, LXVI, 1 (ed. by Holl), III, pp. 14f.; Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai* (ed. by Beeson), LXII; Socrates Scholasticus, *The Ecclesiastical History*, I, 22; Theodoret, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, I, 26 (Migne, *P.G.*, vol. 83, col. 378).

²⁰² This might be a reference to Buddhism. The Manichaean theory of metempsychosis may possibly come from the same source. Scythianos is said to have travelled to India. According to Suidas, *Lexikon* (ed. by Adler, part 3, p. 318), Scythianos-Manes was a Βραχμάνης (Brahman). Cf. also Cedrenus, *Historiarum compendium*, I, 456 (Migne, *P.G.*, vol. 121, col. 498).

legendary biography which equates him with Simon Magus;²⁰³ like him, he is said to have come to Jerusalem at the time of the apostles. He propounded a dualistic doctrine which, according to Epiphanius,²⁰⁴ was concerned with pairs of opposites: "white and black, yellow and green, moist and dry, heaven and earth, night and day, soul and body, good and evil, right and wrong." From these books Mani concocted his pernicious heresy which poisoned the nations. "Cubricus" is very like the alchemical Kybricus,²⁰⁵ Gabricus,²⁰⁶ Kibrich,²⁰⁷ Kybrich, Kibric,²⁰⁸ Kybrig, Kebrick,²⁰⁹ Alkibric,²¹⁰ Kibrit,²¹¹ Kibrith,²¹² Gabricius, Gabrius,²¹³ Thabritius, Thabritis,²¹⁴ and so on.²¹⁵ The Arabic word *kibrit* means sulphur.

- ³² In the *Aurora consurgens* "sulphur nigrum" stands side by side with "vetula," the first being a synonym for spirit and the second for soul. Together they form a pair roughly comparable to the devil and his grandmother. This relationship also occurs in Rosencreutz's *Chymical Wedding*,²¹⁶ where a black king sits beside a veiled old woman. The "black sulphur" is a pejorative name for the active, masculine substance of Mercurius and points to its dark, saturnine nature, which is evil.²¹⁷ This is the wicked Moorish king of the *Chymical Wedding*, who makes the king's daughter his concubine (*meretrix*), the "Ethiopian" of other treatises,²¹⁸ analogous to the "Egyptian" in the "Passio

²⁰³ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Katechesis*, VI, 21 (*Opera*, ed. by Reischl, I, p. 185).

²⁰⁴ *Panarium*, LXVI, 2 (ed. by Holl, III, p. 18).

²⁰⁵ Rulandus, *Lexicon*, p. 187. ²⁰⁶ *Art. aurif.*, II, p. 246.

²⁰⁷ "Maria Prophetissa," *Art. aurif.*, I, p. 321.

²⁰⁸ "Scala philosophorum," *ibid.*, II, p. 116.

²⁰⁹ Reusner, *Pandora*, p. 297, interpreted as "arsenic," i.e., the active masculine element, from ἀρρήν or ἀρσην.

²¹⁰ Petrus de Silentio, "Opus," *Theatr. chem.*, IV, p. 1114.

²¹¹ Anthonius de Abbatia, *Epistolae duae*, in Roth-Scholtz, *Deutsches Theatrum Chemicum*, III, p. 703. ²¹² Pernety, *Dict. mytho-hermétique*, p. 233.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 179. ²¹⁴ "Visio Arislei," *Art. aurif.*, I, pp. 147f.

²¹⁵ The name "Cubricus" for Mani has so far not been satisfactorily explained. Cf. Schaefer, *Urform und Fortbildungen des manich. Systems*, pp. 88f, n.

²¹⁶ Trans. by Foxcroft, p. 162.

²¹⁷ Cf. my "Spirit Mercurius," pars. 271, 276.

²¹⁸ Cf. *Psychology and Alchemy*, par. 484. Also *Aurora Consurgens*, p. 57: ". . . the shadow of death, for a tempest hath overwhelmed me; then before me shall the Ethiopians fall down and my enemies shall lick my earth." * Cf. Origen, *De oratione*, 27, 12 (Migne, P.G., vol. 11, cols. 514f.): "He who participates in 'the

Perpetuae,"²¹⁹ who from the Christian point of view is the devil. He is the activated darkness of matter, the *umbra Solis* (shadow of the sun), which represents the virginal-maternal *prima materia*. When the doctrine of the "Increatum"²²⁰ began to play a role in alchemy during the sixteenth century, it gave rise to a dualism which might be compared with the Manichaean teaching.²²¹

- 33 In the Manichaean system matter (*hyle*) is personified by the dark, fluid, human body of the evil principle. As St. Augustine says, the substance of evil "had its own hideous and formless bulk, either gross which they called earth, or thin and tenuous like the air; for they imagine it to be some malignant mind creeping over the earth."²²² The Manichaean doctrine of the Anthropos shares the dual form of its Christ figure with alchemy, in so far as the latter also has a dualistic redeemer: Christ as saviour of man (Microcosm), and the lapis Philosophorum as saviour of the Macrocosm. The doctrine presupposes on the one hand a Christ incapable of suffering (*impatibilis*), who takes care of souls, and on the other hand a Christ capable of suffering (*patibilis*),²²³ whose role is something like that of a *spiritus vegetativus*, or of Mercurius.²²⁴ This spirit is imprisoned in the body of the princes of darkness and is freed as follows by angelic beings who dwell in the sun and moon: assuming alternately male and female form they excite the desires of the wicked and cause them to break out in a sweat of fear, which falls upon the

dragon' is none other than 'the Ethiopian' spiritually, himself changed into a serpent." * (*Alexandrian Christianity*, trans. by Oulton and Chadwick, p. 301). Epiphanius, *Panarium*, XXVI, 16 (ed. by Holl, I, p. 296) speaks of the "Aethiopes denigrati peccato" (Ethiopians blackened by sin).

