

THE LOGICAL ARCHITECTURE OF HOMEOPATHY

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Why should we study homeopathy?

We learn from our errors (and this is very useful because, should we learn only from our successes, our scientific progress would be very slow indeed). However, *in order to learn, we should study our errors as accurately as we can.*

Homeopathy is a very interesting and successful error in the history of medicine (we did not yet get rid of), which deserves our attention because of more than a single reason.

A preliminary consideration is the following: a scientific error, revealed by a discrepancy between our hypothesis and our data, may belong to either of two types.

Major scientific errors occur when the fundamentals of our hypotheses are wrong and do not correspond to the empirical reality: e.g. Ptolemy's geocentric cosmology. **Minor scientific errors** occur when our hypotheses, though capturing something of the empirical reality, are not good or precise enough, and fail to agree with (some of) our data: e.g. Copernicus' heliocentric cosmology.

The essential difference between major and minor errors is that, while both cause the theory to disagree with some experiments, *minor errors can be corrected and the original theory can be amended* (e.g. Kepler's revision of Copernicus' theory) whereas *major errors should force us to discard the theory*. Failure to discard a theory flawed by a major error is usually dangerous and may lead the scientist or physician to *professional malpractice*. The science philosopher Karl Popper recognized this distinction when he wrote that the greatest success of a scientific theory is to be superseded by its evolution and to remain as a peculiar or simplified case of a more general one.

Homeopathy is an elaborated theory about medicine and pharmacy, formulated by the german physician **Samuel Hahnemann (Meissen 1755 - Paris 1843)**. The first homeopathic publication by Hahnemann is the *Essay on a new principle for ascertaining the curative power of drugs*, that appeared in 1796 on the medical journal *Praktischen Arzneikunde*; the last is the sixth edition of the *Organon of Medicine* on which Hahnemann was working in the year of his death and appeared posthumously in 1921.

Homeopathy is clearly a major error in the history of medical theories: a dead branch leading to nowhere, and is important to study because of what we learn from our errors. Moreover, in the case of medicine, our scientific errors are dangerous: we may damage our patients, and do even worse: race and racism, eugenics, social darwinism are obvious examples of wrong scientific hypotheses having relevance to medicine. Homeopathy is not as dangerous as other erroneous scientific hypotheses, yet it may delay diagnosis and treatment of diseases, leading to their aggravation; thus the patient should be warned on the potential risks of the practice.



Monumento funebre di Samuel Hahnemann, cimitero Père Lachaise, Parigi (foto A. Bellelli)

Medicine during Hahnemann's life

A common misconception about the history of homeopathy is that it was developed at a time where medicine was primitive and medical therapies were only based on bloodletting and other extremely dangerous practices (the time of "heroic therapies"). Heroic therapies did indeed exist and killed more patients than they saved, but during Hahnemann's active life medical science was quite advanced and by no means was it represented by bloodletting.

Hahnemann's life is coincident with the development of **modern pathology**, from Morgagni's *De sedibus et causis morborum per anatomen indagatis* (1761) to Rokitanski's *Handbuch der Pathologische Anatomie* (1842-46).

Medical semeiology was discovered exactly at the same time as pathology: Leopold Auenbrugger described the percussion of the chest in his *Inventum novum* ((1761) whereas Theophyle Laennec published his *Traité de l'Auscultation Médiante* in two editions in 1819 and 1826 to describe the stethoscope and the findings it allowed.

Fig 1^{re}

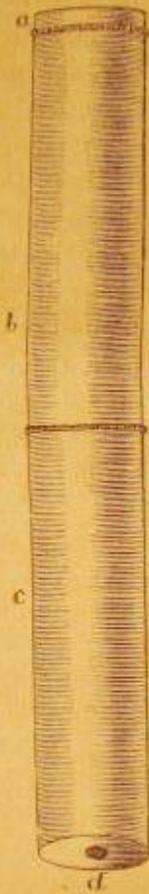


Fig 2

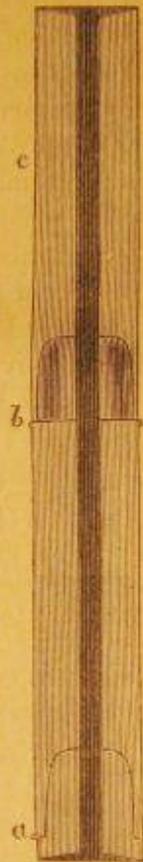


Fig 3



Fig 4



Fig 5



Fig 6



Lo stetoscopio di
Laennec (1819-
1826)

Pharmacology, though limited, was far from primitive, and actually several crucial discoveries were made before or during Hahnemann's active life: e.g. James Lind published his *Treatise of the Scurvy* in 1753, and William Withering his *Account of the Foxglove* in 1785. Both works include fundamental discoveries and the application of crucial methodologies (Lind's work contains a controlled clinical trial, with control groups, on the effect of lemon juice on the scurvy).

