

The Chemical Nuptials

The guests washed at this Fountain and drank also thereof out of a golden cup ; but it does not appear that any great renovation followed. Thereafter a certain door was opened, and the Virgin Guide of the Paths led them up three hundred and sixty-five stairs, following a band of musicians, till they paused under a painted arch and were joined by a notable train of maidens, apparelled richly. The musicians were dismissed ; a bell rang ; and another most beautiful virgin brought wreaths and branches of laurel, which were presented to the guests and the ladies by whom they had been joined—as it might be, unto each visitor his proper dedicated maid. A curtain was then drawn up, and they beheld the King and Queen, as they sat in their majesty in a room gleaming with gold and precious stones.¹ C.:R.:C.: bears witness that the Queen's robes were so radiant that he was not able to behold them. The *Virgo Lucifera*, who presided over the proceedings, presented the guests to that royal pair as those who had adventured thither “with peril of body and life.” They were received joyfully and grace was assured to all. As regards the royal persons, the description baffles the reader. We have seen concerning their state, majesty and in particular the vestment of the Queen. But we are told subsequently that at the western end of the room there were three thrones and two seated in each of them : in the first a very ancient king, whose consort was fair and young ; in the third a black king, of middle age, and by him “a dainty old matron, covered with a veil” ; but in the middle sat “the two young persons, wearing wreaths of laurel,” while “over them hung a great and costly crown.” These were the two lovers, and about them was a Cupid,

¹ The Latin marginalia of the text describes the vestibule of this chamber and the throne-room itself as *laboratorium*, to intimate that the whole pageant of the nuptials concealed—*ex hypothesi*—an experiment in secret chemistry.

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who also flitted from point to point, tormenting all and sundry.

The guests were led forth, after the formal presentation, and C.:R.:C.: records that the youthful royal pair were not at that time so beautiful as he had imagined previously to himself. In a later period of that day the guests were present at a comedy—which was attended also by the royalties—in what is called the House of the Sun. There also was that “unknown Queen” who has been named previously and is to be distinguished from *Virgo Lucifera*. The latter was President and Guide of the guests at large; the former ruled, as we know, over all that concerned the Hermetic Marriage.¹ The play-scene over, its spectators returned to the throne-room, where the evening feast was prepared, and the royal persons sat down to it in glittering, snow-white garments. Notwithstanding the sallies of Cupid, it was, however, a feast of sorrow, fulfilled for the most part in silence. When it was finished, a book—covered with black velvet and gold—was brought to the young king, and this he laid open. By the royal command, an elder of the castle demanded whether the guests were resolved to abide by the King, for better, for worse, and all consenting wrote themselves down in the book, after which the whole company—from the first even to the last—drank the Draught of Silence, like a pledge taken in any House of the Mysteries.

The cloud on the sanctuary of the festival was to be explained speedily, for a bell began to toll; the royal personalities put off their white garments and assumed those of mourning; the guests also were clothed in black; and the room was draped in like manner. The tables were

¹ The House of the Sun was entered in processional form, thus: (1) The Unknown Queen; (2) Six Virgins carrying “the King’s jewels”; (3) the Three Kings, having the Bridegroom in the midst of them; (4) the Three Queens; (5) the Guests and their Virgins; (6) One who is called “Old Atlas” and otherwise the Astronomer.

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removed and the place of banqueting was changed into a place of holocaust. The Virgin President of the Mystery bound the eyes of the six royalties with black taffeta scarves, after which six coffins were brought in and set down, with a low black seat in their midst. A giant negro entered with naked axe and proceeded in a solemn and reverent ceremony to decapitate the kings and queens—male and female indifferently. This terrific pageant began with the ancient monarch, who—so far as alchemy is concerned—may possibly have represented Saturn. The king, who was of a middle age, may correspond to Jupiter, and he suffered in the next place, each presumably with his royal consort. The king who was to come, for as yet he does not seem to have been crowned, must have represented Sol, and I take it that he was last in the sacrifice. The business had been done expeditiously but there was to be yet another episode, for when the headsman prepared to retire he was added also to the shambles. The blood of the kings was received in golden goblets, which were placed with them in their coffins, and these were duly covered. As regards the executioner, his head was deposited with the axe in a certain chest. Christian Rosy Cross adds—not without warrant—that it seemed to him a bloody wedding. But the Lady President bade her auditors rest content, for the life of the victims stood now in the hands of the guests and, if they followed her, “this death should make many alive.”

The guests meanwhile were counselled to seek their repose, for the business of the fourth day was over, and her own part was a vigil beside the bodies. Their respective pages conducted the visitors presently to their proper lodgings. The room of C.:R.:C.: had windows looking on to the lake, and about midnight—he being far from sleep—there was a great glow over the water, and he beheld from afar “seven ships making forward, all

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full of lights." Over each of them hovered a flame, which he judged to be "the spirits of the beheaded." When the vessels had come to land he saw the Queen-President¹ going towards them, bearing a torch and followed by the six coffins, as also the chest. Each of these was laid secretly in a ship; the lights were extinguished, save one for a watch on each vessel; and the spiritual flames "passed back together over the lake." It is said that there were hundreds of watchers encamped on the shore; but as for the Virgin she returned to the castle and carefully bolted up.

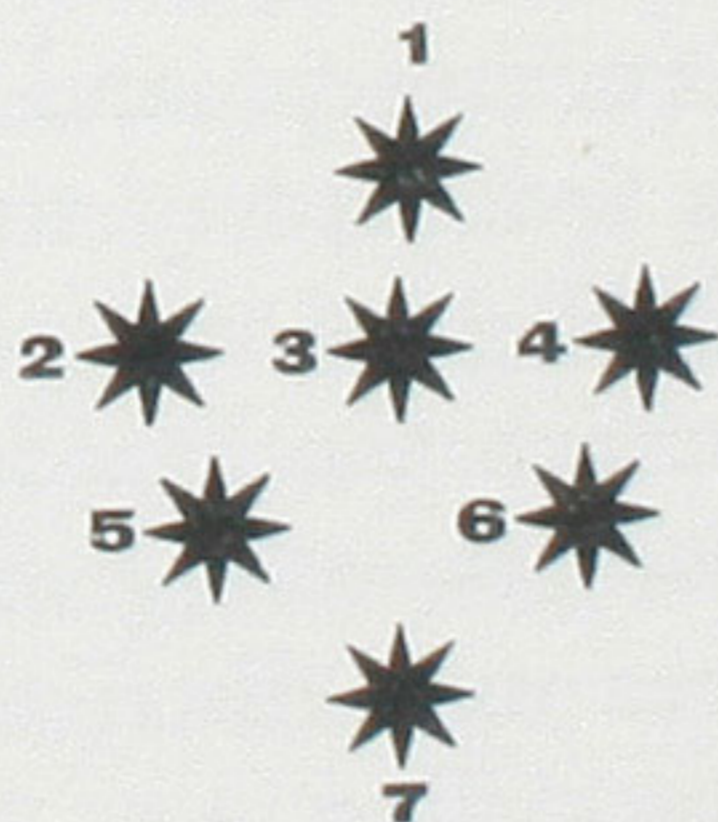
Very early in the morning, being that of the Fifth Day, C.:R.:C.: rose up, and—seeing that no one was stirring—he entreated his page to take him about the castle. In this manner he visited the Royal Treasury, in which—out of common expectation—he found a noble "sepulchre," or rather a triangular monument. "Here," said his page, "lies buried the Lady Venus, whose beauty has undone so many in fortune, honour and blessing." He led him therefrom, through a copper door, far down into the earth to another chamber, wherein was a rich bed, hung about with curious curtains. The page drew one of them, and—looking even beneath the coverlets—they saw the Lady Venus in the incredible beauty of her nakedness. This was a most secret visitation and there was trouble afterwards to keep it in the place of hiddenness, above all from Cupid, as jealous of his mother's honour. Indeed he heated his dart when he found Christian Rosy Cross in proximity to the so-called sepulchre and pricked him with it on the hand.²

¹ Alternatively, *Virgo Lucifera*. The text says merely "our Virgin."

² We hear also of an "unknown tree," the fruit of which fell into a copper kettle and was turned into water; but the heat of burning pyrites caused it to produce new fruit continually. It is said that when the tree is melted down, "then shall Lady Venus awake and become the mother of a King."

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But there was now other business to transact and the President appeared in black velvet with her virgins, whom the guests followed into the court before the Castle. They came upon six coffins, by each of which stood eight muffled men. The guests generally supposed that they contained the bodies of the kings and their consorts, but C.:R.:C.: remembered what he had seen upon the lake. The coffins were borne into the Garden, where a "wooden edifice" had been erected, standing upon seven columns and having "a glorious crown" in the roof. Within this structure were six sepulchres built over six graves, wherein the coffins were laid, the chest containing the head of the executioner being put in the middle of all.¹ After the interment was over the Virgin exhorted the guests (1) to keep their engagements faithfully; (2) not to repine at their pains; (3) to be helpful in restoring the Royal Persons to life; with which object (4) they must accompany her to the Tower of Olympus and bring thence the medicines required for this purpose. They repaired therefore to the shore and found the seven ships, in three of which the Virgin arranged her party; whereupon the voyage began, with the ships in due order, as shewn in the following diagram.



The distribution was as here follows, according to the numbers of the ships :

(1) The Moor or Negro, and twelve musicians; (2), (3),

¹ "Herewith were my companions deceived," says the supposititious C.:R.:C.:, "for they imagined that the dead bodies were there."

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(4) the guests at the Wedding, Christian Rosy Cross being an occupant of No. 3, together with the Lady President; (5), (6) having no passengers, but "stuck about with many branches of laurel"; (7) Forty Virgins in all.

The ships sailed over the lake and then through a narrow arm into the open sea, amidst sirens and sea-goddesses, chanting the victories of Love. After some hours the voyagers reached a four-square island, on which was the Tower of Olympus, by wall within wall environed. They were greeted by the Warden, described as "a very ancient man," and led into ¹ a subterranean laboratory, where they extracted the essences from plants and precious stones, receiving at the end of these labours some scant refreshment, and a mattress laid on the floor for each to rest as he could. But Christian Rosy Cross went out to contemplate the stars, and from one of the walls he beheld not only a memorable conjunction of planets, but the Seven Spiritual Flames passing from over the sea to rest on the summit of the Tower. After this manner the fifth day came to an end in wonders.

Of that which followed on the Sixth it is scarcely possible to speak in a summary manner, as it is exceedingly involved. Above the subterranean laboratory the Tower of Olympus was raised in eight stages or storeys, and—so far as the Guests were concerned—access from storey to storey was through a trap opened in the ceiling. Some performed the ascent by the help of wings which the Warden fastened to their shoulders; to others ladders were given, e.g., to Christian Rosy Cross; while ropes were distributed to the rest and fastened on hooks in the ceiling.

To the seven floors there were allotted seven stages of work, the particulars of which follow: (1) The laborious experiment of ascent from the laboratory or first conclave

¹ In such a manner, says the text, that the coffins were brought in without observation on the part of the visitors.

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to the second or floor above. (2) A period of prayer therein for the life of the King and Queen, performed in separate oratories, after which a great oval chest was brought in, containing the six royal bodies, and was placed beneath a fountain, the waters of which were shut off at the beginning. The Virgin ¹ entered, bearing a casket, in which was the Moor's head. Her attendants carried lamps, and torches were given to the Guests, all present being gathered about the chest. The Moor's head, covered with green taffeta, was placed in a kettle and the liquid essences prepared on the previous day from plants and precious stones were poured therein. The fountain played, and its water was delivered through small pipes into a smaller kettle, heated by the lamps of the attendants. So far as it is possible to understand a confused text, the contents of both kettles "fell in upon the bodies" and dissolved them. The liquid formed thus by the bodies was received in a golden globe, which became exceedingly heavy and was taken out of the chamber with great labour. Thereafter the Guests ascended as they could to the third conclave. (3) They found the golden globe suspended from a strong chain midwise in this apartment, which contained many windows, with polished mirrors between them, "so optically opposed" to one another that the image of the sun, shining through one window, was multiplied everywhere and refracted upon the golden globe, which was thus raised gradually to a desired state of heat. The mirrors were then shut off and the globe was left to cool, after which it was cut open with a diamond and a great snow-white egg was discovered therein. This was carried away by the Virgin, and after a certain space of time the Guests ascended in the same miscellaneous manner to the fourth floor. (4) They discovered herein a great copper kettle, exactly

¹ She is called "our Virgin," but was presumably the President of the Work and not *Virgo Lucifera*.