²¹⁹ *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitas*, ed. by van Beek, pp. 26f. Cf. also M.-L. von Franz's "Passio Perpetuae," in *Aion* (Swiss edn., pp. 389ff.).

²²⁰ Cf. Paracelsus, "Philosophia ad Athenienses" (Sudhoff, XIII, pp. 390f.); Dorn, "Physica genesis," *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 380, and *Psychology and Alchemy*, pars. 430ff.

²²¹ Cf. "the unbegotten father, the unbegotten earth, and the unbegotten air" of the Manichaeans (Augustine, *De Actis cum Felice*, I, 18; Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 42, col. 532), mentioned by Bardesanes and Marinus (Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 97) and by Hermogenes: "God created all things from coexistent and ungenerated matter." * (Hippolytus, *Elenchos*, VIII, 17, 1.)

²²² *Confessions*, V, 10 (trans. by Sheed, p. 75).

²²³ Augustine, *Reply to Faustus*, XX, 2 (trans. by Stothert and others, p. 253).

²²⁴ Walch, *Entwurf einer vollständigen Historie der Ketzereien*, I, p. 753.

earth and fertilizes the vegetation.²²⁵ In this manner the heavenly light-material is freed from the dark bodies and passes into plant form.²²⁶

- 34 The inflammation by desire has its analogy in the alchemist's gradual warming of the substances that contain the arcanum: Here the symbol of the sweat-bath plays an important role, as the illustrations show.²²⁷ Just as for the Manichaeans the sweat of the archons signified rain,²²⁸ so for the alchemists sweat meant dew.²²⁹ In this connection we should also mention the

²²⁵ Augustine, "The Nature of the Good," 44 (*Earlier Writings*, trans. by Burleigh, p. 344).

²²⁶ Cf. *Faust* II, the angel scene at Faust's death. Mephistopheles is addressing the angels:

"Us spirits you call damned, and look askance.
Witch-masters, you, par excellence;
For men and maid you lead astray.
What an adventure curst and dire!
Is this love's elemental game?"

(*Faust, Part Two*, trans. by Wayne, p. 277.)

²²⁷ Maier, *Scrut. chymicum*, pp. 82ff. Laurentius Ventura, "De ratione conficiendi Lapidis," *Theatr. chem.*, II, p. 293: "The stone . . . begins to sweat because of the narrowness of its prison." *

²²⁸ Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, IX: "This prince sweats because of his tribulation, and his sweat is rain." * Christensen ("Les Types du premier Homme et du premier Roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens," p. 16) quotes from the Bundahishn (3, 19) that Ormuzd fashioned a "shining youth" from his sweat and that the first men were made from the sweat of Ymir (p. 35). According to Arabic tradition, Ormuzd sweated because of his "doubting thought" (cf. my "Answer to Job," par. 579); from this doubting thought came Ahriman, and from his sweat Gayomart. In ancient Egypt, the gods of the seasons brought forth the harvest with the sweat of Osiris' hands (Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, Intro., pp. lxviii). Dorn ("Congeries Paracelsicae," *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 584) has the following remarkable passage on the lapis: "In its last operations . . . a dark liquid, ruddy like blood, drips from the matter and its vessel; whence they predicted that in the last days there would come upon the earth a most pure man, through whom would be brought about the liberation of the world, and that he would give forth drops of blood of a rose-red hue, whereby the world would be redeemed from the fall." * Cf. my "The Philosophical Tree," pars. 383ff.

²²⁹ "And Marcus says, They conceive in the baths, signifying the gentle and damp heat of the baths in which the stone sweats when it begins to dissolve" * ("Consil. coniugii," *Ars chemica*, p. 167.) This passage is a commentary on Senior, *De chemia*, p. 79. The "Epistola ad Hermannum," *Theatr. chem.*, V, p. 894, says: "Then the most perfect body is taken and applied to the fire of the Philosophers; then . . . that body becomes moist, and gives forth a kind of bloody sweat after the putrefaction and mortification, that is, a Heavenly Dew, and this dew is called the Mercury of the Philosophers, or Aqua Permanens." * Cf. the Creator making

strange legend reported in the *Acta Archelai*, concerning the apparatus which the "son of the living Father" invented to save human souls. He constructed a great wheel with twelve buckets which, as they revolved, scooped up the souls from the deep and deposited them on the moon-ship.²³⁰ In alchemy the *rota* is the symbol of the *opus circulatorium*. Like the alchemists, the Manichaeans had a "virago," the male virgin Joel,²³¹ who gave Eve a certain amount of the light-substance.²³² The role she plays in regard to the princes of darkness corresponds to that of Mercurius duplex, who like her sets free the secret hidden in matter, the "light above all lights," the *filius philosophorum*. I would not venture to decide how much in these parallels is to be ascribed directly to Manichaean tradition, how much to indirect influence, and how much to spontaneous revival.

- 35 Our starting-point for these remarks was the designation of the lapis as "orphan," which Dorn mentions apparently out of the blue when discussing the union of opposites. The material we have adduced shows what an archetypal drama of death and rebirth lies hidden in the coniunctio, and what immemorial human emotions clash together in this problem. It is the moral task of alchemy to bring the feminine, maternal background of the masculine psyche, seething with passions, into harmony with the principle of the spirit—truly a labour of Hercules! In Dorn's words:

Learn therefore, O Mind, to practise sympathetic love in regard to thine own body, by restraining its vain appetites, that it may be apt with thee in all things. To this end I shall labour, that it may drink with thee from the fountain of strength,²³³ and, when the two are made one, that ye find peace in their union. Draw nigh, O Body, to this fountain, that with thy Mind thou mayest drink to satiety and hereafter thirst no more after vanities. O wondrous efficacy of this fount, which maketh one of two, and peace between enemies! The fount of love can make *mind* out of spirit and soul, but this maketh *one man* of mind and body.²³⁴

the first men out of sweat in Eliade (*Shamanism*, p. 334 n.), who mentions this in connection with the sweat-bath.