Vaccines required a long and complex evolution, of which Hahnemann saw the beginning: the cowpox vaccine against human smallpox, discovered by Edward Jenner in 1776. No other vaccine was developed till Pasteur's studies on rabies, diphtheria and tetanus.

The age of **medical microbiology** was clearly impending, with the *Trattato sulla Generazione* by Lazzaro Spallanzani (1765) and the treatise *Del Mal del Segno* by Agostino Bassi (1835-1836). It is important to stress that the hypothesis of "live contagion" had been formulated one century earlier, by Girolamo Fracastoro.

DEL MAL DEL SEGNO
CALCINACCIO O MOSCARDINO
MALATTIA CHE AFFLIGGE
I BACHI DA SETA

E SUL MODO
DI LIBERARNE LE BICATTAJE

ANCHE LE PIU INFESTATE

—
TEORIA
—



LODI

DALLA TIPOGRAFIA ORCESI

1835

If compared to his contemporaries, Hahnemann represents an antiquate, if not obsolete, stage of medical thinking, with his insistence on therapy and therapy alone, and his neglect of the sciences that were transforming the very concept of disease:

"The physician's highest calling, his only calling, is to make sick people healthy - to heal, as it is termed¹.

1: It is not to weave so-called systems from fancy ideas and hypotheses about the inner nature of the vital processes and the origin of diseases in the invisible interior of the organism, (on which so many fame-seeking physicians have wasted their powers and time). Nor does it consist of trying endlessly to explain disease phenomena and their proximate cause, which will always elude him ..." (*Organon*, VI ed. n.1; translation by Kunzli, Naude and Pendleton, Orion Books, London 2003)

Hahnemann's approach to medicine is in no way different from Hyppocrates' and ignores over 20 centuries of medical thinking; if Hyppocrates at his time was innovative, Hahnemann was obsolete.

Hahnemann's hypotheses

Hahnemann's style is convoluted and his expositions of homeopathy are far from clear and rigorous. However, at least five different hypotheses can be isolated and described as highly characteristic of homeopathy:

i) the **Law of the similes**, often subsumed in the aphorism "*Similia similibus curentur*" (let the like be cured by the like);

ii) the absolute requirement that the **therapy should be "individualized"**, i.e. tailored on the specific patient, under the assumption that no two patients are equal to each other;

iii) the **law of the small doses**, which says that upon an adequate preparation, the more diluted is the drug the more effective its action.

iv) the idea that **drugs are poisons, whose effect is to be studied on healthy volunteers;**

v) a peculiar interpretation of **vitalism.**

HAHNEMANN'S VITALISM IMMATERIAL NATURE OF THE VITAL FORCE

"In the healthy condition of man, the spiritual vital force (autocracy), the dynamis that animates the material body (organism), rules with unbounded sway, and retains all the parts of the organism in admirable, harmonious, vital operation, as regards both sensations and functions, so that our indwelling, reason-gifted mind can freely employ this living, healthy instrument for the higher purpose of our existence." (HAHNEMANN 1842, 9)

"The material organism, without the vital force, is capable of no sensation, no function, no self-preservation¹, it derives all sensation and performs all the functions of life solely by means of the immaterial being (the vital principle) which animates the material organism in health and in disease.

1: It is dead, and only subject to the power of the external physical world; it decays, and is again resolved into its chemical constituents." (HAHNEMANN 1842, 10)

DYNAMIC NATURE OF HEALTH AND DISEASE

An important consequence of Hahnemann's conception of the immaterial or spiritual nature of the life force is that health and disease are not governed by chemical laws or by anatomical structures, and have in a strict sense no material bases; rather the material substrate of our organism is animated, and maintained in a healthy or pathological condition by immaterial forces:

"... what it can be proved diseases are not and cannot be, that they are not mechanical or chemical alterations of material substance of the body, and not dependant on a material morbidic substance, but that they are merely spirit-like (conceptual) dynamic derangements of the life." (HAHNEMANN, 1842, footnote to n.31)