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square in shape, filled with silver sand, having the egg deposited therein, that it might be brought to perfect maturity by a gentle fire, kindled beneath the vessel. The said condition being reached and the egg removed, a Bird with black plumes broke through the shell and was fed with the blood of the beheaded kings and queens—but diluted with prepared water. It grew in the sight of all, the black feathers being replaced by others of snow-white, and afterwards by yet others, so curiously coloured that there was nothing like them for beauty. In this state the Bird was carried away by the Virgin, and the Guests ascended presently to the fifth floor. (5) The work was now concerned with the bath of the Bird. He was placed in a vessel of water “so coloured with a fine white powder that it had the appearance of milk.” The vessel was heated by lamps placed beneath till the Bird’s feathers came off and the water was turned blue, looking afterwards even as a blue stone. This stone was pounded and the Bird painted therewith, the head only excepted, “which remained white.” The Virgin departed with her Bird, and the Guests were thereafter called up to the sixth storey. (6) In this place the Bird was fed with the blood of a white serpent and then decapitated, the body being burnt to ashes, which were deposited in a box of cypress-wood. Christian Rosy Cross and three of the other workers were driven out at this stage by the door on the pretence that they had proved idlers; but in reality they were led up a staircase to the eighth floor, while those who were left behind ascended to the seventh. (7) The chosen three were welcomed by an ancient Warden of the Tower, to whom entered the Virgin and deposited the ashes of the Bird in another vessel, after which she departed to “cast a mist before the eyes of the remaining artists.”¹

¹ They were apparently set to work in maintaining a furnace and believed that they were much preferred before the other ill-starred guests. A little

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The work of the triad was to moisten the ashes with prepared water till they became a thin dough, which was then heated over the fire and cast "into two little forms or moulds," where it was left to cool. Subsequently the moulds were opened, discovering "two bright and almost transparent little images, a male and a female, the like to which man's eye never saw." They were "limber and fleshy as other human bodies," but had as yet no life within them. Now, the blood of the Bird had been received into a golden cup, and the next duty was to instil it drop by drop into the mouths of the little images which, under this ministration, continued to increase in size; and when all the blood was exhausted, "they were in their perfect full growth, having gold-yellow curled hair." Their flesh was now of a lively, natural colour, though they were still "dead figures." They were veiled by command of the Warden, and in that which followed the Guests had no share. Moreover, the intention on the part of the official *dramatis personæ* was that they should see and understand little. The actors included the Virgin and her attendants. That which took place was the entrance of the souls into their bodies through tubes placed in the mouths, an event which was seen and understood clearly by Christian Rosy Cross alone. He testifies that the souls descended through an open space in the vaulted roof, after the manner of streams of fire poured through the tubes, and thence into the two bodies. This operation or ceremonial was performed three times, after which the now living bodies were placed in a "travelling bed" and curtains drawn about them. They were left to sleep in this manner for a considerable time, but were ulti-

later on, their satisfaction was increased because they had "to work in gold," of which it is said that it belongs indeed to the art but is not chief and most necessary therein. They had also part of the Bird's ashes and imagined therefore that the dead bodies would be raised up to new life by means of gold. Owing probably to a *lapsus memoriæ*, the story does not relate what happened when the two classes of artists were ultimately reunited.

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mately awakened by Cupid, were vested by the Virgin in white garments and seated in certain very curious chairs, where they received the congratulations of all present.¹ It is said that the young King and Queen "imagined that they had slept from the hour in which they were beheaded." In fine the royal personages were escorted to the waterside, where a ship was waiting and presently put forth to sea, the guests proceeding to supper and thence to rest for the night, after their long toils.

On the morning of the Seventh and last day the guests were clothed in yellow garments and golden fleeces, the Virgin declaring that they were Knights of the Golden Stone.² Each of them received also a golden medal, bearing the following inscriptions: on the obverse—*Ars Naturæ Ministra*; on the reverse—*Temporis Natura Filia*. The company returned across the sea in twelve ships, under the care of the old lord. There were guards of honour on board, together with many musicians, and the ships' flags carried the twelve zodiacal signs, the guests sitting under Libra. As they drew to the mainland a great fleet came out to meet them, including one vessel which sparkled with gold and precious stones: it carried the King and Queen, with many lords and ladies of high degree. All were brought to, and then Atlas—on the deck of the royal vessel—welcomed the arrivals in the King's name. The harbour reached and all in fine landed, the King and Queen presented their hands; the guests were mounted on horses; the old lord and Christian Rosy Cross were caused to ride with the King, who saluted the latter as his father.³

¹ There is no suggestion that their extraordinary ordeal had transformed them in any visible manner, nor does any purpose appear to have been served thereby.

² Of which we were ignorant heretofore, says the text in its most banal manner.

³ The reason not emerging in the course of the story, which indeed represents Christian Rosy Cross as chief and most observant, as obviously most favoured among the seven guests, but allocates the vital part of the work to the Lady-President and her coadjutors.

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They reached the first palace-gate, the keeper of which—with whom C.:R.:C.: had exchanged his flask of water against a golden token—now presented a petition, begging him to intercede with the King on his behalf. In this manner it transpired that he was a famous astrologer who had been guilty of a misdemeanour against Venus by beholding her in her bed of rest, as a punishment for which he had been put to serve at the door until such time as one who had transgressed in like manner should take his place. It follows that the petitioner was actually in the presence of his successor and appealing as if unawares to him. Moreover, when the document came to be read later on in the proceedings, it certified that “Venus was already uncovered” by one of the King’s guests. There was much perturbation in consequence, which notwithstanding a great feast followed in the palace, and then the new Knights of the Golden Stone were pledged to observe the following Laws of the Chivalry¹: (1) That they should ascribe the Order only to God and His hand-maid Nature. (2) That they should abominate all uncleanness. (3) That they should be ready to assist all worthy persons who had need of them. (4) That the honour conferred upon them should not be applied to works of worldly pride and ambition. (5) That they should not desire to live longer than God willed. They were installed Knights thereafter, and “set over ignorance, poverty and sickness, to handle them” at their pleasure.

It is said that Christian Rosy Cross hung up his golden fleece and hat in the chapel of the Order, as an eternal memorial. Moreover, as each was required to write his name—in a register, presumably—he set down on his own

¹ It is obvious therefore that the romance is concerned with the Order of the Golden Stone and not of the Rosy Cross. It is merely incidental that the narrator happens—as his name suggests—to be already a Brother of the Red Rosy Cross. The distinction is important and will call for further consideration in the next chapter.

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part as follows: *Summa Scientia nihil scire*: FR.: CHRISTIANUS ROSENCREUTZ, *Eques Aurei Lapidis*. Anno 1459. In fine, a royal reward had been adjudged to each, and each was called upon to prefer his request in private. But Christian Rosy Cross decided on his own part to ask for the release of the doorkeeper, which involved a confession of his own vision of Venus on the fifth day of the Marriage. The King told him that he could not "transgress his ancient usage," which appeared to signify that C.:R.:C.: must take his predecessor's place at the gate, notwithstanding the intimations of the story, that it was chiefly through his offices that the royal personages had been brought again to life.

He was told, indeed, that this was the last time when he should see the King as he now looked upon him, meaning as a guest at the palace. The King took him in his arms and kissed him, and he was committed to the Divine Protection, all of which he regarded as a form of dismissal. However, the Lord of the Tower and he who bore the mythological title of Atlas, conducted him to "a glorious lodging, in which stood three beds." The last lines specify that "each of us lay down in one of them," at which point the narrative closes abruptly in the midst of a sentence, the following statement being added by way of colophon: "Here are wanting about two leaves in quarto, and he (the author hereof), whereas he imagined he must in the morning be doorkeeper, returned home."

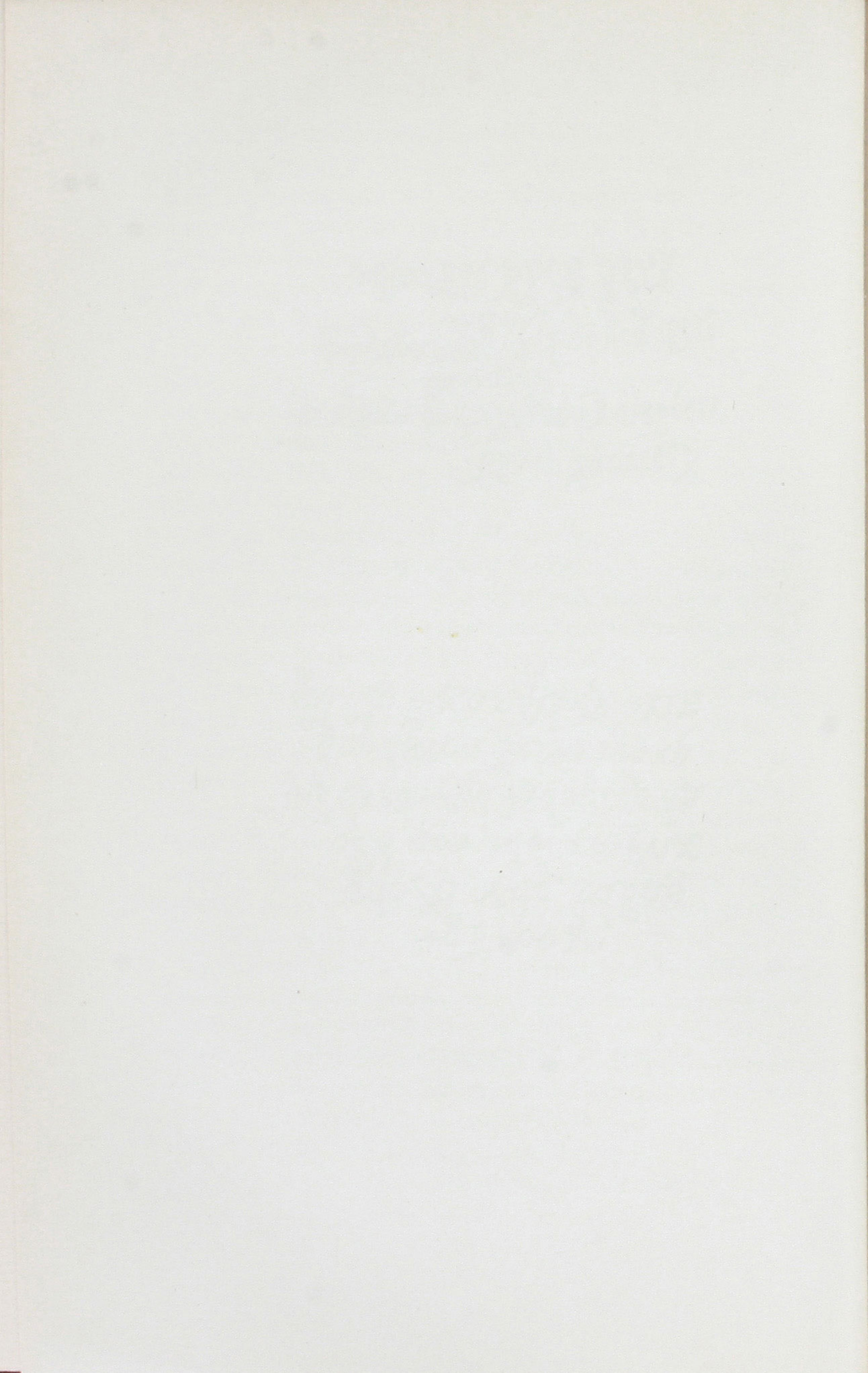
The German occult mind of 1616 concluded that Christian Rosy Cross had attained the secret of the Hermetic *Magnum Opus*, had performed the transmutation of metals with his own hands and had elected to put on record the particulars, including the process, in the guise of an exceedingly picturesque allegorical romance. The promises of FAMA FRATERNITATIS had not been fulfilled in the CONFESSIO; but there is, I suppose, no question that the publication

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 d:zr b: h:ö:ç: ^{VENVS.} f: s: x: w: b: ö: ö: x: ö: a: h: p: ö:
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 g: p: d: s: x: o: h: g: b: x: g: g:

w: x: ö: d: z: p: f: s: v: a: h: g: ö: p: z: ö: p: b:
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of NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ must have raised expectation and desire to a fever-heat—at least on the part of the alchemists.¹ It did not go through so many editions as the two previous tracts, and there was no pretence—as we have seen—of its translation into other languages than the German in which it was written. I do not think—or at least have been unable to trace—that it had even the honour of a Dutch rendering; but more than one laborious commentary unfolded its hidden meaning. For reasons which will appear in the next chapter it is unnecessary to do more than specify therein by title one of these hermeneutical experiments. The question before us is not that of significance but of the tract in respect of its origin: it so happens that the settlement of this point will dispose effectually of the other.

For the rest, the position of NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ on its open surface is—as I have indicated—that of an allegorical romance or parable woven about the legendary Founder of the Order, and it does not contain as such any further contribution to Rosicrucian history. At most it illustrates the alleged fact that C.:R.:C.: attained the ends of alchemy. In reality it embodies an exposition at length of the claim made in the two previous manifestoes that the Adept Brethren were in possession, through the work of their Master, of that Great Secret which is summarised in the CONFESSIO as “transmutation of metals and the supreme medicine of the world.”

¹ Compare Findel: HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY: “The beautiful embellishment of the subject in THE CHEMICAL NUPTIALS caused the desire for initiation to be increased everywhere, especially in the Rhine country, which was the chief seat of the Society.” Reghellini says also in his loose and inaccurate manner that “the taste for occult sciences and theosophy on the part of the R.:R.:⌘.:⌘.: is to be found permeating various German works, which made a considerable stir, especially in England.” The history of occult thought in England is against this view. Reghellini adds that the works in question were the CHEMICAL NUPTIALS OF ROSEN-CRUX (*sic*) and the UNIVERSAL REFORMATION OF THE WHOLE WORLD, by Valentine Andreae.

CHAPTER VIII

AUTHORSHIP OF THE CHEMICAL NUPTIALS

IN the year 1614, when the FAMA FRATERNITATIS created its first public sensation, a young man named Johann Valentin Andreæ, who has been already the subject of more than a single allusion, had attained the age of twenty-eight years, having been born at Herrenberg in Württemberg on August 17, 1586. The family appears to have been rich in theologians and Lutheran pastors. His immediate progenitor belonged to the second category and his grandfather, Jacob Andreas, has been called famous in divinity, while an uncle James is said to have been known through all Germany as a second Luther. Johann Valentin received the elements of his education under a certain Michael Beumler¹ and afterwards at Tübingen, in connection with which we hear of Martinus Crusius,² the preceptor of Simon Studion, but without mention of the latter.³

According to Hofelius, Andreæ fell into bad company at Tübingen, squandering some years of his youth and leaving the university in 1610, full of repentance and hoping to recuperate by travel. This stands at its value and is not exactly borne out in the confessions of his autobiography. In any case he travelled, in and around the year 1610,

¹ JOANNIS VALENTINI ANDREÆ VITA, AB IPSO CONSCRIPTA, 1849. Printed *ex autographo in Bibl. Guelferbyitano recondito, adsumtis Codd. Stuttgartianis, Schorndorfiensi, Tubingensi.*

² *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 9.

³ It seems possible that Studion was an assumed name, though I find no such suggestion in any of the past records.

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visiting Switzerland, France, Austria¹ and Italy. In 1614 he married Agnes Elizabeth, who was a daughter of Joshua Grüninger. The successive appointments which he held as a minister of the Lutheran Church need not detain us. In 1620 he became superintendent of Calva and filled this office for nearly twenty years. In 1654 he died at Stuttgart on the eve of accepting the post of prelate at Adelberg.