²³⁰ Text in *Psychology and Alchemy*, par. 469, n. 110.

²³¹ A parallel to Barbelo.

²³² "And when it appears, it is as a comely woman to men, but to women it has the appearance of a beautiful and desirable youth." * (*Acta Archelai*, IX.)

²³³ "Est hominum virtus fides vera" (the strength of man is true faith). Dorn, "Speculativa philosophia," *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 298.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

II

THE PARADOXA

1. THE ARCANE SUBSTANCE AND THE POINT

36 The tremendous role which the opposites and their union play in alchemy helps us to understand why the alchemists were so fond of paradoxes. In order to attain this union, they tried not only to visualize the opposites together but to express them in the same breath.¹ Characteristically, the paradoxes cluster most thickly round the arcane substance, which was believed to contain the opposites in uncombined form as the prima materia, and to amalgamate them as the lapis Philosophorum. Thus the lapis² is called on the one hand base, cheap, immature, volatile, and on the other hand precious, perfect, and solid; or the prima materia is base and noble,³ or precious and *parvi momenti* (of little moment). The materia is visible to all eyes, the whole world sees it, touches it, loves it, and yet no one knows it.⁴ "This

¹ Cf. Bonus, "Pretiosa margarita novella," *Theatr. chem.*, V, pp. 66of.: "The philosophers of old saw that this stone in its birth and sublimation . . . could be compared in parables . . . with all things that are in the world, whether bodily or intellectual. Wherefore whatever they are able to say and declare concerning virtues and vices, concerning the heavens and all things corporeal or incorporeal, the creation of the world . . . and of all the elements . . . and concerning corruptible and incorruptible, visible and invisible things, spirit and soul and body . . . and concerning life and death, good and evil, truth and falsehood, unity and multiplicity, poverty and riches, that which flies and that which flies not, war and peace, conqueror and conquered, toil and repose, sleep and waking, conception and birth, childhood and old age, male and female, strong and weak, white and red and all colours, hell and the pit and their darkness and their sulphurous fires, and also concerning paradise and its sublimity, its light and beauty, and its inestimable glory, and in short concerning those things that are and those that are not, those which may be spoken of and those which may not be spoken of, all these things they are able to say of this worshipful stone." *

² By "lapis" is meant both the initial material, the prima materia, and the end-product of the opus, the lapis in its strict sense.

³ Or again, the filius is "vilis et carior" (base and more dear). "Consil. coniugii," *Ars chemica*, p. 150. Cf. Senior, *De chemia*, p. 11.

⁴ "Tractatus aureus," *Mus. herm.*, p. 10 (Waite, I, p. 13).

stone therefore is no stone,"⁵ says the *Turba*, "that thing is cheap and costly, dark, hidden, and known to everyone, having one name and many names."⁶ The stone is "thousand-named" like the gods of the mystery religions, the arcane substance is "One and All" (*ἐν τὸ πᾶν*). In the treatise of Komarios, where "the philosopher Komarios teaches the Philosophy to Cleopatra," it is said: "He showed with his hand the unity of the whole."⁷ Pelagios asks: "Why speak ye of the manifold matter? The substance of natural things is one, and of one nature that which conquers all."⁸

- 37 Further paradoxes: "I am the black of the white and the red of the white and the yellow of the red";⁹ or "The principle of the art is the raven, who flies without wings in the blackness of night and in the brightness of day."¹⁰ The stone is "cold and moist in its manifest part, and in its hidden part is hot and dry."¹¹ "In lead is the dead life,"¹² or "Burn in water and wash in fire."¹³ The "*Allegoriae sapientum*" speak of two figures, one of which is "white and lacking a shadow, the other red and lacking the redness."¹⁴ A quotation from "Socrates" runs: "Seek the coldness of the moon and ye shall find the heat of the sun."¹⁵ The opus is said to be "a running without running, moving without motion."¹⁶ "Make mercury with mercury."¹⁷ The philosophical tree has its roots in the air¹⁸ (this is probably a reference to the tree of the Sefiroth). That paradox and ambivalence are the keynotes of the whole work is shown by *The Chymical Wedding*: over the main portal of the castle two words are written: "Congratulor, Condoleo."¹⁹

- 38 The paradoxical qualities of Mercurius have already been discussed in a separate study.²⁰ As Mercurius is the principal

⁵ Cf. the "body that is not a body," in "Rosinus ad Euthicium," *Art. aurif.*, I, p. 249.

⁶ Sermo XIII, Ruska, p. 122.*

⁷ Berthelot, *Alch. grecs*, IV, xx, 3. (MS. 2252, Bibl. Nat., Paris.)

⁸ Ibid., IV, i, 7.* ⁹ *Ros. phil.*, *Art. aurif.*, II, p. 258.

¹⁰ "Tractatus aureus," *Ars chemica*, p. 12. ¹¹ *Ros. phil.*, *Art. aurif.*, II, p. 259.

¹² Mylius, *Phil. ref.*, p. 269. ¹³ *Ros. phil.*, p. 269.

¹⁴ *Theatr. chem.*, V, p. 67. ¹⁵ Ibid., p. 87.

¹⁶ "Tractatus Aristotelis," *Theatr. chem.*, V, p. 886.*

¹⁷ Khunrath, *Von hylealischen Chaos*, p. 224, and others.*

¹⁸ "Gloria mundi," *Mus. herm.*, p. 270 (Waite, I, p. 218).

¹⁹ Trans. by Foxcroft, p. 30.