"For instance, the dynamic effect of the sick-making influences upon healthy man, as well as the dynamic energy of the medicines upon the principle of life in the restoration of health is nothing else than infection and so not in any way material, not in any way mechanical. Just as the energy of a magnet attracting a piece of iron or steel is not material, not mechanical. ... The magnet draws to itself and this acts upon the piece of iron or upon a steel needle by means of a purely immaterial invisible, conceptual, inherent energy, that is, dynamically, and communicates to the steel needle the magnetic energy equally invisibly (dynamically). The steel needle becomes itself magnetic, even at a distance when the magnet does not touch it, and magnetises other steel needles with the same magnetic property (dynamically) with which it had been endowed previously by the magnetic rod, just as a child with smallpox or measles communicates to a near, untouched healthy child in an invisible manner (dynamically) the small-pox or measles, that is, infects it at a distance without anything material from the infective child going or capable of going to the one to be infected. A purely specific conceptual influence communicated to the near child small-pox or measles in the same way as the magnet communicated to the near needle the magnetic property." (HAHNEMANN, 1842, footnote to n.11)

We observe that the life forces in the usual view of vitalism theory are **properties** of the living matter, to be compared to the properties of inanimated matter. E.g. This was the opinion of Bichat, a french physician contemporary of Hahnemann. But Bichat was a heir of french illuminism, a very different cultural milieu than the german romanticism of Samuel Hahnemann

In Hahnemann's romantic vitalism, **life forces are causes**, rather than properties and animate the organism. Indeed the idea that nature is permeated by mysterious forces that create bonds and links between men, animals, plants and the landscape is typically romantic and is at the base of the concept of volk.

Hahnemann's version of vitalism is very similar to the one that was common in Romantic circles, where life was imagined as a form of energy. **Mary Shelley** in the preface to the II edition of her Frankenstein novel (1831) wrote:

"Many and long were the conversations between Lord Byron and Shelley, to which I was a devout but nearly silent listener. During one of these, various philosophical doctrines were discussed, and among others the nature of the principle of life, and whether there was any probability of its ever being discovered and communicated. ... Perhaps a corpse would be re-animated; galvanism had given token of such things: perhaps the component parts of a creature might be manufactured, brought together, and endued with vital warmth."

A perplexing consequence of Hahnemann's "spiritual" vitalism, is that diseases lack an organic pathological basis, and consist of groups of symptoms:

"... it is now no longer a matter of doubt that the diseases of mankind consist merely of groups of certain symptoms, and may be annihilated and transformed into health by medicinal substances, but only by such as are capable of artificially producing similar morbid symptoms (and such is the process in all genuine cures)..." (HAHNEMANN, 1842, n.71)

"... diseases in general are but dynamic attacks upon the life principle and nothing material - no materia peccans - as their basis (as the old school in its delusion has fabulated for a thousand years and treated the sick accordingly to their ruin) ..." (HAHNEMANN, 1842, footnote to n.282)

The seat of the vital force is in "the nerves":

"Our vital force, as a spirit-like dynamis, cannot be attacked and affected by injurious influences on the healthy organism caused by the external inimical forces that disturb the harmonious play of life, otherwise than in a spirit-like (dynamic) way, and in like manner, all such morbid derangements (diseases) cannot be removed from it by the physician in any other way than by the spirit-like (dynamic, virtual) alterative powers of the serviceable medicines acting upon our spirit-like vital force, which perceives them through the medium of the sentient faculty of the nerves everywhere present in the organism ..." (HAHNEMANN, 1842, n.16).

THE LAW OF SIMILES

"This depends on the following homoeopathic law of nature which was sometimes, indeed, vaguely surmised but not hitherto fully recognized, and to which is due every real cure that has ever taken place: 'a weaker dynamic affection is permanently extinguished in the living organism by a stronger one, if the latter (whilst differing in kind) is very similar to the former in its manifestations¹.'

1 Thus are cured both physical affections and moral maladies. How is it that in the early dawn the brilliant Jupiter vanishes from the gaze of the beholder? By a stronger very similar power acting on his optic nerve, the brightness of approaching day! - In situations replete with foetid odors, wherewith is it usual to soothe effectually the offended olfactory nerves? With snuff, that affects the sense of smell in a similar but stronger manner! No music, no sugared cake, which act on the nerves of other senses, can cure this olfactory disgust."