There is one other point only in respect of his external life. Having been accused of heresy and of defending the Rosicrucian Fraternity, he issued his profession of faith, certifying his detestation of papal tyranny, the pride of Calvinism, the hypocrisy of Anabaptists and registering his adherence to the Confession of Augsburg. The Rosicrucian impeachment appears to have been passed over, but the connection with the Order which is implied in the charge against him happens to be our sole concern. It takes us at once to his literary output, which was large enough in its way, consisting of numberless little books written in Germanised Latin, with little grace of diction through all their pomp of pages.² I conclude that they have been praised in proportion as they have been read the less by those who have pronounced their panegyric. It has been said that he devoted his learning, talents and imagination to direct his contemporaries into the true path, being that of Bible Christianity. There is no room for doubt; but men of God or men of the Devil, they were one and all an impossible crowd—these *literati* and *theologi* and *philosophi*, in their sacrosaintly fatherland of the early seventeenth century, agaze

¹ This is the fact which lies behind the muddled thesis of Heckethorn, according to which Andreae established "Rosicrucian Lodges" in Austria in 1612.

² Compare De Quincey, following and reproducing Böhle: "Besides Greek and Latin, in which languages he was distinguished for the elegance of his style," etc. etc.

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and clamorous in the aftermath of the garish light of Luther. Whether it is possible or not to say anything in *la grande manière* of literature which shall take people who are disposed into a path of Bible Christianity I do not pretend to know: what is certain, however, is that it was never said by Andreaë. His books—with a single exception which is a thorn in the flesh of my subject—are dull with a dullness which surpasses all vexation.¹ One of them has been translated recently, and those who challenge my ruling are in a position to estimate for themselves the price they might be prepared to pay for deliverance from the yoke of his CHRISTIAN REPUBLIC, supposing that the world were debating its own reconstruction along such lines as his.

I do not question of course that in his day and generation he was a shining light in Lutheran letters and theology: it is the theology and the letters which no light can enlighten and no Confession can redeem—of Augsburg or elsewhere—either in this world or that which is to come. The sin of Luther and the rest of the German Reformers was not their revolt against the Papacy, but their substitution of a religion of lead. It was ingots of lead on the eyelids and lead in the heart and head for the generation which came after and held up cudgels of debate “as a challenge to all the field.” It follows that Andreaë *et hoc genus omne* were products of their period—*infelices theologi*—exponents of a chaotic reform. They are forgotten now, when there is no dew of Protestant praises to keep green their dejected memory. I am not suggesting that Andreaë fell below the better measures of his period: he may rank high in its classes; but there remains the irrepealable platitude of the

¹ Compare therefore *Bruckeri Historia Critica Philosophiæ, Tomus II*, p. 740. It registers that Andreaë was very learned and a very elegant genius. Other deponents speak of his satirical powers and even of his wit. I would persuade the modern reader to draw, if he dare, a few drafts from that Castalian fount in dereliction which is called VITA AB IPSO CONSCRIPTA.

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whole subject—that dullness is still dullness and that its deeps are still the deeps.

There must now be placed before my readers—I mean, those who are otherwise unversed in the subject—an almost incredible proposition, and it is one which cannot be dismissed, unhappily for the romance and mystery-side of the Rosy Cross. With all its banners and pennons, its virgins and light-bearers, its palaces and towers, its astrological ship sailing over Hermetic seas, its transformations and resurrections in parable, its *Equites Aurei Lapidis* and intimations above all concerning the Red Rosy Cross, the author of the CHEMICAL NUPTIALS was no other and more concealed genius than Johannes Valentinus Andreae. It is true that the testimony is his own and is not only devoid of all contemporary support but—so far as I am aware—of all suspicion of the fact. But in *VITA AB IPSO CONSCRIPTA*, already cited, he registers the point, as one speaking in humility concerning a youthful indiscretion, of which he was almost ashamed.¹ He is reciting his early literary efforts belonging to the period *circa* 1602 and 1603, in which he had attained the respective ages of sixteen and seventeen years.² Though enumerated in Latin, it seems fairly certain that most of them were written in German, as their author's native tongue. They included (1) the Comedies of ESTHER and HYACINTH;³ (2) THE CURSING OF VENUS; (3) certain Dialogues, to the number of three, under the title of TEARS;⁴ and (4) THE CHEMICAL NUP-

¹ Solomon Semler did not know the *VITA*, which was still unprinted in his day. He affirms that the CHEMICAL NUPTIALS was written by Caspar Rosencreutz, a man of learning, otherwise unknown, but there was also a Christian Rosencreutz. *ELUCIDARIUS MAJOR* and *ELUCIDARIUS CHEMICUS*, 1617, were written to combine their legends.

² *Jam a secundo et ut tunc post millesimum sexcentissimum æperam aliquid exercendi in ergo rpgeni angre.*

³ As to what remained of these at the time of writing, he says: *pro ætate non displicet*. They were imitations of English comedies.

⁴ The description is: *LACHRYMÆ tribus dialogis satis prolixis*. It is possible that these Dialogues were in Latin.

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TIALS. As to the DIALOGUES he says that *invito me perierunt*; but as to NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ, the annotation is *superfuerunt e contra*. They perished but this survived, "with its foetus fruitful of monsters." It is described as a jest—that is to say, *ludibrium*—and Andreae supposes that his readers will be astonished to hear of its being esteemed by some and explained with subtle ingenuity.¹

The autobiography from which these excerpts are taken was written late in life, and we cannot do otherwise than accept the statement made, for it might be unreasonable to suppose that Andreae advanced a false claim, after the lapse of long years, were he even capable of such a dishonesty, which I am quite sure that he was not.² There would be nothing to gain by assuming such a mask, and, moreover, the publication of his memoirs during his life-time was probably not intended. As a fact they remained in manuscript for one hundred and forty-two years and were issued even then only in a German version.³ The original Latin

¹ His note-books had records of yet other productions, e.g. JULIUS, otherwise POLITIA, in three books, and ASTROLOGICAL JUDGMENT AGAINST ASTROLOGY, the latter indicating his bent against the occult sciences at that early age. They contain, however, no reference to a tract on the Phœnix. Had such a performance been included among his JUVENILIA, it would have helped us to understand the statement made in NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ about a work on this subject having been published by Christian Rosy Cross two years prior to the marriage. Otherwise it remains inscrutable. The Phœnix is a familiar alchemical symbolism and has been said to recur frequently in Rosicrucian literature, which, however, is not the case.

² In my REAL HISTORY OF THE ROSICRUCIANS, 1888, p. 231, I indicated that NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ was incredible as a boyish effort. The difficulties which I felt then remain now; but I am conscious at this day that it is at least equally difficult to suggest that Andreae lied in his testamentary memoirs. I have taken therefore in the text above what seems to me the better part and have preferred the honour of a long departed theologian before the validity of a literary judgment, however strong in itself. I think also that the place of the romance in Rosicrucian debate can be assigned more easily by accepting its author's statement.

³ They appeared in 1796 in Seybold's collection of AUTOBIOGRAPHIES OF CELEBRATED MEN.

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text did not appear till 1843.¹ Evidently he regretted the romance, as shewn by the allusion to a brood of monstrosities which were begotten thereby.² We have therefore to recognise that Andreae wrote in his 'teens a work called CHEMICAL NUPTIALS and in after years at least regarded it as a jest, unless I may venture to render *ludibrium* as a sufferable equivalent of "fantasy."³

We have seen that THE CHEMICAL MARRIAGE was published in 1616, and it goes without saying that it had all the appearance of a third Rosicrucian manifesto. There is no question that it was taken as such by the rank and file

¹ VITA AB IPSO CONSCRIPTA, already cited.

² In his PRONAOS OF THE TEMPLE OF THE ROSICRUCIANS, Dr. Franz Hartmann says that Andreae wrote THE CHEMICAL NUPTIALS at Tübingen in 1602 and (*read or*) 1603—or prior to the completion of NAOMETRIA—and states in his autobiography that "he intended to give a true picture of the follies of that time." No such testimony is borne. The full passage is as follows: *Superfuerunt e contra Nuptiæ Chymicæ, cum monstrorum fœcundo fœtu, ludibrium, quod mireris a nonnullis æstimatum et subtili indagine explicatum, plane futile et quod inanitatem curiosorum prodat.* This has been loosely translated: "After them"—i.e. the Dialogues of LACHRYMÆ—"came CHEMICAL NUPTIALS, teeming with fanciful monstrosities: a playful delusion, which you may wonder by some was esteemed truthful, and interpreted with much erudition, foolishly enough, and to shew the emptiness of the learned." It is obvious that an alchemical romance, whether written in jest or earnest, is not calculated to exhibit a picture of the time, though a romance written on the subject would indicate that alchemy was in vogue. I have rendered *cum monstrorum fœcundo fœtu* "with its fœtus fruitful of monsters," as one who offers a literal meaning crudely. "Teeming with fanciful monsters" is paraphrase rather than translation and inexact even as such. The meaning of the Latin clause is that Andreae's juvenile book of wonders proved a prolific source of other ridiculous inventions—e.g., alchemical commentaries thereon. The passage in any case does not signify an allusion to two works: (1) THE CHEMICAL MARRIAGE and (2) some other production, not named by its title but described as begetting a brood of nightmares—e.g., the FAMA. As one instance of the alchemical commentaries see the anonymous PRACTICA LEONIS VIRIDIS, published in 1619 under the initials C. V. M. V. S. For the rest, it is obvious that the MARRIAGE, published in 1616, did not produce the FAMA of 1614 or CONFESSIO of the following year.

³ Compare p. 46 of the VITA and its reference *ad Fraternitatem Christi* as formulated in his INVITATIO and described as *Ludibrio illi Rosicruciano oppositam.*

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of enthusiasts who had received FAMA and CONFESSIO into their heart of hearts. Whether it was regarded seriously by the better class of expositors on the defensive side may be open to question. It is significant, at least, that it was never mentioned by Maier, among the fervent German apologists, and never by Robert Fludd. One must be cautious about definite statements, but I do not remember that it was a subject of either criticism or allusion on the part of hostile writers—for example, Libavius. Commentaries notwithstanding, it is probable that neither class knew how to regard it, and it was avoided prudently by both—notwithstanding the impression produced on the German world of alchemy.

It is, however, of palmary importance on the historical side. If it was produced by Andreae in 1602 or 1603 as an excursion in the world of fantasy, or otherwise as a kind of hoax, to palm off on alchemists a mere boyish invention as a thing of serious importance, it is to be observed that his production remained in manuscript till he was nearly twice the age at which it was written and that he published it in 1616, unquestionably as a contribution to the Rosicrucian subject of debate. He did this either as one who was working from within the circle out of which the manifestoes came or as one who was without, acting on his own initiative. In either case—according to his personal testimony—it was jest, hoax or fantasy. I can understand the *ludibrium* designation more easily by supposing that he was without and that he issued NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ to confuse the issues of debate. The internal evidence of the text lends colour to this speculation in a rather curious way. The honour conferred therein on those who attended the marriage was the Order of the Golden Stone, not of the Rosy Cross. To this they were bound, this and no other they were pledged to maintain inviolable, subscribing to its various laws. Nothing in the story itself arises out

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of the fact that it is told by Christian Rosy Cross ; nothing again follows from the fact that he called himself a Brother of an Order which bore his own name. So far as the story—under the circumstances of its production—can be said to have any sub-surface meaning, which is of course in pretence only, it belongs to the literature of the Philosophical Stone and takes its place as such among alchemical texts. Supposing that Andreae was not himself initiated—if I may use such a term—however well he may have been acquainted with those who were, and supposing that he regarded then, as he certainly regarded afterwards, the whole movement as a thing of folly, the fact that he had in some pigeon-hole his boyish fantasia may have prompted him to foist it on apologists and accusers as a priceless contribution to the story of the mythical R.:C.: founder. To the words CHYMISCHE HOCHZEIT—*id est*, NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ—of the original title he added Christiani Rosencreutz, with a few lines in the text,¹ and the trans-

¹ I imagine that no one has realised previously the very slender connection between the CHEMICAL MARRIAGE and the Rosy Cross, outside the ascription of its title and its reference to ungodly alchemical books, making use of Divine Emblems. Let us see, however, what was actually done by Andreae if, according to the hypothesis above, he converted it into a document of the Order. (1) He represented C.:R.:C.: as placing four roses in his hat when he set out to attend the wedding. (2) At the Portal of the Hermetic Castle he caused C.:R.:C.: to describe himself as a Brother of the Red Rosy Cross and to be greeted by his own name of Rosencreutz when his fellow-chemists accosted him. (3) Virgo Lucifera is made to ask C.:R.:C.: for the roses in his hat. (4) At the triumphal return to the Hermetic Castle on the seventh day, he and the Warden of the Tower ride with the young King, each bearing a white ensign embroidered with a Red Cross. (5) However, at the end of all C.:R.:C.: writes his name in the Chapel of the Knightly Order to which he has been admitted, the inscription being Fr.: Christianus Rosencreutz, not adding, however, *In Ordine Roseæ Crucis*, but—on the contrary: *Eques Aurei Lapidis*. It follows that THE CHEMICAL MARRIAGE is inwardly, outwardly and only as if a memorial extracted from the chivalrous archives of an Order of the Golden Stone, which was also arbitrarily connected by the fact of its badge with the Order of the Golden Fleece. The latter was instituted at Bruges in 1429 by Philip III, Duke of Burgundy, to commemorate his marriage with Isabella, daughter of John, King of Portugal.