²⁰ "The Spirit Mercurius," pars. 255ff.

name for the arcane substance, he deserves mention here as the paradox *par excellence*. What is said of him is obviously true of the lapis, which is merely another synonym for the "thousand-named" arcane substance. As the "Tractatus aureus de Lapide" says: "Our matter has as many names as there are things in the world."²¹ The arcane substance is also synonymous with the Monad and the Son of Man mentioned in Hippolytus:

Monoïmos . . . thinks that there is some such Man of whom the poet speaks as Oceanus, when he says: Oceanus, origin of gods and origin of men.²² Putting this into other words, he says that the Man is all, the source of the universe, unbegotten, incorruptible, everlasting; and that there is a Son of the aforesaid Man, who is begotten and capable of suffering, and whose birth is outside time, neither willed nor predetermined. . . .²³ This Man is a single Monad, uncompounded and indivisible, yet compounded and divisible; loving and at peace with all things yet warring with all things and at war with itself in all things; unlike and like itself, as it were a musical harmony containing all things; . . . showing forth all things and giving birth to all things. It is its own mother, its own father, the two immortal names. The emblem of the whole man (τελείου ἀνθρώπου), says Monoïmos, is the jot or tittle.²⁴ This one tittle is the uncompounded, simple, unmixed Monad, having its composition from nothing whatsoever, yet composed of many forms, of many parts. That single, undivided jot is the many-faced, thousand-eyed, and thousand-named jot of the iota. This is the emblem of that perfect and invisible Man. . . . The Son of the Man is the one iota, the one jot flowing from on high, full and filling all things, containing in himself everything that is in the Man, the Father of the Son of the Man.²⁵

²¹ *Mus. herm.*, p. 10 (Waite, I, p. 13).*

²² A condensation of the Iliad, XIV, 201 and 246: "I am going to the ends of the fruitful earth to visit Ocean, the forbear of the gods, and Mother Tethys . . . even Ocean Stream himself, who is the forbear of them all." (Trans. by Rieu, pp. 262f.)

²³ *Elenchos* VIII, 12, 2ff. (Cf. Legge trans., *Philosophumena*, II, p. 107.)

²⁴ The iota, the smallest Greek character, corresponding to our "dot" (which did not exist in Greek). Cf. Luke 16 : 17: "And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass than one tittle of the law to fall." *

²⁵ *Elenchos* VIII, 12, 5ff. (Legge, II, pp. 107f.). All this is a Gnostic paraphrase of John 1 and at the same time a meaningful exposition of the psychological self. In Jewish tradition Adam signifies, not a letter, but only the small hook at the top of the Yod (י). (*Shaare Kedusha*, III, 1, cited in *Encycl. Judaica*, s.v. "Adam Kadmon.")

39 The alchemists seem to have visualized their lapis or prima materia in a similar manner. At any rate they were able to cap the paradoxes of Monoïmos. Thus they said of Mercurius: "This spirit is generated from the substances of the sea²⁶ and calls himself moist, dry, and fiery,"²⁷ in close agreement with the invocation to Hermes in the magic papyrus entitled "The Secret Inscription," where Hermes is addressed as a "damp-fiery-cold spirit" (ὑδροπυρινοψυχρὸν πνεῦμα).²⁸

40 The mystery of the smallest written sign, the point, is also known to alchemy. The point is the symbol of a mysterious creative centre in nature. The author of the "Novum lumen"²⁹ admonishes his reader:

But you, dear reader, you will have above all to consider the point in nature . . . and you need nothing else, but take care lest you seek that point in the vulgar metals, where it is not. For these metals, the common gold more especially, are dead. But our metals are alive, they have a spirit, and they are the ones you must take. For know that fire is the life of the metals.

The point is identical with the prima materia of the metals, which is a "fatty water" (*aqua pinguis*), the latter being a product of the moist and the hot.

41 John Dee (1527–1607) speculates as follows: "It is not unreasonable to suppose, that by the four straight lines which run in opposite directions from a single, individual point, the mystery of the four elements is indicated." According to him, the quaternity consists of four straight lines meeting in a right angle. "Things and beings have their first origin in the point and the monad."³⁰ The centre of nature is "the point originated by God,"³¹ the "sun-point" in the egg.³² This, a commentary on the

²⁶ Pernety (*Dict. mytho-hermétique*, p. 293, s.v. "mer") says of the "sea" of the alchemists: "Their sea is found everywhere, and the sages navigate it with a calmness which is not altered by winds or tempests. Their sea in general is the four elements, in particular it is their mercury." Cf. *Psychology and Alchemy*, par. 57, n. 1, and par. 265. For the "man from the sea" cf. II Esdras (Apoc.) 11 and 13, fifth and sixth visions.

²⁷ Mylius, *Phil. ref.*, p. 192.*

²⁸ Pap. IV, lines 1115ff. Preisendanz, *Pap. Graec. Magicae*, I, p. 110.

²⁹ *Mus. herm.*, p. 559 (Waite, II, p. 89).

³⁰ "Monas hieroglyphica," *Theatr. chem.*, II, p. 218.*

³¹ *Mus. herm.*, p. 59.

³² "Consil. coniugii," *Arts chemica*, pp. 95 and 125: "Punctus Solis in medio rubeus"

Turba says, is the "germ of the egg in the yolk."³³ Out of this little point, says Dorn in his "Physica Genesis," the wisdom of God made with the creative Word the "huge machine" of the world.³⁴ The "Consilium coniugii" remarks that the point is the chick (*pullus*).³⁵ Mylius adds that this is the bird of Hermes,³⁶ or the spirit Mercurius. The same author places the soul in the "midpoint of the heart" together with the spirit, which he compares with the angel who was "infused with the soul at this point" (i.e., in the womb).³⁷ Paracelsus says that the "anima iliastris" dwells in the fire in the heart. It is "incapable of suffering," whereas the "anima cagastis" is capable of suffering and is located in the water of the pericardium.³⁸ Just as earth corresponds to the triangle and water to the line, so fire corresponds

(the sun-point in the midst of the yolk). Yolk corresponds to fire. "In the midst of the yolk" is the *quintum elementum*, the quintessence, from which will grow the chick. Cf. Mylius, *Phil. ref.*, p. 145.