(HAHNEMANN, 1842, n.26)

THE CURATIVE DISEASE

There is a paradoxical coherence in Hahnemann's reasoning: disease is an immaterial perturbation of the life force, that we perceive through our nervous system as a group of symptoms (e.g. pain, vomiting, fever, etc.); other organs are not affected.

If a drug-induced perturbation causes a new disease similar to, but stronger than, the "natural" one, the newer disease replaces the older.

The new, drug-induced disease, even though stronger than the old one, can be interrupted by the wise physician, by removing the drug. Healing ensues.

In the living organism a weaker dynamic affection is permanently extinguished by a stronger one, which, though different in nature , nevertheless resembles it in expression. (Organon, VI ed., n.26)

In order to take advantage of this "natural law" the wise homeopathic physician administers the patient a drug which causes an intoxication whose symptoms are similar to his disease. In this way the original disease is replaced by the intoxication, that the physician is able to heal by interrupting the administration of the drug. We may call this practice a therapeutic disease:

So in homeopathic cure this vital principle, which has been dynamically untuned by the natural disease, is taken over by a similar and somewhat stronger artificial disease, through the administration of a potentized medicine that has been accurately chosen for the similarity of its symptoms. Consequently the (weaker) natural dynamic disease is extinguished and disappears; from then on it no longer exists for the vital principle, which is controlled and occupied only by the stronger artificial disease; this in turn presently wanes so that the patient is left free and cured. (Organon, VI ed., n.29)

The hypothesis of the therapeutic disease appears early in Hahnemann's system, being already present in the 1796 Essay on a new principle:

Every powerful medicinal substance produces in the human body a kind of peculiar disease; the more powerful the medicine, the more peculiar, marked, and violent the disease. We should imitate nature, which sometimes cures a chronic disease by superadding another, and employ in the (especially chronic) disease we wish to cure, that medicine which is able to produce another very similar artificial disease, and the former will be cured; similia similibus. (The lesser writings of Samuel Hahnemann, trad. Dudgeon, p.265)

We may follow the evolution of Hahnemann's idea of the therapeutic disease from a possible event (in 1796) to a general law of nature (in the essay The medicine of experience, published in 1805):

When two irritations greatly resemble each other, then the one (the weaker) irritation, together with its effects, will be completely extinguished and annihilated by the analogous power of the other (the stronger). (The lesser writings of Samuel Hahnemann, p.447)

THE EXPERIMENT OF CINCHONA

R. Hahel, homeopathic physician and the first of Hahnemann's biographers, reports that Hahnemann conceived the idea of the therapeutic disease and the law of similes in 1790, while translating a medicine textbook by the scottish physician W. Cullen. Hahnemann thought that Cullen's explanation of the anti-ague properties of cinchona bark was unsatisfactory and started an experiment on himself. He took four drachms of cinchona every day for a week in order to test the effect of the drug. The dose was high and Hahnemann suffered the intoxication we call cinchonism, which looked to him similar to malaria. Thus he speculated that cinchona cures malaria because it causes a similar disease, and the law of similes was born.

Individualization

Hahnemann thought that every disease is due to a non-observable derangement of the life force, whose observable counterpart of is the totality of its symptoms (Organon, VI ed., n.17). He thought that the coexistence of two diseases in the same individual was impossible and self-contradictory, as it would imply two totalities of their symptoms, and based his hypothesis of the therapeutic disease on this hypothesis.

He was adamant in stating that no two patients are equal, because of even minute differences in the totality of their symptoms:

Hence it happens that with the exception of those few diseases that are always the same, all others are dissimilar and innumerable and so different that each of them occurs scarcely more than once in the world, and each case of disease that presents itself must be regarded (and treated) as an individual malady that never before occurred in the same manner and under the same circumstances as in the case before us, and will never again happen precisely in the same way. (The medicine of experience, 1805, in The lesser writings of Samuel Hahnemann, p.442)

The british homeopath R. Hughes, writing some fifty years after Hahnemann's death, remarked that the master's thought had some flaws on this point since it neglected the obvious consideration that there are typical and atypical cases of malaria, that all respond to quinine. He also remarked that quinine is ineffective in cases of recurrent fever of non-malarial origin, that may closely resemble typical cases of malaria. Thus, the fact that two instances of the same disease differ from each other is by no means an indication that they should be considered or treated differently.

To Hahnemann, individualization was the obvious consequence of the fact that no two patients suffer of the same disease and that for the homeopathic remedy to be effective it should cause symptoms as similar as possible as those of the disease (i.e. the drug should be the so called ***simillimum***).