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formation was complete for his purpose. My suggestion is that the original manuscript was interpolated to this extent, that the additions thus made were quite unnecessary to the text, the issues of which are indeed confused by the introduction of matter belonging to the Rosy Cross. If this hypothesis is justified, the later literary history of Andreae in connection with the Order falls into its logical place. It has been pointed out that he never denied his connection with the Rosy Cross, but his unwise act made him the author of its third presumed official document, being that also which was next to the first in apparent consequence. He could not therefore deny, and the whole truth he was apparently unwilling to tell; there were alchemists of the period who might have turned to rend him. Long after only—in the unpublished *VITA*—he registered the bare fact of authorship at a period when the subject seemed to all intents and purposes dead and done with for the time being in Germany. The subsequent publication of this memorial he bequeathed apparently to future generations and the care of time and circumstances. Meanwhile the issue of *THE CHEMICAL MARRIAGE* anonymously in 1616 was followed presently by tracts of identical authorship, whether issued or not under the name of Andreae, in which his hostile and derisive opinion of the Rosicrucian subject appears in unmistakable terms. The Rosicrucian who was not a Rosicrucian, the alchemist who was not an alchemist, the Lutheran theosophist who had no part in the sciences called occult, no doubt repented at his leisure of that which he had done in his haste.

It will be observed that my colourable hypothesis, thus tentatively expressed, accounts in a natural manner for the fact that *NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ* was printed some thirteen or fourteen years after it was written. But I will now take the other side of the question and assume for a moment that Andreae was connected directly with the Rosicrucian

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movement, conspiracy or experiment, *ab initio*. He may have founded the Order or been connected intimately therewith as one of those who did; it may have existed on paper, or he and his coadjutors may have incorporated themselves. He may have written FAMA and CONFESSIO, or he may not; but if not he was one—let us say—of a close corporation from which those tracts emanated. For the moment at least, mere questions of detail do not signify. In any case he wrote NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ when he was sixteen or seventeen, and as I am abandoning for the time being my previous speculation, I will set aside also for a moment that which belongs thereto, the alleged interpolation of this text for specific reasons on its publication in 1616. Now it is obvious that allusions to an “Order of the Red Rosy Cross” in a work of Andreae belonging to the year 1602 or 1603 and written then as a *ludibrium* imply one of two things—either that having for the purposes of his romance invented an alchemical Order of the Golden Stone he added casually thereto, for no reason connected with the story, another fictitious fraternity and that, some ten or fourteen years later, it began to be heard of in the world, issuing manifestoes concerning itself and making great claims; or alternatively that such an institution was subsisting already in the hiddenness. On the side of the first proposition there is whatever we may choose to infer from the decorations which I have cited already as worn by Christian Rosy Cross when he started to attend the Marriage: (1) a blood-red ribbon, cross-wise upon his shoulder, and (2) four red roses in his hat.

Now it so happens that the arms of Andreae, were a St. Andrew's Cross, having a rose in each of the angles.¹ There is nothing in the text to shew that C.:R.:C.: fixed any-

¹ Wigston points out, in BACON, SHAKESPEARE AND THE ROSICRUCIANS, that the name Andreas signifies Andrew, the patron saint of Scotland, to which also belongs the St. Andrew's Cross, embodied in the family arms.

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thing but an ordinary Calvary Cross to his shoulder, and if Andreae was borrowing from his own heraldic bearings it is difficult to see why he dismembered these by placing the roses in the hat of his hero, so the point stands at its value, with perhaps little therein. But if, on the other hand, in the year 1616 he added the Rosicrucian allusions to his original draft, it was natural that he should interpret the name of the Order in the light of his own armorial device. On the side of the second proposition there is whatever attaches to the symbolism of the Rose and Cross in the NAOMETRIA of Simon Studion, and we have seen that this work has certain points of correspondence with the FAMA and CONFESSIO. If, however, Studion can be said to have founded anything it was the *Militia Crucifera Evangelica* rather than the Rosy Cross, though the first may have developed into the second or given birth thereto. Now, there is evidence, as we shall see shortly, in Andreae's TURRIS BABEL that he did connect Studion with the Fraternity of R.:C.:., though the allusion is rather indefinite; and this being the case, it has to be remembered that we are not dealing with a casual deponent, putting speculations on record, but with one who had means of first-hand knowledge and unquestionably knew at first hand. He was either acquainted personally with Martinus Crusius, the preceptor of Studion at the University of Tübingen, or with survivors of that generation; he was acquainted with NAOMETRIA—completed subsequently to his own NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ—though it existed only in manuscript; and he exhausted language in the laudation of Tobias Hess who was connected with *Militia Crucifera Evangelica* and was apparently joined with its activities. It was the comet of a season, for although the memorable REPERTORIUM says that it became a strong sect, we have no other record concerning it; but it is probable that Andreae saw it shine for its brief period in his precocious childhood and

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would remember 1604 when he was at Tübingen or in the society of Hess. In the last place, it is possible and not unlikely that he knew Studion himself, though perhaps under another and Germanic name. If the Rosicrucian claims and legend were hatched under the wings of the *Militia* he would be acquainted with the fact at least: he was sufficiently in the hiddenness of the fact for anything that was going on not to be veiled from him. But as there is nothing to shew that he belonged to the *Militia*, so there is no evidence that he was joined to any Rosicrucian activities which may have emanated therefrom. Were it otherwise, it would seem impossible to account on any colourable hypothesis for the alleged fact that he wrote *NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ*, containing Rosicrucian references, as what he called a *ludibrium*, subsequently, or again for its publication in the high tide of Rosicrucian controversy, unless all the publications were part of a planned hoax.

Now this last thesis has been put forward, with much care and elaboration, by Professor Böhle, whose considerations on Simon Studion have been cited in my second chapter. Both in Germany and among English writers, here and in America, all hostile scholarship has followed the lead of Böhle; but my position is that everything which has been advanced under this aspect of the subject calls to be unsaid. The thesis—made familiar enough by De Quincey—can be summarised briefly thus. (1) That Germany was a prey to enormous evils in the first quarter of the seventeenth century—notwithstanding apparently the great light of Lutheran Reformation and the lifting of the Papal yoke. (2) That a cry for reform rose up therefore on all sides, as for a second and greater dose of the vaunted nostrum. (3) That in spite of his twenty-six years in 1610 and the unexampled precocity which produced *NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ* in 1602-3, Andreae was an inexperienced young man, on whom the fever of reform had

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fallen, and he imagined that it might be encompassed easily. (4) That he proposed to work towards it by means of a secret society. (5) That he travelled in search of like-minded enthusiasts, though it is not added that he found them. (6) That he decided on appealing to the follies and manias of the period, or the passion for occult sciences, especially the transmutation of metals and the elixir of life. (7) That he would collect zealots and enthusiasts in this manner and would select afterwards from among them those who might be fitted for his purpose, this being the quest after true philosophy and religion. (8) That to secure efficiency in his appeal he invented an Order drawing secret knowledge from the East and having already a respectable antiquity of more than one hundred and twenty years. (9) That he wrote *FAMA* and *CONFESSIO*, which were sent abroad into the world, but—for some obscure reason lying behind the hypothesis—without the author's knowledge. (10) That they produced an uproar of hostility, which convinced *Andrææ* that he must renounce, disavow and discredit them, or imperil his ultimate schemes. (11) That being gratified, however, by the universal delusion which he had created, he cast more fuel on the flames by further publications—e.g., presumably *THE CHEMICAL MARRIAGE*. (12) That when he found the delusion growing and taking a firmer root it is said that he was shocked, but apparently all that he did was to satirize the Society in some of his later writings, which are like the tea-pot of De Quincey, unending, *a parte ante et a parte post*, or like a circle, without beginning or end, for their origin is in the cloud and darkness of *VITA AB IPSO CONSCRIPTA*, hinting at things *quæ invito me perierunt*, and their term is in things unknown, which a branch of the *Andrææ* descendants is said to preserve in its archives to this day. I was planning a quest of these once upon a time, but life is short and the art of this kind of research is long and wasteful. I made an end

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therefore by ascertaining that none of the unknown treasures were to the purpose of the Rosy Cross.

Such is the thesis of Böhle¹ in rough summary and I will take it clause by clause. (1) Let it be granted in the first place that evils of many kinds were rampant in Germany. The Church Catholic and Latin had been succeeded by a raging crowd of sects, mostly with knives in their boots and clawing at each other's throats; moreover, the Roman Empire was shaking on the threshold of the Thirty Years' War, so that there was worse to follow, all schemes of further reformation notwithstanding. (2) The schemes were many and were in harmony at one point only, that all of them came to nothing. (3) Perhaps also, whether the persons concerned were young or old, there may have been a general tendency to think that a reformation *coup* could be brought to pass easily: Martin Luther stood alone by his chained

¹ Dr. F. C. Held, the American translator and editor of Andreae's *CHRISTIANOPOLIS*, is not only entirely convinced that the *FAMA* was written by Andreae, but is either unaware that the allocation has ever been challenged or ignores it in his total assurance. He shews no knowledge of the literature or of the debates arising therefrom. The publication of the *FAMA* concurrently in five languages is mentioned as if these versions were ready to the hand of the student, whereas those alleged to exist in Latin, French and Italian are utterly speculative, or have been cited in any case by persons who have never seen them. That he should justify *CHRISTIANOPOLIS* itself is obvious and reasonable enough, but the alleged attempt to class it with the *FAMA* as to intent and scheme is a travesty on the serious criticism of a very difficult subject. *CIVITAS SOLIS*, the *NEW ATLANTIS* and *CHRISTIANOPOLIS*—with all their differences—abide on a common ground, being all philosophical, ideal commonwealths. Moreover, they share in common an atmosphere of utter artificiality, apart from a single gleam of likelihood. The least preposterous of all is possibly the imaginative excursion of Francis Bacon, which had the good fortune to escape completion. The prototype of all is the *UTOPIA* of Sir Thomas More. On the other hand, the *FAMA* relates the obscure beginnings of a supposititious secret society: it is neither of commonwealths nor empires, has no direct eye on the seat of government and no avowed concern with the body politic, except in so far as it might be ameliorated by the substitution of alleged Arabian occultism for the methods of art and science in the Holy Roman Empire. I should add that the ill-starred analogy is not instituted to sustain a claim of authorship, but as a literary point of view which has occurred to the translator.

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Bible and alone he shook the Papacy. (4) There is the fullest evidence in his writings that Andreae saw the evils, with a great longing to reconstruct Society, German philosophy and even German religion, or at least its screaming sects : there is no evidence at all that he ever dreamed of doing so by means of secret societies. His projected *Fraternitas Christi* was neither to be a secret order like later Masonry nor an occult order like the Rosy Cross. (5) He did not travel in search of collaborators, for he was at the University of Tübingen till 1610, in which year—as we know quite certainly—Adam Haselmeyer already had a written copy of the FAMA, he being then in the Tyrol. On the contrary, Andreae—as we have seen—travelled in search of health. (6) For his alleged decision to utilise the follies of the period there is of course no other foundation than the dream of Böhle. (7) It did not occur to this German Professor that the occult zanies and impostors whom Andreae despised and denounced were neither likely to be sought by him nor to provide material for his purpose, at least by his own hypothesis. (8) Those who affirm, like Böhle, that Andreae invented the legend of Christian Rosy Cross affirm obviously that he was a liar and a literary cheat. (9) They have never produced a single point of fact to support their hypothesis, the alleged similarity of literary style between the FAMA and acknowledged writings of Andreae being precisely the kind of rock upon which many better theses have split before and since. It is the kind of likeness which is recognised by those who want to find it. For a person such as myself who does not, in the last resource, care two straws about the authorship of the early Rosicrucian manifestoes, the only similarity that I can see between FAMA and CHYMISCHE HOCHZEIT is that both are occult fables. Their distinction is that the latter is rich in episode, diversified in pageant and brilliant in colouring, while the former is tame and

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thin, the great allegorical opportunity offered by the opening of the tomb being missed completely. As to the CONFESSIO, which Böhle fathers also on Andreae, the anonymous hand which emerges in that wretched performance is far worse than the German hand of the FAMA, and in its Latin I can see no likeness to the Latin of Andreae—for what such a point is worth. (10) When Böhle dwells on the uproar of hostility caused by these pamphlets, he stultifies himself and the facts. There was hostility of course, but it was out of all proportion to their welcome, in view of the royal news which they brought to all concerned in their subject-matter. (11) They were received with open arms and, as Böhle shews himself, that which on his own hypothesis faced Andreae was not the hostility but the universal delusion which he had created. (12) The suggestion that he was shocked thereby is assumed simply to account colourably for the fact of Andreae's severity towards the Order when he wrote about it less or more openly in later tracts. I conclude, therefore, that so far as the Göttingen professor is concerned and so far as those are concerned who have followed him to the present day there remains nothing in our hands to justify or even excuse the alleged authorship of FAMA and CONFESSIO.

In presenting such a conclusion it is a satisfaction to know that it exonerates the memory of Andreae from a charge which is not less disgraceful because it was preferred by a friend rather than an enemy, and was, on the whole, intended to glorify its subject, not to place a stigma upon him. Whatever our opinions concerning the occult sciences, whether we regard them as connoting a body of secret knowledge or as fantastic and illusory arts, there is no question that at the beginning of the seventeenth century they were pursued with the uttermost zeal by untold numbers who were in search of light and certitude on the mysterious relations between God, man and the universe.

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There is little question that at such a period the occult sciences were no manifestly impossible direction in which to turn for aid. Their position was not unlike that of modern spiritualism or psychical research of all grades at this day: (1) in respect of their attractions, (2) of their claims, and (3) of their distinguished exponents. Then as now there was a mass of deception and self-deception; then as now there were innumerable impostors pretending to dispense a knowledge which they did not possess—by means of books and otherwise. Little tracts on alchemy and magic were things of common colportage; needy authors and commercial booksellers lived by and because of them. But those on whom they lived were mainly genuine inquirers, however easy of belief, seeking a guide in the unknown darkness of chemistry and the yet more cimmerian gloom of the unseen side of things. There could be few conspiracies more villainous at that period than an attempt to mislead defenceless students further. If, therefore, Andreae put forward the *FAMA* and *CONFESSIO*, knowing them to be false in claim and fictitious in story, the act was scandalous, and furthermore, in so doing, he entered into distinct covenants for the communication of treasures of secret wisdom which he did not himself possess, and he was therefore like “the rogues and runagates” who are attacked in Rosicrucian manifestoes and in his *NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ*. He would have known unfailingly that he was at work for the misery of many. I have indicated in no uncertain manner the very little use that I have for Johann Valentin Andreae in any of his moods or ways, but in his sincerity I believe at least.