³³ "The sun-point is the germ of the egg, which is in the yolk, and that germ is set in motion by the hen's warmth." * Codex Berolinensis Latinus 532, fol. 154v. Ruska, *Turba*, p. 94.

³⁴ *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 382: "O wondrous wisdom, which by a word alone was able to bring into being every part of the vast and weighty mass of this huge machine that hath been made since the creation." *

³⁵ *Ars chemica*, p. 95.

³⁶ Mylius, *Phil. ref.*, p. 131.

³⁷ P. 21. Here Mylius mentions the "crime of the spirit," from an anonymous treatise ("Liber de arte chymica incerti authoris," *Art. aurif.*, I, pp. 613f.). The crime of the spirit was that the spirit brought about the fall of the soul. It says to the soul: "I will bring thee to eternal death, to hell and the house of darkness. To whom the soul: My spirit, why dost thou not return me to that breast wherefrom by flattery thou didst take me? I thought thou wert bound to me by necessity. But I am thy friend, and I will conduct thee to eternal glory." * "I will do so indeed, but alas, I am compelled to go away, though I will set thee above all precious stones and make thee blessed. Wherefore I beseech thee, when thou comest to the throne of thy kingdom, be mindful sometimes of me." * This passage points fairly clearly to Luke 23: 42: "Remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." Accordingly the soul, as the *lapis pretiosissimus*, has the significance of a redeemer. The spirit, on the other hand, plays the role of the Gnostic *Naas*, the serpent who brought about the fall of our first parents. The text even says of it: "But if that spirit remaineth with the soul and body, there is perpetual corruption there." * For this remarkable aspect of the spirit see my "Phenomenology of the Spirit in Fairytales," sec. 3, and "The Spirit Mercurius," pars. 264ff., also Aniela Jaffé's comments on "Phosphorus" in "Bilder und Symbole aus E. T. A. Hoffmanns Märchen 'Der Goldene Topf.'" Here the spirit obviously plays the role of a "Luciferian" (light-bringing) *principium individuationis*.

³⁸ Cf. my "Paracelsus as a Spiritual Phenomenon," par. 201.

II. THE PARADOXA

to the point.³⁹ Democritus stresses that fire consists of "fiery globules."⁴⁰ Light, too, has this round form, hence the designation "sun-point." This point is on the one hand the world's centre, "the salt-point in the midst of the great fabric of the whole world," as Khunrath calls it (salt = Sapiencia). Yet it is "not only the bond but also the destroyer of all destructible things." Hence this "world-egg is the ancient Saturn, the . . . most secret lead of the sages," and the "ambisexual Philosophic Man of the Philosophers, the Catholick Androgyne of the Sophists," the Rebis, etc.⁴¹ The most perfect form is round, because it is modelled on the point. The sun is round and so is fire, since it is composed of the "fiery globules" of Democritus. God fashioned the sphere of light round himself. "God is an intelligible sphere whose centre is everywhere and whose circumference is nowhere."⁴² The point symbolizes light and fire, also the Godhead in so far as light is an "image of God" or an "exemplar of the Deity." This spherical light modelled on the point is also the "shining or illuminating body" that dwells in the heart of man. The light of nature is the "radical moisture" (*humidum radicale*) which, as "balsam," works from the heart, like the sun in the macrocosm and, we must conclude, like God in the "supracelestial world." Thus does Steeb describe the δεύτερος θεός, the "second God" in man.⁴³ The same author derives the gold from the dew or supracelestial balsam sinking into the earth. Here he is probably referring to the older formulations of Maier,⁴⁴ where the sun generates the gold in the earth. Hence the gold, as Maier says, obtains a "simplicity" approaching that of the circle (symbol of eternity) and the indivisible point. The gold has a "circular form."⁴⁵ "This is the line which runs back upon itself, like the snake that with its head bites its own tail, wherein that supreme and eternal painter and potter, God, may rightly be discerned."⁴⁶ The gold is a "twice-bisected circle," i.e., one divided into four quadrants and therefore a quaternity, a division made by nature "that contraries may be bound together by contraries."⁴⁷ It can therefore, he says, be compared

³⁹ Steeb, *Coelum Sephiroticum*, p. 19.

⁴⁰ Cf. Aristotle, *De anima*, I, 2.

⁴¹ *Von Hylealischen Chaos*, pp. 194ff.

⁴² Cf. St. Bonaventure, *Itinerarium*, 5 (trans. by James, p. 60).*

⁴³ *Coel. Sephir.*, pp. 19, 33, 35ff., 117.

⁴⁴ *De circulo quadrato*, p. 29.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴⁶ p. 16.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

to the "sacred city," Jerusalem⁴⁸ (cf. Revelation 21 : 10ff.). It is "a golden castle engirt with a triple wall,"⁴⁹ "a visible image of eternity."⁵⁰ "Though gold be mute so far as sound or voice is concerned, yet by virtue of its essence it proclaims and everywhere bears witness to God." And just as God is "one in essence," so the gold is "one homogeneous substance."⁵¹ For Dorn the unity of God,⁵² the "unarius," is the "centre of the ternarius," the latter corresponding to the circle drawn round the centre.⁵³ The point as the centre of the quaternio of the elements is the place where Mercurius "digests and perfects."⁵⁴

2. THE SCINTILLA

- 4* The point is identical with the *σπινθήρ*,⁵⁵ scintilla, the "little soul-spark" of Meister Eckhart.⁵⁶ We find it already in the teachings of Saturninus.⁵⁷ Similarly Heraclitus, "the physicist," is said to have conceived the soul as a "spark of stellar essence."⁵⁸ Hippolytus says that in the doctrine of the Sethians the darkness

⁴⁸ "And therefore it represents the idea of the heavenly Jerusalem," p. 38. Cf. the heavenly Jerusalem as "bride" in *Aurora Consurgens*, pp. 53f., and as the *domus thesauraria* (treasure-house) of the *Sapientia Dei*, pp. 101ff.