IMPOSSIBILITY OR IRRELEVANCE OF DIAGNOSIS

A very relevant consequence of individualization and of the "no two identical diseases" hypothesis is that the homeopathic diagnosis is not the assignement of each disease and each patient to a class, according to a finite nosography: the homeopathic diagnosis is the detailed collection of the totality of the symptoms of the patient. Some modern homeopaths have stated this point very clearly:

Homeopathy would be an especially appropriate referral for patients in whom a diagnosis cannot be established. Homeopathy's advantage derives from its individualizing the remedy to the uniqueness of the patient's symptoms, bypassing the need for diagnosis altogether. (Gray, Homeopathy: science or mith?, North Atlantic Books, USA, 2000, p.157)

This approach is the cause of the **major risk of homeopathy**: the patient may go to the homeopathic physician with a curable condition (e.g. a cancer in an initial stage, a localized infectious disease, a cerebral or cardiac ischemia), be cured for his/her symptoms while no diagnosis is made, and delay a real diagnosis and an effective treatment till his/her disease has progressed beyond the possibility of cure.

Potentization, or the power of small doses

When Hahnemann first conceived the law of similes, he used his drugs at the same doses of other physicians. However in a short while he started proving new drugs and to play with their dosage. Since his drugs were chosen on the basis of the symptoms they produced, his first attempt was to reduce their dosage, to reduce their toxicity. In order to reduce the dose while maintaining an amount of substance that he and his patients could manage he prepared his drugs in solutions, serially diluted by a factor of 10 to 100.

Hahnemann considered **attenuations** these dilutions and was perplexed to observe that even extreme dilutions did not diminish the curative power of his drugs (we doubt that his drugs had any effect whatsoever at any dose, except their toxicity; thus we are not perplexed by the fact that dilution did not affect the effectiveness of the therapy; if the patient was cured this must have been due to reasons independent of Hahnemann's therapy).

Hahnemann's explanation of the effect of dilution, at the time, was that the dilution caused a minute dispersion of the drug, and thus favored its intimate contact with its targets, the nerves, where the life force is located:

Let this [the solution of the drug] be as weak as it may, in its passage through the stomach it comes in contact with many more points of the living fibre, and as the medicine does not act anatomically but only dynamically, it excites much more severe symptoms than the compact pill containing a million times more medicine (that rests inactive) is capable of doing.
(On the power of small doses of medicines, 1801, in The lesser writings of Samuel Hahnemann, p.387)

POTENTIZATION

At a later stage of his career, Hahnemann became convinced that dilution increased the effect of the drugs, and his attenuations became **potentizations** or **dynamizations**. He had already reached the point at which not a single molecule of the drug was present in the dose of liquid he administered to his patients, thus our point is not the chemical composition of Hahnemann's drugs: we investigate Hahnemann's reasoning. The basic idea underlying the concept of potentization is that serial dilution and repeated succussion (agitation) destroys or removes the material part of the drug and releases its pure dynamic component:

... the smallest dose of a properly dynamized medicine - in which calculation shows that there is only an infinitesimal amount of material substance left, so little that it cannot be imagined or conceived by the best mathematicians - exerts far more healing power than strong material doses of the same medicine. This very subtle dose, which contains almost nothing but the spirit-like medicinal force released and freed, can bring about, solely by its dynamic power, results impossible to obtain with crude medicinal substances, even in massive doses. (Organon, VI ed., footnote to n.11)

So real had become the phenomenon of dynamization in Hahnemann's mind that he warned his followers against its excess:

If we wish, for example, to attenuate a drop of the juice of sundew to the decillionth, but shake each of the bottles with twenty or more succussions ... the medicine ... will have become so powerful ... that a drop of it given in a tea-spoonful of water would endanger the life of such a child ...

(How can such small doses ..., 1827, in The lesser writings of Samuel Hahnemann, p.733)

So astonishing was Hahnemann's claim that the poor english translator (the british homeopath R. Dudgeon) added a footnote to explain that in the german text "***it is not stated that such a preparation did endanger the life of any patient, but only that it would (wurde) endanger it***": nobody was killed by excess dynamization of an homeopathic drug!

The paradox of the potentization of poisons.