Before, however, dismissing Böhle and his thesis it is desirable to add certain considerations which may tend to exonerate him, at least in part. He was by no means the first person who referred the early Rosicrucian documents

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to Andreae as their author. The argument from literary style seems to have been put forward originally by Arnold in the first years of the eighteenth century.¹ He affirms (1) that when Andreae was of "the ripe but ardent age of twenty-eight years" a book called *FAMA FRATERNITATIS* was published in 1614; (2) that this was followed two years later by *CHYMISCHE HOCHZEIT*; (3) that these are the first works² in which any notice is given concerning the Order of the Rosicrucians; (4) that they differ totally in character from anything produced by later writers, such as Maier and Fludd; (5) that they correspond so entirely with the acknowledged works of Andreae that, from internal evidence, they have been ascribed unhesitatingly to his pen.³ To these opinions and impressions Arnold added an involved story which passed in his mind for evidence and which I will endeavour to elucidate as follows: (1) Among the contemporaries of Andreae was M. Christoph Hirsch, otherwise Hirschen. He has been identified with Joseph Stellatus, who published *PEGASUS FIRMAMENTI* during the stormy debate of pamphlets which followed the Rosicrucian manifestoes. (2) He was a pastor at Roba and Eisleben, and he left certain writings which were published posthumously. (3) In these, testifying at third hand, he mentions having learned in confidence from Johann Arndt how the latter had been told by Andreae—also *sub rosâ*—that he and thirty others, described as theosophists, had sent forth *FAMA FRATERNITATIS*, so "that under this screen they might learn the judgment of Europe thereupon, as also what lovers of true wisdom lay concealed there and here, and would come forward in consequence." This testimony must be left to stand at its value, seeing that I

¹ See the *HISTORY OF THE CHURCH AND OF HERETICS*, already quoted.

² It follows that Arnold did not know of the *CONFESSIO* and hence did not know his subject.

³ He offers no means of identifying his precursors in this criticism.

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have failed to trace in this country a copy of the posthumous writings.¹ It is obviously not evidence that would be accepted in any court of law, and equally certain that a tract with pretensions like the FAMA could bring forward only lovers of occult wisdom or its substitutes, while the judgment of *literati* in Europe would be upon the validity of the claims advanced and—whether confirmatory or otherwise—little to the presumed purpose of Andreae and his “choir invisible.”

I do not pretend to do more than report briefly respecting Johann Arndt and his vast array of volumes, with their loaded pages. He was assuredly a theosophist of his period and might well have been one of the thirty whose combined wits were necessary to produce a pamphlet of approximately as many pages. I imagine, however, that he was nothing of the sort in fact; but he wrote on Jacob Böhme, Valentine Weigel and earlier mystics than either. It appears, moreover, that M. Christoph Hirsch may himself have been a friend of Andreae and might therefore have learned at first hand what he owed to a third party. There was, finally, another friend, to whom Andreae dedicated Book III of MYTHOLOGIA CHRISTIANA in extremely laudatory terms, as to *clarissimo et consultissimo viro*. This was Christoph Besoldt, otherwise Besoldus, who wrote at large and too often for our patience in these days. He died in 1646, and is said to have left some record about the plain character of FAMA and CONFESSIO, a sufficiently oracular statement, though believers in the Andreae authorship have found it plastic and have bent it accordingly to their purpose. But so far as I am aware no reference to the alleged source has been given by anyone. In the memorable year 1614 Besoldt was discoursing on SIGNS OF THE TIMES, but

¹ Or indeed anything in our public libraries under the name of M. C. Hirschen.

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the portents of the Rosy Cross do not appear among them.¹

In the year 1619, and at Argentorati—that is to say, Strasbourg—there appeared *TURRIS BABEL*, being a judgment concerning the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross, or otherwise the voice of Fame pronouncing against the *FAMA*.² The publication was anonymous, but it is certain, and there is no question, that it was the work of J. V. Andreae, after whose familiar manner it comprises a series of dialogues, twenty-five in all, each having three interlocutors, who differ in every section. The seventh dialogue has reference to Alchemy, while the tenth denounces Necromancers, Kabalists, Chemists and other occult schools as plagues of the Republic. Fame, in the last of all, addressing *Obstinatus* and *Resipiscens*, exclaims: “Men have been deceived enough and indeed more than enough: it is time now to set free those who are bound, to confirm the wavering and make the sick whole. Woe is me, O Mortals, from this Fraternity there is nothing left to look for. The comedy is played. Fame erected, Fame demolishes; Fame asserted, Fame denies.” This has been quoted in part by nearly every critic, from Böhle downward: I give it for the first time in full. It is beyond question that the voice and witness of Fame—a play upon the title of *FAMA*—is the witness and voice of Andreae. Otherwise, the allegorical persons of the sections—*Curiosus*, *Supinus*, *Solicitus*, *Scrupulosus*, *Securus*, *Prudens*, *Astrologus*, *Calculator*, *Conjectans*, several bakers’ dozens—represent various opinions, as on the main subject so also on subsidiary matters. A chief point of

¹ *SIGNA TEMPORUM, seu succincta et aperta, rerum post religionis reformationem, ad hoc ævi in Europâ gestarum, Dijudicatio. Auctore CHRISTOPHORO BESOLDO, Ic. Tübingæ, 1614.* It contains two tracts: (1) *De Reformatione Religionis, paceque religiosâ in Germania constituta*; (2) *De Rebus post pacem Religionis a Germanicæ ordinibus constitutam, in orbe Christiano gestis.*

² It may be said that in the first section there is an address to the Brotherhood on the part of *Fama* personified, but it is meant of course in mockery.

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interest centres in *Calculator*, who is actually Simon Studion, as appears by the text itself. One of the interlocutors has expressed admiration at the spectacle of heaven on December 20, 1603, to which Studion replies by citing *NAOMETRIA mea* and its deductions from mystical numbers concerning the restoration of Jerusalem and the fall of Babylon. For his companion the position of the stars certifies the solemn pledges and immunities of the Royal Fraternity, while according to Studion the Holy and Roseate Brethren are those whose advent was promised by Abbot Joachim, St. Bridget, Lichtenberg, Paracelsus, Postel and other *Illuminati*. As I do not suppose that Andreae would have foisted on the author of *NAOMETRIA* opinions which he was unlikely to have held, I regard as significant the statement thus put into the mouth of Studion. He appears only once in the recitals, and there is no means of identifying the other characters with living personalities of the period. The dialogues are dull and tiresome: they offer, moreover, very little to our purpose on either side of the debate. In the nineteenth section we hear about *Fortunate Isles* and places more safeguarded, like *Fessa* and *Damcar*; but the reference serves nothing. *Resipiscens* in the final colloquy, speaking after *Fama*, says that he dismisses the Fraternity, meaning as denounced by her, but that it is impossible for him to let down those who grow Roses under the Cross and keep themselves unspotted from the impurities, confusions, delirium and vanities of the world—namely: *vera Christiana Fraternitas*. He aspires to be joined therewith. The allusion is to a Brotherhood of Christ which Andreae proposed to form and which is here invested with the insignia of the Rosy Cross. It may have been a subtle device in his own view, but it may be questioned whether it recommended the new scheme to any side of the debate. For the rest, I conceive that the various colloquies might confirm in their scepticism

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those who were disposed to unbelief; but that one among hundreds who were drawn by the talismanic magic of Rosicrucian claims should have been directed into other courses by the declamations of *TURRIS BABEL* is a proposition which I reject utterly.

In conclusion, as to this text there are certain misstatements concerning it which have passed from hand to hand. (1) Reghellini mentions one, according to which it intimates that *Andreæ* had demitted from the Rosy Cross, that he might join the Brotherhood of Christ. The French historian of Masonry thinks that the reference is vague, but no such intimation is found in *TURRIS BABEL*. (2) The English translators of Mosheim state, on the other hand, that it implies or admits that *Andreæ* "was himself concerned" in spreading the reports concerning the Rosy Cross. It does nothing of the sort. (3) It has been said also to mention M. C. Hirsch, to whose story of the thirty theosophists I have referred already. It would be unnecessary, however, to point out that the name does not occur in *TURRIS BABEL*, had it not also been added that the mythical story itself is found therein.

A considerable tract, entitled *THREE BOOKS OF CHRISTIAN MYTHOLOGY*, is also referable to the year 1619, and though anonymous so far as the title-page is concerned, the dedication is signed by *Andreæ* on October 18 of the previous year. It must be admitted that he who reads it from cover to cover is like a barefooted pilgrim treading a stony road; but in any other subject I should count it a strange thing that most of those who have cited it have gone so far astray. There is Nicholas Bonneville in 1784, who descrites the Rosy Cross in all our Masonic symbols and claims to have discovered the characteristics of a Masonic Tracing-Board in *CHRISTIAN MYTHOLOGY*. Where he does not say, and I confess that his meaning eludes me, having searched in vain for these needle-points of supposed symbolism in the mytho-

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logical bundle of hay. There is also the Honourable Auberon A. Herbert, who is responsible for stating that the German *Illuminati* of St. Christopher Rosy Cross were a society founded by one faithful brother out of the ruins of the Knights Templar. The authority is MYTHOLOGIA CHRISTIANA, pp. 305, 306, and Herbert adds an explanatory suggestion that the *Frater fidelissimus* was one Sir Richard de Heredom, otherwise Brotocanus or Carbonatus, the last being an anagram of the second name. In his casual and trusting way Mr. Wigston quotes this statement without reference of any kind, it being only too evident that he has not gone back to the source. Andreae says nothing of the kind at the place cited, or anywhere else in the volume. The section in question is entitled *Ordo Crucis*, and it speaks of the Church having created Christian chivalries—as, for example, the Templars, though none of them are mentioned by name. At the end, instead of an allusion to St. Christopher Rosy Cross, Andreae speculates why “our elders”—*majores nostri*—attributed the stature of a giant to a certain martyr in the days of Decius who assumed that name which signifies *Christum ferens*, Christ-bearing, exoterically as if he were like unto the Cross of Calvary, but inwardly because he bore the Christ Mystical in his heart. It calls to be said that Herbert had no purpose to serve by wresting the remarks of Andreae, so it follows either that he mistranslated incredibly or that he reproduced an anterior blunder which I have not been able to trace. These are the kinds of quest that one follows in Rosicrucian research, and this is the profit attached to them. I question whether the many makers of reverie who have quoted Andreae in the particular connection can have read a single sentence from beginning to end—not to speak of the context.

The THREE BOOKS OF CHRISTIAN MYTHOLOGY contain the now famous paragraph beginning *Planissime nihil*, which

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has been quoted everywhere as the final judgment of German good sense on the claims of the Rosy Cross, when the debate concerning it was beginning to manifest a certain sense of weariness. It has been favoured especially by those who regard Andreae as author in chief of the manifestoes, whether as a *jeux d'esprit*, experiment on the mind of the age or planned imposture of a satirist; but it has proved no less serviceable to those who regard the subject from one of these points of view apart from any definite thesis as to authorship. The observations are placed in the mouth of *Alethea*, the personified Spirit of Truth as conceived at the period by a spokesman of Württemberg theology under the ægis of the Confession of Augsbourg. "Most indubitably I—*Alethea*—hold nothing in common with this Brotherhood. When it came about, no long time since, that some on the literary stage were arranging a play-scene of certain ingenious parties, I stood aside as one who looks on, having regard to the fashion of the age, which seizes with avidity on new-fangled notions. As spectator, it was not without a certain quality of zest that I beheld the Battle of the Books and marked also subsequently an entire change of actors.¹ But seeing that at this present the theatre is filled with altercations, with a great clash of opinion, that the fight is carried on by vague hints and malicious conjectures, I have withdrawn myself utterly, that I may not be involved unwisely in so dubious and slippery a concern."

The oration stands at its value, which is *nil* on the question of authorship, though presumably the Andreae hypothesis would postulate that he, speaking in the person of Truth, certifies that he has washed his hands of the whole

¹ The meaning of this statement can be only that those who moved first in the foundation of the Rosy Cross—as e.g. Studion—found others intervening—namely, makers of later pamphlets, who will come before us in the next chapter.

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business. It is of course an impossible construction, the testimony being that *Alethea* has never had a hand in the business and now leaves the auditorium. In the address to the reader at the beginning of the third book there is a much more significant passage, which—so far as I am aware—has not been cited at all. The author appeals to God on the audacity of slander against him. He has been represented as a chemist, though he had no furnace; as a caster without brass; a brother, when he has no society; and as a prophet, though he is destitute of oracles. It will be seen that popular report has connected him with the Rosy Cross and has doubtless imperilled his position as an orthodox theologian and minister of reformed religion, and he intervenes to rebut the charge or appeal against it. If there is a halting accent in the process, as it will be seen, I think, that there is, we must remember that there was a skeleton in his cupboard, and the inscription thereupon was NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ, written at sixteen and published at thirty years old.¹

There is nothing further in MYTHOLOGIA CHRISTIANA which need, I think, detain us. The tract was followed by a century of "satirical dialogues" under the general title of MENIPPUS. It is supposed to be anti-Rosicrucian, but I do not find that the Order is mentioned by name, though it seems evidently the subject of reference in *Titulus XII*, which is called BROTHERHOOD. A later section is headed AUTHORUM CATALOGI, and alchemists are mentioned therein, but the allusions come to nothing. The last Title is INSTITUTIO MAGICA, and this is the longest of all; but again it is little to our purpose, except as indicating the unqualified disdain of *Andreæ* for everything—root and branch—which belongs to occult sciences. This is the prevailing

¹ This notwithstanding, the vital issue is simple: *Andreæ* denies categorically that he belongs to any Society, and he is lying if his testimony is false. He is guilty of *suggestio falsi* if he belonged to it once and left.