⁴⁹ * Cf. the Anthropos symbolism in the Codex Brucianus, *Psychology and Alchemy*, pars. 138f.

⁵⁰ *De circ. quad.*, pp. 42f.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 45f.*

⁵² Nelken reports ("Analytische Beobachtungen über Phantasien eines Schizophrenen," p. 536) on an insane patient with Gnosticist delusions who stated that God the Father had shrunk to a small point owing to the continual emission of his semen. The semen was lured from him by a "cosmic whore," who sprang from his blood when it mixed with the darkness. This is a pathological version of the "vir a foemina circumdatus" ("A woman shall compass a man": Jeremiah 31 : 22).

⁵³ "Congeries Paracelsicae," *Theatr. chem.*, I, pp. 545ff. Dorn is an opponent of the quaternity. Cf. "Psychology and Religion," par. 104 and n. 47.

⁵⁴ Anonymous scholia to the "Tractatus aureus" in *Theatr. chem.*, IV, p. 691.

⁵⁵ Bousset (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 321) says: "The Gnostics believed that human beings, or at any rate some human beings, carry within them from the beginning a higher element (the *σπινθήρ*) deriving from the world of light, which enables them to rise above the world of the Seven into the upper world of light, where dwell the unknown Father and the heavenly Mother."

⁵⁶ Meerpohl, "Meister Eckhardts Lehre vom Seelenfünklein."

⁵⁷ Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.*, I, 24. The *pneumatikoi* have in them a little bit of the Pleroma (II, 19). Cf. the teaching of Satorneilos in Hippolytus, *Elenchos*, VII, 28, 3 (Legge, II, pp. 80f.).

⁵⁸ Macrobius, *In somnium Scipionis*, I, cap. xiv, 19.

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"held the brightness and the spark of light in thrall,"⁵⁹ and that this "smallest of sparks" was finely mingled in the dark waters⁶⁰ below.⁶¹ Simon Magus⁶² likewise teaches that in semen and milk there is a very small spark which "increases and becomes a power⁶³ boundless and immutable."⁶⁴

- 43 Alchemy, too, has its doctrine of the scintilla. In the first place it is the fiery centre of the earth, where the four elements "project their seed in ceaseless movement." "For all things have their origin in this source, and nothing in the whole world is born save from this source." In the centre dwells the Archaeus, "the servant of nature," whom Paracelsus also calls Vulcan, identifying him with the Adech, the "great man."⁶⁵ The Archaeus, the creative centre of the earth, is hermaphroditic like the Proanthropos, as is clear from the epilogue to the "Novum lumen" of Sendivogius: "When a man is illuminated by the light of nature, the mist vanishes from his eyes, and without difficulty he may behold the point of our magnet, which corresponds to both centres of the rays, that is, those of the sun and the earth." This cryptic sentence is elucidated by the following example: When you place a twelve-year-old boy side by side with a girl of the same age, and dressed the same, you cannot distinguish between them. But take their clothes off⁶⁶ and the difference will become apparent.⁶⁷ According to this, the centre consists in a conjunction of male and female. This is confirmed in a text by Abraham

⁵⁹ *Elenchos*, V, 19, 7 (Legge, I, p. 162).*

⁶⁰ This idea occurs in alchemy in numerous variations. Cf. Maier, *Symb. aur. mensae*, p. 380, and *Scrut. chymicum*, Emblema XXXI, p. 91: "The king swimming in the sea, crying with a loud voice: Whoso shall deliver me shall have a great reward." * Likewise *Aurora Consurgens*, p. 57: "Who is the man that liveth, knowing and understanding, to deliver my soul from the hand of hell?" * and beginning of ch. 8.

⁶¹ *Elenchos*, V, 21, 1.

⁶² Cf. "Transformation Symbolism in the Mass," par. 359.

⁶³ Cf. *Aion*, par. 344, n. 147 for a parallel in Frances G. Wickes, *The Inner World of Man*, p. 245.

⁶⁴ *Elenchos*, VI, 17, 7.

⁶⁵ *Von den dreyen ersten Principiis oder essentiis*, ch. IX. (Sudhoff, III, p. 11.) Cf. "Paracelsus the Physician," par. 39, n. 56; "Paracelsus as a Spiritual Phenomenon," pars. 168, 209, 226.

⁶⁶ The motif of undressing goes back to the Song of Songs 5 : 7: "The keepers of the walls took away my veil from me," and 5 : 3: "I have put off my coat, how shall I put it on?" The undressing symbolizes the extraction of the soul.

⁶⁷ *Mus. herm.*, p. 579 (Waite, II, p. 106).