There is a paradox in the concept of potentization, that deserves specific attention. The paradox belongs entirely to the theory: it negates other, equally important aspects of homeopathy. Simply stated the problem is as follows: homeopathic drugs are poisons whose scope is to cause the therapeutic disease. The therapeutic disease will substitute the natural disease and is under the control of the physician who can interrupt its course by removing the drug. Healing ensues. Under this premise (the therapeutic disease; the law of similes) it is perfectly logical to attenuate the effect of drugs, in order to reduced the severity of the therapeutic disease to the bare minimum required to replace the natural disease. It is illogical to try to potentize the effect of the drug. Hopefully the whole theory is empirically flawed and its hypotheses do not correspond to anything real: thus dilution, if anything, makes homeopathic preparations innocuous.

Proving

Given that homeopathy requires its drugs to cause symptoms similar to those of the patient's disease, it was imperative for Hahnemann and his followers to test the effects of known drugs and of new substances (most often of vegetable or mineral origin). This practice is called proving. Indeed the law of similes was conceived as a consequence of Hahnemann's proving of Cinchona. Homeopathic provings are tedious collections of substances and the symptoms they cause, and are usually called *Materia medica*. Hahnemann himself published three such collections: the *Fragmenta de viribus medicamentorum positivis, sive in sano corpore observatis* (1805); the *Materia medica pura* (6 voll. 1811-1821); and the *Chronic diseases* (1828-1830). The last two had a second edition each.

Some controversies between homeopathy and medicine

Homeopathy cures the disease, conventional medicine cures the symptoms (and vice versa).

This is perhaps the most classical accusation exchanged between physicians and homeopaths, since Hahnemann's times. Hahnemann accused contemporary physicians to establish diagnosis according to the principal symptoms of their disease, those which are common to most patients (the *communia* of classical medicine). He thought that the disease consists of the totality of the symptoms (the *communia* and the *propria*, characteristic of each patient), and that every disease case was unique. Because of this discrepancy, he thought that only the homeopathic approach addresses the whole disease, whereas classical medicine only addresses some of its symptoms.

Conventional physicians retorted the accusation: they claimed that the disease is not the sum of its symptoms, but their cause. In their view diagnosis was akin to classification, an idea that Hahnemann refused or considered useless. Thus, conventional physicians accused Hahnemann of treating the symptoms, rather than the disease (identified with its diagnosis).

Homeopathy is a gentle and "natural" way of curing

Hahnemann thought that the natural healing process was rarely successful: he wrote that, if our life force were able to overcome the disease we would not even fall ill. He thought that spontaneous healing was not the result of the defense mechanisms of our organism, but rather the effect of a casual and unintended homeopathic therapy (i.e. the patient might ingest some homeopathic remedy with the diet, and be cured).

Hahnemann accused contemporary physicians of trying to imitate the dangerous healing mechanisms of our body: e.g. he accused them of practicing bloodletting as an imitation of spontaneous hemorrhages, or of administering laxatives to imitate diarrhoea. This was a distorted idea of contemporary and classical medicine, which was wrong in a different way: physicians practiced bloodletting because, according to the theory of humors, they thought that blood was in excess in the patient body.

At the origins of Hahnemann's thought

Hahnemann denied any influence of preceding theories on homeopathy; however some influences are evident and have been recognized by a number of students.

The concepts of therapy by the similes and of the curative disease are present (but not correlated to each other) in **classical greek medicine**.

Therapy by the similes is also present in the medical theory of **Paracelsus** (Theophrastus von Hohenheim, 1493-1541), but is not coupled to the hypothesis of the curative disease.

The connection between the ideas of Hahnemann and Paracelsus was first remarked by Hahnemann's disciple Trinks in 1825.

Freemasonry and Romanticism

Before graduating in Medicine at the university of Erlangen, Hahnemann served one year and nine months as the personal secretary of count von Bruckenthal, governor of Transylvania. Von Bruckenthal was a freemason and had Hahnemann accepted as a freemason in the lodge of St. Andrews in Hermannstadt (Sibiu). Hahnemann remained a freemason for all his life.

Bruckenthal private library (of which Hahnemann was in charge) counted 280,000 volumes, and included the works of greek physicians and Paracelsus, together with other esoteric texts as common among freemasons.

Homeopathy clearly belongs to romantic medicine and romantic science. Interestingly, the connections between romanticism and freemasonry are quite strong, and adesion to freemasonry guaranteed the wide circulation of romantic ideas.

Goethe, a contemporary of Hahnemann, who was both a romantic writer and scientist and a freemason, defined Hahnemann "***a new Theophrastus Paracelsus***" and said "***I believe more than ever in this wonderful doctor's theory***". (cited by R. Hahel 1922)