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characteristic of all his undoubted writings at this period, and it does not in my opinion connote a revulsion of feeling or a change of view. It is certain that he did not issue *FAMA FRATERNITATIS*, as one who wove a gracious and talismanic fiction about a circle of secret practices in which he believed and which it was his hope to elevate above the realm of mania and imposture. That is an impossible hypothesis. The alternative advanced by Böhle is merely ridiculous because it postulates Andreae as imbued with an earnest zeal for reform and seeking to promote it by circulating fraudulent fictions for the advancement of beliefs which he hated, as if these would draw about him the right thinking, right acting and mentally qualified circle essential to his scheme in hand. According to one of his early biographers, he desired earnestly to infuse "a new life into the religious feelings of his age." What manner of new life would he draw from those whom he deemed to be either quacks or zealots, the knaves and fools of false science and false philosophy? But we have seen that, according to others, he, being a young man, a wit and satirist of his day, foisted a cruel hoax upon the German occult mind for the poor purpose of fooling it. This is a possible proposition, but I have shewn why it must be rejected. We may or may not admire Andreae as a theologian and religious author of his period, but at the very least he was a man of blameless life, while as he understood and realised them he strove for the betterment of his land and period: it is intolerable to fasten a gross slander upon him in the absence of adequate as indeed of any evidence.

I conclude therefore that whether or not the House of the Holy Spirit—as the *FAMA* testifies concerning it—was built on sands, or was comparable to a house of cards, it was not built by Andreae.¹ I have given, as it seems to me, the

¹ *MYTHOLOGIA CHRISTIANA*, Book III, even if it stood alone, is an adequate justification of this view.

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only possible explanation of his possible connection with it.¹ In his early life he was acquainted with Tobias Hess, whom he admired, respected and commemorated in glowing terms; he was almost certainly acquainted with Crusius, who did not die till Andreae was twenty-one, and may even have had a hand in his education; and it is by no means unlikely that he was acquainted with Studion himself. If the Rosicrucian claim and legend were hatched under the wings of the *Militia*, he would be familiar with the fact at least, and perhaps intimately. But as there is nothing to shew that he belonged to the *Militia*—though Tobias Hess presumably did—so there is no evidence that he was connected by membership with any Rosicrucian Brotherhood, either before or after the publication of the FAMA. If there is any one point which emerges with irrecusable clearness from the vast literary output of J. V. Andreae, it is that he had no concern with the occult sciences, except as a hostile satirist. It is true that he wrote NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ, but that was a boyish romance, and he was not for such reason an “occultist,” any more than was William Godwin because he was the author of ST. LEON. When VITA AB IPSO CONSCRIPTA was penned in the old age of the Württemberg theologian, the *ludibrium* description expressed his way of regarding it after the lapse of a lifetime: in reality it

¹ In this connection I should perhaps mention and dismiss the gratuitous hypothesis (1) that Andreae was not the founder but the spokesman of the Rosy Cross; (2) that he was appointed to issue the manifestoes; (3) that he restored the Order, this having existed previously. The first view is advanced by Sédir, the second by the authors of THE ROSICRUCIANS, while as regards the third it is to be met with in several quarters. No one has ventured to offer any evidence for these speculations. Compare Dr. Westcott, in the Transactions of the Soc. Ros., on the subject of NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ. He testifies to “grave reasons for believing that the kernel of the work, the original scheme and the mystical basis was derived from C.:.R.:. and his personal pupils in their Temple House of the Sanctus Spiritus one hundred and sixty years before the time of Andreae,” who may have published or edited it. The commentary on this farrago is VITA AB IPSO CONSCRIPTA.

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was *fantasia magna*, and it does great credit to his years, as yet untouched by the depressing spirit of homily, not overweighted as yet by the mill-stone clauses of the Confession of Augsbourg. Moreover, he wrote in his own tongue and was not engaged, as subsequently, in the smartness of everlasting somersaults turned in the turgid Latin of the cumbersome German schools. As I intimated over thirty years since and have reaffirmed now, I believe that he dressed up his juvenile extravaganza with a few Rosicrucian tags and tie-ups, to express his detestation of the FAMA, its claims and all its ways, by making confusion worse confounded in respect of the debate, then raging at its highest. It is probable that he knew enough and too much of the zealotry and false enthusiasm which lay behind it. The fact of such detestation appears everywhere, in the important VITA, in the texts already cited, in CHRISTIANOPOLIS and in a comparatively obscure effort like DE CURIOSITATIS PERNICIE SYNTAGMA. The FAMA is always delusion and the Brotherhood always folly.

On the other hand, FAMA FRATERNITATIS is a purely occult document, based on an alleged secret knowledge brought from the Near East. The sole point at which the manifesto can suffer comparison with the aim of Andreae is over the question of reform. But that which FAMA desired was a better understanding of certain *Magnalia Naturæ*, especially the transmutation of metals and *elixir vitæ*. There is little to shew that it had any job in purely official religion, any more than in politics, being content with the German Reformation as regards the one, and on the other with the Roman Empire. Andreae, on the other hand, is reported by all his apologists and shewn in all his writings to have been out for religious reform, grounded on the Confession of Augsbourg and directed against Calvinists and Anabaptists. There is no analogy between these things, except in the shibboleth of reform, while the answer to both

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on the plane of events was one—namely, the Thirty Years' War.

That which the FAMA offered was an open entrance to a House of Great Mysteries, an *aureum sæculum* in prospect, a medicine of men and metals, and yet these things were only *res minores* in the treasury, while it was indicated that they would be made available to those only whose hearts were fixed on some other and *majores res* which were kept in the hiddenness of the House. In this manner the document has the air of dealing in a veiled theosophy: I mean to say that a theosophy of the period seems to be at the back of its claims. We shall see how Fludd transmuted it in the limpid light of his own qualified mysticism, reposing under the wings of the Christian Church in England, as then by law established.

This is how the case stands in respect of all that arises out of the authorship of *NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ*.¹ It takes us back to the fact of *NAOMETRIA* as the first intimation in symbolism concerning the Rose and Cross. Here is the direction to which we are justified in looking for the origin of *FAMA FRATERNITATIS*, either as we now have it or in its root-form. The text and its legend are to be judged by German occult thought of the period, by the influence of Paracelsus, by the apocalyptic astrology which followed in the wake of Reformation, by the expectation of the Second Advent.

¹ I set aside utterly an allegation reported by Miss Stoddart in her *LIFE OF PARACELsus*, namely, that on his death-bed J. V. Andreae made confession about certain "fictitious pamphlets" which were intended as satirical fables, but they had gone forth into the German world and Rosicrucian Societies had been founded at Nuremberg, Hamburg, Dantzic and Erfurt. The "infection" spread also to Holland and Italy—more especially Mantua and Venice. Miss Stoddart gives no authority, formulates her statement in a curiously confused manner and proceeds to describe the official clothing of Rosicrucians; but it happens to be that of the eighteenth century. In a word, she does not know the first elements of her subject. Pahl, who was one of Andreae's early biographers, would have been acquainted with death-bed confessions—if any—but he sought to free his subject from the taint of

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Simon Studion and his *Militia* stood for these enthusiasms, which are reflected in the Rosicrucian manifestoes, and I should expect to find that these were descendants, lawfully begotten, of NAOMETRIA, were it possible to examine more fully that all-important text. Emanating from such a source in zealotry we need no longer regard them as products of conscious fraud, while we are also saved from accepting the alternative of modern occultism, that they were the work of veiled Masters. Their extravagant fixed beliefs were centred about a mythical or allegorical figure. The FAMA is, in fact, an early vestige of a design which developed subsequently under the ægis of the Rosy Cross—namely, the spiritualisation of alchemy, of which Jacob Böhme offers an independent and contemporary example. The treasures of gold which were offered to the Roman Emperor in the generosity of the CONFESSIO were in reality a wealth of doctrine, while its reformation of all the arts was an apocalyptic light on Scripture. I trace also a certain clouded reflection of old Lullian *philosophia*. It is precisely one of those cases in which a common accident of fortuitous analogy may be taken for something which had a purpose behind it, and I am by no means intending to suggest that the inventor of a so-called Universal Science or the traditional maker of the *materia aurea* of Rose Nobles by way of transmutation is the historical personality

Rosicrucian connections, either as founder or member of that mysterious body. He explains also how the supposed relation arose, namely, that Andreae conceived various projects for infusing new life into the religious feelings of his age by means of societies and when the Rosicrucians sprang up, claiming a similar programme, the projects were identified, the known personalities in the one case being held to stand behind the *anonymi* in the other. I set aside also an allusion in a letter written by Andreae to Comenius, date 1629, concerning his *Fraternitas Christi*; saying that it was planned "about eight years ago," *post famæ vanæ ludibrium*. It is quoted by Bege-
mann and I know of it only through the good offices of Mr. F. N. Pryce. No special pleading can suggest that it throws light on the authorship of the Rosicrucian texts.

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which is clothed in the vesture of legend by FAMA FRATERNITATIS ; but Raymund Lully looks like a kind of prototype in the actual and outer world, as the following tabulation shews :—

(1) C.:R.:C.: acquired an *Ars magna*, as against the invention of one by the theosophist of Majorca. (2) It included the Secret Medicine of Metals and the Great Elixir. (3) But these, according to his legend, were possessed by Lully. (4) The Universal Science was a great scheme of reform to displace the systems and conventions of established authorities in seats of learning—Aristotle, Averroes and scholastic philosophy at large. (5) But C.:R.:C.: returned from *Arabia Felix* and the City of Dreams at Damcar on a quixotic mission expressible in the same terms, though the seats of intellectual thought in the German Fatherland had not exactly the same occupants when the FAMA passed into writing. (6) The reform of C.:R.:C.: was a laughing-stock to the learned of Europe, and Lully—notwithstanding life-long efforts—could gain scant hearing from Church Councils or the Papal seat of authority at Rome and Avignon. (7) The refuge of both was to reduce their systems to writing. (8) In this manner there emerged the Lullists in the one case and the Rosy Cross in the other. (9) Lully was tinctured with Kabalism and so also was the German Order, while the dream of both was to realise the unity of science. (10) In fine, at the period of Studion, the *doctor illuminatus*, Raymund Lully, was still remembered in Europe, his Universal Science was still extant and still had its apostolate. He has been classed among heretics, but he died a martyr at Bugia, preaching to the followers of Mahound, and the process of his beatification was begun. His proposed reformation was anti-scholastic but not anti-papal, and C.:R.:C.: was a reformer, by the hypothesis of his legend, mainly in the matter of arts and sciences. Lully became a centre of romantic

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myth—*il magico prodigioso*—a son of Hermes, with his life prolonged through centuries, at once a saint and an adept. Whosoever wrote the FAMA may have had his story in mind.

We have seen that according to REPERTORIUM the *Militia* became “a strong sect”—that is to say, of Second Adventists, hot gossellers, readers of celestial signs and calculators of mystic numbers. They would have represented as such a consensus of mania which must have been abominable in the sight of Andreaë, for it has to be remembered that he was a man of clear and sane mind, holding to a reasonable mean in the matter of reformed religion, to that, in a word, which—as we have seen—is called Bible Christianity. *Cæteris paribus*, he is most comparable among modern types to Dr. Clifford, whose salient contrast was the Rev. M. Baxter, of THE CHRISTIAN HERALD and the number of the beast. Studion was the contrast of Andreaë—on the one hand, theosophy in the tatters of Barnaby Rudge, and that, on the other, which is represented by THEOLOGIA GERMANICA. There was no sect at the period so likely to have produced the Rosicrucian claim as *Militia Crucifera Evangelica*, and no person so likely to have written the Rosicrucian manifestoes as Simon Studion or his immediate successor, if any, in the “strong sect.” I make this statement, remembering that Studion, according to one of my correspondents who speaks with official knowledge, is of serious importance for the history of antiquarian work in Würtemberg, and that his “epigraphical writings” have been carefully “worked through.” It is obvious that his qualifications as an antiquary are without prejudice to his extravagance as an enthusiast in sectarian religion. For the rest, and because it is important not to cloud the issues, we shall do well to remember that the manifestoes of the Rosy Cross are not to be judged out of hand and sentenced on the evidence of one of their aspects. When Éliphas Lévi had occasion to put on record that Khunrath was a zealous

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adherent of the reformed religion, he added—as we have seen—that in this he was “a German of his period, rather than a mystic citizen of the Eternal Kingdom.” The Rosicrucians were Germans of their period. But Khunrath was also a catholic and hierarchic mystic, dealing with spiritual mysteries under the veil of alchemy. The Rosicrucians, in like manner, had other doctrines than those of Protestantism and other aims than “the ungodly and accursed gold-making.” However vaguely, the fact emerges in the FAMA, amidst the pretence of its occult claim; it comes into full view not long subsequently to the publication of that document; and in fine, but after generations and centuries, it shines radiantly in *lumen vultus Christi*. I conclude that Andreæ, as one standing without, knew all the occult claim *ab origine symboli*, and that he loathed it—also *ab origine*.¹ I conclude also that after its own manner the Order was in earnest as was he himself: that it desired earnestly “the supreme medicine of the world,” those other *magnalia* of which the CONFESSIO speaks, the “amendment of philosophy” along the lines of its own zealotry, and a better government to come. There came a time, after many changes, when it began to understand these things in another and higher way.

¹ Compare the article on Andreæ in ALLGEMEINE DEUTSCHE BIOGRAPHIE, I, 441-6. It happens that I have consulted it only after this chapter was completed and am therefore the more gratified to find that it is in general agreement with my own conclusions, namely, that Andreæ was most probably acquainted with the entire “mystification” but was not the author in chief. The article suggests further that he may have tried to turn it towards his own serious purposes, but this seems dubious, especially as it is admitted that he could not fail to recognise the inevitable fact that Rosicrucian fables would unmask themselves.