Eleazar,⁶⁸ where the arcane substance laments being in the state of *nigredo*:

Through Cham,⁶⁹ the Egyptian, I must pass. . . . Noah must wash me . . . in the deepest sea, that my blackness may depart. . . . I must be fixed to this black cross, and must be cleansed therefrom with wretchedness and vinegar, and made white, that . . . my heart may shine like a carbuncle, and the old Adam come forth from me again. O! Adam Kadmon, how beautiful art thou! . . . Like Kedar I am black henceforth, ah! how long! O come, my Mesech,⁷⁰ and disrobe me, that mine inner beauty may be revealed. . . . O Shulamite, afflicted within and without, the watchmen of the great city will find thee and wound thee, and rob thee of thy garments . . . and take away thy veil. Who then will lead me out from Edom, from thy stout wall? . . . Yet shall I be blissful again when I am delivered from the poison wherewith I am accursed, and my inmost seed and first birth comes forth. . . . For its father is the sun, and its mother the moon.⁷¹

- 44 It is clear from this text that the "hidden" thing, the invisible centre, is Adam Kadmon, the Original Man of Jewish gnosis. It is he who laments in the "prisons" of the darkness,⁷²

⁶⁸ I have subjected this text to a detailed interpretation in Ch. v, pars. 591ff.

⁶⁹ "Cham" (Ham) means the blackness. The Egyptian is the same as the Ethiopian. (von Franz, "Passio Perpetuae," pp. 464ff.)

⁷⁰ *Mesech* means 'mixed drink.'

⁷¹ *Uraltes Chymisches Werck*, Part II, pp. 51f. This is supposed to be the book of Abraham the Jew which plays a great role in the biography of Nicholas Flamel.

⁷² A MS (*Incipit*: "Figurarum aegyptiorum," 18th cent., in my possession) gives another version of this motif: "There was a certain man, who was of use for nothing, and could not be kept under guard: for he broke out of all prisons, nay more, he made light of all punishments; yet a certain simple, humble, and sincere man was found, who well understood his nature, and counselled that he be deprived of all his garments and made naked." * According to the text (fol. 21r), the undressing signifies putrefaction. Cf. Trevisanus, *Theatr. chem.*, I, pp. 799ff. For the prison cf. *Aurora consurgens* I, Parable 3: "Of the Gate of Brass and Bar of Iron of the Babylonish Captivity." Similarly, in the *Carmina Heliodori* (Goldschmidt, p. 55), the *nigredo* is called a "wall like the blackness of darkness," or a "robe of destruction" (p. 56). This goes back to the ancient idea of σώμα / σῆμα (body / sign). Cf. *Corpus Hermeticum* (ed. Scott, I, p. 172f.): "But first you must tear off this garment which you wear—this cloak of darkness, this web of ignorance, this [prop] of evil, this bond of corruption—this living death, this conscious corpse, this tomb you carry about with you." The *nigredo* is also represented as the "garment of darkness." Cf. *Aurora Consurgens*, p. 59: "He shall not deride my garment," and the parable in the "Aureum Saeculum Redivivum" of Madathanus, *Mus. herm.*, p. 61 (Waite, I, p. 58): "Her garments, which were rancid, ill-savoured,

and who is personified by the black Shulamite of the Song of Songs. He is the product of the conjunction of sun and moon.

- 45 The scintillae often appear as "golden and silver," and are found in multiple form in the earth.⁷³ They are then called "oculi piscium" (fishes' eyes).⁷⁴ The fishes' eyes are frequently mentioned by the authors, probably first by Morienus Romanus⁷⁵ and in the "Tractatus Aristotelis,"⁷⁶ and then by many later ones.⁷⁷ In Manget there is a symbol, ascribed to the "philosopher Malus,"⁷⁸ which shows eyes in the stars, in the clouds, in the water and in the earth. The caption says: "This stone is under you, and near you, and above you, and around you."⁷⁹ The eyes indicate that the lapis is in the process of evolution and grows from these ubiquitous eyes.⁸⁰ Ripley remarks that at the "desiccation of the sea" a substance is left over that "shines like a fish's eye."⁸¹ According to Dorn, this shining eye is the sun,⁸² which plunges the "centre of its eye" into the heart of man, "as if it were the secret of warmth and illumination." The fish's eye is always open, like the eye of God.⁸³ Something of the sort must have been in the mind of the alchemists, as is evi-

and poisonous, lay at her feet, whither she had cast them; and at length she broke forth in these words: 'I have put off my coat; how shall I put it on?' " * (Cf. Song of Songs 5 : 3).

⁷³ Mylius, *Phil. ref.*, p. 149. Similarly Morienus, "De transmut. metallica," *Art. aurif.*, II, p. 45.

⁷⁴ Morienus, *ibid.*, p. 32, and Lagneus, "Harmonia chemica," *Theatr. chem.*, IV, p. 870.

⁷⁵ *Art. aurif.*, II, p. 32. They are bubbles of steam that rise up in the solution.

⁷⁶ *Theatr. chem.*, V, p. 884: "Until the earth shines like fishes' eyes." *

⁷⁷ "Granular bodies like fishes' eyes," * "Aquarium sapientum," *Mus. herm.*, p. 91 (Waite, I, p. 83). "At the beginning . . . like red grains and when they coagulate, like fishes' eyes." * Mylius, *Phil. ref.*, p. 193. The same in Penotus, "Regulae et Canones," *Theatr. chem.*, II, pp. 153f. "When they shine in it like fishes' eyes," * Ventura, "De ratione confic. lap.," *Theatr. chem.*, II, p. 333.

⁷⁸ *Bibliotheca chemica*, II, Tab. IX, Fig. 4. Malus, conjectured to be Magus, mentioned in Ruska (*Turba*) as an Arabian author. Cf. "The Spirit Mercurius," par. 287.

⁷⁹ A free version of "Rosinus ad Sarrat," *Art. aurif.*, I, p. 310.*

⁸⁰ Evidently Dorn ("Congeries Paracelsicae," *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 607) means the same thing when he says of the Phoenix as the transforming substance: "Its fledglings with their beaks pull out their mother's eyes." *

⁸¹ *Opera*, p. 159.

⁸² "Physica Trismegisti," *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 423.