CHAPTER IX

DEVELOPMENT OF ROSICRUCIAN LITERATURE

IT is a matter of common knowledge in almost any handbook of historical reference, that the publication of *FAMA FRATERNITATIS* created a very considerable stir in Germany. It was hailed with enthusiasm in what must be called the occult circles—not that there is real evidence of ordered fellowship or manifest combination of experimental research anywhere—and the emotions of the moment found vent in pamphlets, corresponding to its own form of appearance—rough and ugly enough—while a cloud of eager aspirants took, as they could take only, the course suggested by the manifesto and formulated their desire for admission into the ranks of the Brotherhood by means of printed letters. The *CONFESSIO*, of course, stimulated production of all kinds—I mean, judgment and appeal—though the second document proved no more helpful than the first in disclosing the whereabouts of the Order or identifying the persons of its members. As we have seen, there was a suggestion also of let and hindrance, to increase the difficulties and underscore the disappointments of many. For this and for other reasons, amidst the chorus of approval, there arose presently a hostile element in the debate. Not all the alchemists of that period, not all the Lutheran theosophists were prepared to accept blindly an unsupported account of itself which the Brotherhood had been pleased to put forward as the warrant for a proposed amendment of that crooked and misguided time, nor was

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the necessity of reform to be admitted without demur by all and sundry, or the kind of remedies proposed to be passed without challenge, especially in view of their vagueness. But it was the frustrated aspirants for admission who had printed their forms of profession, their letters of humble supplication, who had magnified the unknown Society and found all its claims true: it was these who began ultimately to find themselves on a solid ground of complaint, when they came to compare notes in the booths and the market-places, the academies and colleges, for it appeared that all applications had been made in vain. There was not one of them who was nearer the desired goal than if the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross had never issued invitations, and they had never responded, accepting all the claims—with a tongue in the cheek or otherwise. As it was an open question whether anyone had been admitted at all, so it began to look doubtful whether such a Society existed. There was too much of uncritical reliance on the fact of the written word and far too much dullness in the mind of German occultism to encourage that side of the question; but it was to be met with here and there. Nor did it occur to any that their canon of judgment was worthless, because it was possible—on the hypothesis at least—that there were receptions of certain candidates; but those who were drawn within the circle and its sanctuary passed into a place of silence, while the clamours increased without on the part of those who were rejected.

I do not doubt that Böhle is right in affirming that some of those in the school courtyards and taverns began to compare notes in a very adverse sense, to say that they had been fleeced and flouted, which notwithstanding, to all intents and purposes, it is clear that they were Rosicrucians themselves, makers of gold in prospect, holding the keys of knowledge or at least beginning to know. In this

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manner a few may have sought to incorporate themselves fluidically, much as Alsatia and Whitefriars worked more or less in gangs, for the good of the secret commonwealth of rogues and runagates. Beside that which was sincere—if anything—within its own measures, there arose up therefore sporadic impostures, mostly mushroom growths, and they are heard of from time to time. A little later on we shall meet with a supposed case in point at the Hague, but at present we are concerned only with early memorials. Their development and the debate connoted thereby—a thing *sui generis* in literature—may be considered under four aspects, it being understood that I am dealing in the present chapter with publications up to and including the year 1620. (1) By far the most considerable numerically are pamphlets, for the most part in the form of letters, being those to which I have referred, and embodying applications for admission within the ranks of the Order, not only—as I have stated—accepting all its claims, but often couched in extravagant terms of laudation. (2) The issue of independent tracts on Alchemy, Magic and other branches of occult science or philosophy, but prefaced by a fervent dedication addressed to the Brotherhood. They may be regarded generically as theses written with a view to admission by persons who wished to exhibit their qualifications and ardour more elaborately than was possible within the few pages of an epistle. (3) Tracts of a critical character, in examination of Rosicrucian principles, whether the conclusions reached were favourable or hostile. In a few cases it is difficult to determine whether they were written by friends or enemies. (4) Further missives which have the appearance of being issued officially, but dubious for the better part and in some cases almost obviously fraudulent.¹

¹ They would be the work of those “new actors” mentioned in the *Address* which introduces Book III of MYTHOLOGIA CHRISTIANA.

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We may take these classes successively in the order thus tabulated, and as regards applications for admission they connoted in all cases professions of faith not only in the Order itself, its affirmations and titles of sanctity, but in its peculiar religious, philosophical and pseudo-scientific principles. In a word, the postulants were anxious to establish that they were protestants of their period, who loathed the Man of Sin; that they denounced Aristotle; and that they were true disciples of Hermes. They signed their productions occasionally with names which may be taken as real, more often with symbolical titles and even with initials only. Some of them supplied addresses, obviously to encourage communication, but many letters were anonymous and left the identity of their writers to the wisdom of the Brotherhood. On the external side, the most noticeable fact concerning them is the early date at which they began to appear, lending colour to the story that the FAMA was circulating in manuscript prior to its appearance in print—as we know by the notary Haselmeyer—or alternatively that the Cassel edition of 1614 was not the first published. An *EPISTOLA AD REVERENDAM FRATERNITATEM R.:C.:* came to light at Frankfurt in 1613, and is identified with a German *SENDSCHREIBEN* of January 12, 1614. The author in the latter case is veiled by the initials I. B. P. and offers his assurance that he had read the FAMA on June 28 of the previous year. He had seen also an answer sent by the Order to an application of a personal friend. Other printed applications appeared (1) at Lintz in Austria, under the initials M. V. S. and A. Q. L. I. H., also on January 12, 1614; (2) under the initials M. H. and I. I. on August 14, 1614, from which it follows that the FAMA had come also into their hands; (3) under those of G. A. D. in November of that year. By the hypothesis of Böhle these three publications were prior to the Cassel FAMA, being the first edition of that text

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which had come within his knowledge.¹ The month of December, 1614, is for some reason the approximate time of publication most favoured by bibliographers, in which case it must have appeared concurrently with *Σοφία Πανᾶρετος* by Paulus de Didis, but my knowledge of this tract is confined to bibliographical lists.² According to the title, it was concerned with that wisdom which leads to the attainment and fruition of a good and happy life, in conformity with the mode and spirit of the favoured Order of Brothers R.:C.:.³

As communications addressed to the Order did actually precede the appearance of its first printed manifesto, it will be easy to understand how they multiplied after the FAMA was published and became available throughout the German world. The *literæ quorundam Fraternitati R.:C.: se dare volentium* would form an exceedingly large collection, could all of them be drawn together. We hear of the Latin CONFESSIO appearing at Frankfurt in 1615, bound up with a sheaf of applications, so described in the title. They came out separately also in all forms and sizes, duodecimo, octavo, quarto, folio, while the fashions in which they addressed the Brotherhood are similarly varied. Among writings belonging to the year 1615, a correspondent, anonymous like themselves, issued a DIAGRAPH at Augsbourg

¹ There would be priority also in the case of Andreas Hoberwechsel, who speaks of the *Fraternitas Crucis Rosaceæ* in a letter dated from Prague on September 1, 1614. See M. Sédiz: HISTOIRE DES ROSE-CROIX, p. 82.

² It appeared in 1614 without particulars of place or publisher.

³ As there are very few examples in England of the petitions put forward by candidates, I may mention for those who are curious on this unprofitable subject a folio volume labelled Liber H, being No. 1459 of the Ashmolean MSS. It contains in the writing of Ashmole: QUINQUEGENARIUM CUJUSDAM VIRI, qui per 20 annos arcana investigarat, EPISTOLA ad Fratres Roseæ Crucis, in eorum Fraternitatem se recipi petens. It occupies folios 280-2 of the volume and a note says that the petitioner *anagrammatice se nominat in calce* —*Tellus Astri Solis.*

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and dedicates it simply *Fratibus Roseæ Crucis*.¹ Another who offers no indication of place, explains that he is a friend who is devoted especially to the glorious Fraternity and most Illustrious Order.² In the opinion of L. G. R., it is not only illustrious but reverend, and his considerations are submitted to their Worships in metrical form, as one who would give a test of merit.³ Under date of January 12, an apostle of the absolute wisdom proffers a simple response to the highly illuminated Order.⁴ It is called honourable by another, as if one who reserves his speech, but for him the mysterious sodality dwells in some thrice-guarded island of the blessed.⁵ On September 4, M. B. chooses a laconic style and sends forth a *RESPONSION* at Amsterdam which does not waste words in the matter of laudation.⁶ For C. V. H., it is a Christian and High Fraternity.⁷ But the superlatives tend to predominate, so that the simple prayer of a Frankfurt layman, who is however a friend of wisdom, has rather a cold air and contrasts with him—H. R.—who on September 17 wishes eternal salvation in God to the Sons of True Wisdom, or with the splendid intent of an unknown who has neither local habitation nor name, but in answering the Illustrious Brotherhood proposes to

¹ *DIAGRAPHÉ Fratibus Roseæ Crucis*, Augsburg, Schultess, 1615. It appeared in quarto.

² *SENDSCHREIBEN an die Glorwürdige Brüderschaft des Hoherleuchte Ordens vom R.:C.:.*, etc. Dated from Camposala on Jan. 29, 1615.

³ *EPISTOLA ad Illustrem ac Reverendissimam Fraternitatem R.:C.: metro legata, ad eosdem missa a L. G. R.* Frankfurt, 1615.

⁴ *SENDSCHREIBEN oder Einfeltige Antwort an die Hoherleuchte Brüderschaft dess Hochl. Ordens dess R.:C.:.*, etc. Frankfurt, 1615. Compare in respect of terminology a letter signed J. D. Z. L. and addressed to the high, laudable Brotherhood of the enlightened, inspired, noble and dear Men of the Rosy Cross. A confidential and benevolent Epistle. The date is Aug. 10, 1615, and the motto is taken from *PSALM xxxvii. 10.*

⁵ *MISSIVE an die Hochw. Fraternitet des R.:C.:.* 1615, *sine loco.*

⁶ *ANTWORT oder SENDBRIEF an die Brüderschaft vom R.:C.:.*, etc., 1615.

⁷ *EINFALTIGE und KURZE ANTWORT über die ausgegangen Fama und Confession der Christl. Hoherl. Brüderschaft des löbl. Ordens vom R.:C.:.* (C. V. H.). 1615, *s.l.*

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rebuild the Palladium, or ruined Athenian edifice.¹ The palm, however, is perhaps due to one who supplements his missive by a concise philosophical discourse and addresses it to the Godwise Order, which is said to be regarded unanimously as dedicated to Natural and Divine Wisdom, whereunto the anonymous writer is also zealously attached.² "The secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him," according to PSALM xxv. 14, and this is the text of the thesis, as it is also the message of its argument. The mottoes behind the title are *In silentio et spe erit fortitudo vestra* and *Nil prophanum in philosophia*. It is a broadsheet of eight pages, dated July 10, the first part being in German and the second in Latin. The few Rosicrucian references make the usual exclamatory display and, of course, convey nothing. What remains is designed to indicate the Hermetic qualifications of the Candidate. The occult name *Lili*³ is ascribed to the First Matter and is well known to students of the literature as one of the veils of the work. Regeneration and renovation are said to be the beginning, middle and end of fixation, which is certainly true of the alchemical experiment on its mystical side. Another significant allusion is: *Omnia ab uno et omnia ad unum*, and this is a doctrine of experience on the deep spiritual side. It seems otherwise familiar, but I do not remember the source. The philosophical process is: *R. Quinti esse Macro et Microcosmi sine (sic, read sive) Mercurii Philosophici, Ignis Invisibilis cælestis vivi Salis metallorum ana q.s. Fiat arte magi-philosophica rotando, solvendo, coagulando et fixando*. This is seemingly *Medicina Summa*, and a true process, at least on the spiritual side of Hermetic

¹ REPARATION des Athenischen verfallenen Gebeues Paladis samt vorhergehenden proæmium und folgenden angehängten Appendice, etc. 1615, s.l.

² SENDSCHREIBEN mit Kürtzerm philos. Discurs an die Gottweise Fraternitet des löblichen Ordens des R.:C.:. 1615, s.l.

³ See Pernety's DICTIONNAIRE MYTHO-HERMÉTIQUE, 1787.

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Philosophy. Understood thus mystically, it is a key to the following lines :

The Matter, Vase, Furnace, Fire and coction—these are one thing only :

The one thing and the sole one, the beginning, middle and end. It suffers no foreign substance and is performed without any alien thing.

Behold, in Mercury there is that which the Wise seek.

As it is clear that applications for admission can be matters of curiosity at most, and whatever they may tell us of their writers can throw no light upon the Order to whose consideration they appeal, we can dismiss in a few words the epistles which were printed during the five years subsequent to 1615. The majority continued to be the production of concealed writers and many of them are known only by their descriptions in catalogues. It is interesting to note an example in Italian, addressed to the Most Laudable and Most Virtuous Order, on March 7, 1616, by an unnamed person writing from an unnamed place.¹ On the other hand, Valentin Tschirness has left us the benefit of his identity in full, as a philosopher and licentiate of medicine at Görlitz, when he published, as if at full-finger speed, his RAPID MESSAGE to the Philosophical Fraternity at the place in question, adding his publisher's name, that there might be no doubt on the matter.² So also we have cause for contentment with J. Irenæus for his frankness respecting himself on December 3 of the previous year, when he issued an epistle as a disciple of Divine Wisdom at Frankfurt and described the Lords

¹ BREVE ET SIMPLICE RISPOSTA *alla dignissima Fraternalità del virtuosissimo Ordine di R.:C.: Stampata addi 7 di Marzo, 1616.*

² SCHNELLE BOTSCHAFFT *an die Philosophische Frat. vom R.:C.: durch Valent. Tschirnessum, etc. Görlitz, 1616.* Published by J. Rhambaw. The writer says that the denomination Rosicrucian is a popular error, taken from the name ascribed to the founder. Why it was conferred upon him is kept secret. Compare Maier.

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and Brothers as venerable, most instructed and highly enlightened men.¹ Intermediate between both are certain students of three liberal and most respectable Arts—not more specifically described—who addressed the August Fraternity from Rostoch on June 11.² There were many other missives to the glorious sodality in the same year, and among those of 1617 I note an anonymous answer—to the FAMA specifically—in Dutch,³ a reply dated from Leipzig on November 16,⁴ and a benevolent message from two courageous *anonymi* issued at Oppenheim on March 20.⁵ There was also a *Sendschreiben* addressed to the Fraternity at the centre of Germany, but I have no particulars concerning it.⁶ In 1618 it is only necessary to mention an Address to the Decemvirate of the Brotherhood on the part of a secret key to the Castle which can scarcely be opened—but this I suppose to be fooling;⁷ two missives to the Glorious Fraternity which appeared at Frankfurt;⁸ and a

¹ *Ad Venerandos, Doctissimos et Illuminatissimos Viros, Dom. Fratres S Roseæ Crucis* EPISTOLA J. Ειρηναίου, *Divinæ Sophiæ alumni*. Francofurti, 1616

² EPISTOLA trium liberalium et honestissimarum artium studiosorum ad Augustam Fraternitatem R.:C.:. Rostochii, 1616.

³ *Ontdeckinghe van een onghenoemde* ANTWORDE of der *Famam Frato, sine loco*, 1617. The author, according to Kloss, was Andreas Hoberveschels von Hobernwald.

⁴ EINFALTIGS ANTWORTSCHREIBEN *an die Hoherl. Frat. des löbl. R.:C.:.* Datum Leipzig, den 16 Nov., 1617.

⁵ WOHLGEMEYNTES AUSSCHREIBEN, *an die Hochw. Frat. des R.:C.:.* zweyer ungenannten *biederleuth*. Published at Oppenheim by H. Palthenius, 1617.

⁶ SENDSCHREIBEN *an die R.:C.:.* in *Centro Germaniæ*, 1617. The things which I have been unable to consult are no doubt in analogy with those made available in my research. The particular "Missive" under notice would be as much and as little to our purpose as BREVE RESPONSUM *ad amicam invitationem celeberrimæ Fraternitatis Roseæ Crucis utcunque concinnatum*, published in 1617, the text being dated October 23 of the previous year. It is a pamphlet of eight unnumbered pages and is a medley of prose and verse in praise of Paracelsus: after such strange manner does an anonymous aspirant reply briefly to a friendly invitation.

⁷ SENDBRIEF *an die Herren des Decemvirats der Frat. der R.:C.:.* vom *geheimen Schlüssel des fast uneröffentlichen Schlosses*. 1618, *sine loco*.

⁸ ZWEI SENDSCHREIBEN, *etc.* They appeared in a single pamphlet.

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RESPONSUM¹ with an unintelligible epigraph concerning a lion which trusts in the cross and a light sufficing for those who advance in faith. I note under date of June 14, 1619, a letter to the Holy Fraternity,² introducing an appended parable and the explanation thereof. It is the last which needs to be cited, for by this time the controversial aspects of the subject had put an end to the letters of simple believers. Those who desired the Society went to work in another way, it being tolerably evident that a Rosicrucian Order was about somewhere in Germany, whether or not it was identical with that which first published the FAMA.³

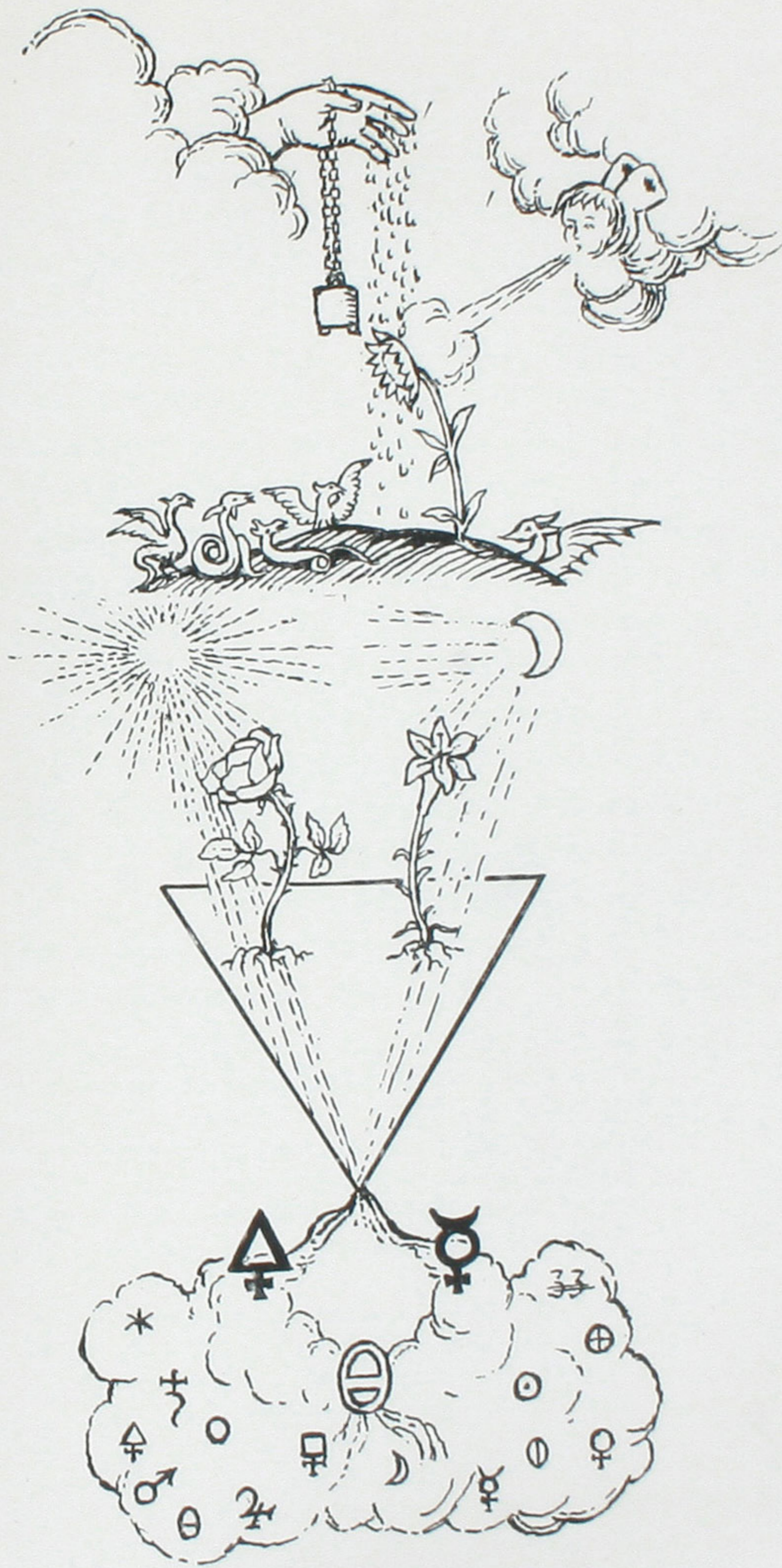
There is no cause to particularise at length on works dedicated to the Brethren of the Rosy Cross, having explained already the motive which actuated the procedure in most cases. I have shewn in my first chapter that the occasional practice was likely to dig pitfalls for unwary modern writers, the case in point being Dr. Dee's edition of the VANITY OF MAGIC. Probably the first dedication in point of time was inscribed by Johann Faulhaber, "with humility and sincerity," to the "most enlightened and famous Brothers R. C." It was prefixed on September 1615, to his ARITHMETICAL MYSTERY.⁴ Faulhaber was a professor of mathematics at Ulm and a writer on this subject; but he had also alchemical interests and was

¹ RESPONSUM *ad Fratres Rosaceæ Crucis Illustres*. 1618, *sine loco*. The writers were Hercules Ovallo dius, Hermannus Condesyanus and Martinus a Casa Cegdessa Marsiliensis, who pleaded for admission because of the evil times. They regarded the Brethren as instruments of Divine vengeance in the consummation of the age.

² DEMÜTIGES SENDSCHREIBEN *an die Hoch. Gottselige und Heilige Frat. der R.:C.:*, etc.—*sine loco*, as usual.

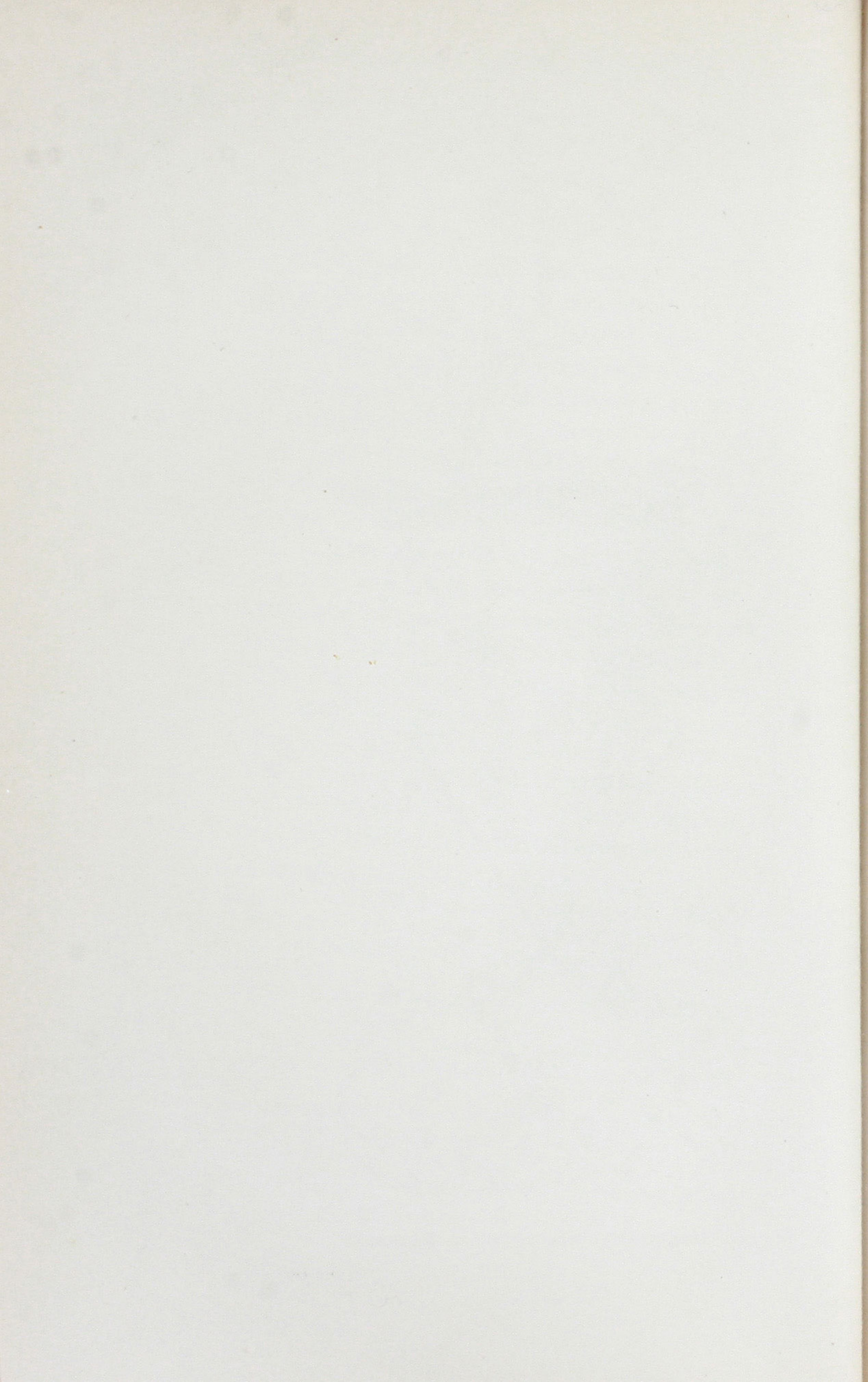
³ I have been unable to trace particulars of Kloss, No. 2509, in which the Fraternity was supposed to answer certain communications received. It appeared in 1617.

⁴ MYSTERIUM ARITHMETICUM, *sive Cabalistica et Philosophica Inventio, nova admiranda et ardua, qua numeri ratione et methodo computantur . . . illuminatissimis laudatissimisque Fratribus R.:C.: Famæ viris humiliter et sincere dicata*. Ulmens. *Calendis Sept.*, 1615.



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doubtless drawn by these to the claims and pretensions of the Rosy Cross. Much about the same time Jacob Schelling published his work on the nature of the eyes, entitled *OPHTHALMIA*, which he submitted for judgment and criticism to the Honourable Order. This dedication is dated April 9, 1615, and the folio appeared some time in the same year.¹ A late dedication to the Brethren of the Rosy Cross was that of Thomas Vaughan's *ANTHROPOSOPHIA THEOMAGICA* in 1650, and—as we shall see in its place—the motive was identical with that which I have ascribed to those who first made the experiment.²

My third section will call for consideration in detail as it stands for the great debate which proceeded without intermission during the five years ending with 1620, though we shall find later that it had not finished altogether at that date. It is exceedingly various in character and is difficult to present synthetically, as it lends itself to numerous distinctions. I shall set aside from the present consideration all tracts which, in virtue of any pretence, may be regarded as official publications, including those—if any—which claim, falsely or truly, to be written by individual members of the Order. They belong to my

¹ Jacob Schelling: *OPHTHALMIA, sive Disquisitio Hermetico-Galenica de Natura Oculorum*. In Latin and German. Erfurt, 1615. There was also M. Potiers' *NOVUS TRACTATUS CHYMICUS, de vera materia, veroque processu Lapidis Philosophici*. It was dedicated devoutly to the Brotherhood and included a true and sincere judgment on the claims of the Order. The place of publication was Frankfurt, *anno* 1617. There was finally *RAPTUS PHILOSOPHICUS*, 1619, a book of revelations addressed to the Brethren in humility.

² It was in reality the last, because *CABALA, SPECULUM ARTIS ET NATURÆ IN ALCHEMIA*, 1654, is a Latin translation of *CABALA, oder Spiegel der Kunst und Natur in Alchemie*, which appeared at Augsburg in 1615. The preface is signed Stephanus Michelspacherus Tirolensis, who terms himself an ardent worshipper of wisdom. The tract is designed to shew that the Stone of the Wise is three and yet one. The dedication on the title-page reads in the Latin version: *A strenuo Sapientiæ cultore, et una cum præstantissimi cujusdam Philosophi Diagraphæ hujus ipsius argumenti, Rosæ Crucis Fraternitati dicata edita, quo hac in materia amplius nil desideretur.*