⁸³ Scheftelowitz, "Das Fischsymbol im Judentum und Christentum," p. 383.

denced by the fact that Eirenaeus Orandus⁸⁴ used as a motto for his edition of Nicolas Flamel⁸⁵ the words of Zechariah 4 : 10: "And they shall rejoice and see the plummet [*lapidem stanneum*] in the hand of Zorobabel. These are the seven eyes of the Lord that run to and fro through the whole earth." 3 : 9 is also relevant: "Upon one stone there are seven eyes" (DV). Firmicus Maternus may be referring to the latter passage when he says: ⁸⁶ "The sign of one profane sacrament is *θεὸς ἐκ πέτρας* . . . [god from the rock].⁸⁷ The other is the stone which God promised to send to strengthen the foundations of the promised Jerusalem.⁸⁸ Christ is signified to us by the venerable stone."⁸⁹ Just as the "one stone" meant, for the alchemists, the lapis,⁹⁰ so the fishes' eyes meant the seven eyes or the one eye of God, which is the sun.

- ⁴⁶ The Egyptians held that the eye is the seat of the soul; for example, Osiris is hidden in the eye of Horus.⁹¹ In alchemy the eye is the *coelum* (heaven): "It is like an eye and a seeing of the soul, whereby the state of the soul and her intentions are oftentimes made known to us, and through the rays and the glance [of heaven] all things take form."⁹² In Steeb's view, which agrees with that of Marsilius Ficinus,⁹³ the "coelum" is a "virtus,"

⁸⁴ Pseudonym of an unknown author.

⁸⁵ Nicholas Flamel, *His Exposition of the Hieroglyphicall Figures*.

⁸⁶ *Liber de errore profanarum religionum*, 20, 1.*

⁸⁷ A reference to the birth of Mithras from a rock.

⁸⁸ The heavenly Jerusalem of the Apocalypse.

⁸⁹ This reference is valid if the "stone with seven eyes" is taken not as the keystone but as the foundation stone of the temple. The first reference is to the *lapis angularis*, whose parallel in the Eastertide consecration of the fire is the *silex* (firestone), from which the spark springs forth. Cf. the first Collect for Easter Eve: "O God, who through thy Son, who is called the cornerstone, hast brought the fire of thy light to the faithful, make holy for our future use this new fire struck from the firestone."

⁹⁰ Cf. what is said in "Adam and Eve," pars. 568f., below, about the Cabalistic stone, and particularly about the stone as Malchuth.

⁹¹ Campbell, *The Miraculous Birth of King Amon-Hotep III*, p. 67. According to Plutarch ("Isis and Osiris," 55, pp. 134f.), Typhon, the wicked brother-shadow of Osiris, wounded or tore out the eye of Horus, and this is to be interpreted as referring to the new moon. For the relation between the eye and "Chemia" see the important passage in Plutarch (33, pp. 82f.): "Egypt moreover, which has the blackest of soils, they call by the same name as the black portion of the eye, 'Chemia,' and compare it to a heart." *

⁹² Steeb, *Coelum Sefhiroticum*, p. 47.*

⁹³ *Opera*, II, pp. 1447f.

indeed a "certain perfect, living being." ⁹⁴ Hence the alchemists called their *quinta essentia* "coelum." The idea of a *virtus* is borne out by the description of the Holy Ghost as an eye,⁹⁵ a parallel to the invocation to Hermes: "Hermes . . . the eye of heaven." ⁹⁶ The eye of God emits power and light,⁹⁷ likewise the fishes' eyes are tiny soul-sparks from which the shining figure of the filius is put together. They correspond to the particles of light imprisoned in the dark Physis, whose reconstitution was one of the chief aims of Gnosticism and Manichaeism. There is a similar nexus of ideas in the *siddhasila* of Jainism: "The *loka* [world] is held in the middle of the *aloka* [void], in the form of the trunk of a man, with *siddhasila* at the top, the place where the head should be. This *siddhasila* is the abode of the omniscient souls, and may be called the spiritual eye of the universe." ⁹⁸

47 The eye, like the sun, is a symbol as well as an allegory of consciousness.⁹⁹ In alchemy the *scintillulae* are put together to form the gold (Sol), in the Gnostic systems the atoms of light are reintegrated. Psychologically, this doctrine testifies to the personality- or ego-character of psychic complexes: just as the distinguishing mark of the ego-complex is consciousness, so it is possible that other, "unconscious" complexes may possess, as splinter psyches, a certain luminosity of their own.¹⁰⁰ From these atoms is produced the Monad (and the lapis in its various significations), in agreement with the teachings of Epicurus, who held that the concourse of atoms even produced God.¹⁰¹

48 In his chapter on knowledge,¹⁰² Dorn uses the concept of the

⁹⁴ On the authority of Leone Ebreo, *Philosophy of Love*.

⁹⁵ Garnerus de S. Victore, *Gregorianum* (Migne, P.L., vol. 193, col. 166).

⁹⁶ Papyrus XLVI, British Museum. Cf. Preisendanz, *Pap. Graec. Magicae*, I, p. 194, li. 401.

⁹⁷ Diodorus, *Bibliothèque Historique*, I, 11: "Osiris means many-eyed . . . for in shedding his rays in every direction he surveys with many eyes" * (Loeb edn., I, pp. 38f.). ⁹⁸ Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 333.

⁹⁹ Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *Allegoriae in Sacram Script.* (Migne, P.L., vol. 112, col. 1009: "The eye is . . . clarity of intellect.")

¹⁰⁰ Cf. my "Complex Theory," pars. 203f., and "Nature of the Psyche," pars. 388ff.

¹⁰¹ Hippolytus, *Elenchos*, I, 22, 2 (Legge, I, p. 58): "And that from the concourse of the atoms both God and all the elements came into being and that in them were all animals and other things." *

¹⁰² "Speculativa philosophia," *Theatr. chem.*, I, p. 275.