

The Sacrificial Body and the Day of Doom

Alchemy and Apocalyptic Discourse
in the Protestant Reformation

Urszula Szulakowska



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The Sacrificial Body and the Day of Doom

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by

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On the cover: Anti-Christ, Stefan Michelspacher, *Cabala: Spiegel der Kunst und Natur* (Augsburg: David Francke, 1616), second engraving. With the permission of the British Library, London.

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INTRODUCTION

In eastern Germany during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries there appeared an intricate visual world of alchemical symbols in the printed literature. The visionary artists who created these emblematic engravings were inspired by the theosophy of Paracelsus, as well as by pagan Hermetism and the Christian kabbalah. It is noteworthy that such esoteric texts and illustrations appeared in German cities associated with the Protestant reform, above all in Strassburg, Frankfurt, Oppenheim, Hanau and Augsburg. These alchemical works were published by printers of a liberal Protestant persuasion, in particular, Lucas Jennis in Oppenheim, the de Bry family in Frankfurt and Strassburg, as well as David Francke in Augsburg. In the course of the sixteenth century the evolution of this arcane imagery, simultaneously both magical and religious, was facilitated by the development of printing as a lucrative industry.¹

The cycles of alchemical illustration commenced with the publication of Heinrich Khunrath's *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (Hamburg: n. p., 1595) which was succeeded by the work of Michael Maier (1568–1622), publishing in Oppenheim and Frankfurt, and by that of Robert Fludd (1574–1637), writing in London but publishing in Strassburg and Frankfurt. There was another development in the 1630s in the emergence of a type of cryptic hieroglyph based on the magical semiotics of John Dee (1527–1609) in the *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564).² Re-invented for a Behmenist context in the 1630s by Abraham von Franckenberg (1593–1652), this type of symbolic device interconnected the visual and textual modes in an elaborate and witty play of cipher and word.

¹ An important discussion of this subject is Paul Russell, *Lay Theology in the Reformation: Popular Pamphleteers in Southwest Germany, 1521–1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). See also, Elisabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

² John Dee, "Monas Hieroglyphica" in Lazarus Zetzner, *Theatrum Chemicum*, (Strassburg, 1622), vol. 2, 191–230 and in Lazarus Zetzner, *Theatrum Chemicum*, (Strassburg, 1659), 178–215. See English translation in C. H. Josten, "A translation of John Dee's 'Monas Hieroglyphica' (Antwerp, 1564)," *Ambix*, 12 (1964): 84–221.

Some Paracelsian alchemists, especially Heinrich Khunrath (ca. 1560–1605) and Stefan Michelspacher (active ca. 1615–23), were objects of persecution on the part of both Lutheran and Catholic authorities. Khunrath was an alchemist from Saxony, the heartland of the Reformation,³ but his theological stance was characteristic of the second generation of Protestants who felt that Luther's work had been left incomplete and that another religious reform was essential.⁴ In Khunrath's ideas this would take the form of a Lutheranism that could accommodate an autonomous personal piety. To express their Lutheran piety intellectually the alchemists employed the terms of Paracelsian theosophy, while they found an emotive outlet in the mystical experience of the power and grace of the Holy Spirit. They felt themselves to be inspired (literally "breathed") by the Spirit, a force that they identified with alchemical "pneuma." Khunrath called himself an "enthusiast," filled with the presence of the divine.

One important reason for the emergence of Paracelsian alchemical illustration may have been its function as a psychological compensation for the rejection of Catholic imagery by the Protestants and the resulting spiritual and emotional insecurity experienced by many of the faithful. It is not merely coincidental that Paracelsian iconography should appear in Protestant areas where traditional Catholic icons had been destroyed. (The development of a specifically Catholic interest in alchemy, however, was a phenomenon of the mid-seventeenth century developed in the work of Athanasius Kircher and other Jesuits.)⁵

Yet, despite their rejection of the iconic type of Catholic image, Luther and his followers permitted other types of religious pictures to be retained, namely, those using an archaic pictorial style⁶ developed

³ For a detailed analysis of Khunrath's position: Urszula Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 79–152.

⁴ A specific study of the Second Reformation in Saxony may be found in Thomas Klein, *Der Kampf und die zweite Reformation in Kursachsen, 1586–91* (Cologne; Graz, 1962). There is an analysis of the course of the Second Reformation in Heinz Schilling, *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Europe. Essays in German and Dutch History* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 247–301.

⁵ For a colourful study of a colourful figure see Joscelyn Godwin, *Athanasius Kircher. A Renaissance Man and the Quest for Lost Knowledge* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979). A more specific study of Jesuit alchemy is Martha Baldwin, "Alchemy and the Society of Jesus in the Seventeenth Century," *Ambix*, (1993): 42–52.

⁶ An important recent discussion of these issues is Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago University Press, 2004). See also Carl C. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany* (Ohio: Ohio University Press/Wayne State University

in the school of Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553).⁷ Cranach had been the state painter of the Saxon dukes whose support of Luther had ensured the survival of his religious reforms.⁸ In response to Luther's demands for clarity in the forms of religious instruction, Cranach devised a radical series of iconographic scenarios. His graphic style and composition was marked by their historical regressiveness in that he rejected the rhetorical devices of Renaissance art which were intended to draw the viewer into the power of the visual illusion. Instead, Cranach adopted Luther's recommendation that straightforward didactic narratives from the New Testament should be depicted, rather than complicated symbolic imagery, or illusionist realism that would confuse people's attitudes towards the image, thus leading to idolatry.⁹ Koerner has summarised the character of the Lutheran anti-aesthetic:

Luther's was a mortifying theology. It had as its object the crucified Christ who revealed God in his concealment, while its subjective corollary was the believer who experienced Christ's death as his own . . . Protestant art flourished above all in epitaphs, tombstones and graveyards, and in the festivals of death staged by Baroque *Trauerspiele* . . . funeral effigies . . . and . . . long decorative lists of proper names, replaced the old icons of the saints . . .¹⁰

In the present study, Paracelsian alchemy as a phenomenon will be contextualised within the history of the German Reformation, specifically within the various disputes over the nature of the Eucharist and the accompanying terror of the Day of Judgement, believed to be imminent in the Last Times of the late sixteenth century. Although art-historians have devoted considerable effort to the study of the apocalyptic engravings of sixteenth-century German artists such as Dürer, Cranach and Holbein,¹¹ there has been little discussion of

Press, 1979). Another useful study is Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993).

⁷ The standard catalogue of Lucas Cranach the Elder's work is still M. J. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach* (1932).

⁸ For the role of Saxony in the Reformation see Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany. The Reformation* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1959), 204–31. A lengthier account is found in F. L. Carsten, *Princes and Parliaments in Germany. From the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 191–233.

⁹ These developments are also effectively analysed by Joseph Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Art* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 363–410.

¹⁰ Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: University Press, 2004), 225.

¹¹ For example, Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, 2 vols. (New Jersey: Princeton,

the apocalyptic imagery and texts occurring in the contemporary alchemical context. A pioneering article by Stanton J. Linden has examined the eschatology of some important alchemical emblems in their relation to seventeenth century English poetry, specifically that of Henry Vaughan. He has taken account also of Behmenist imagery of the later seventeenth century. This has been a rare venture into the field of alchemical apocalypticism and has not been repeated elsewhere.¹²

The importance of analysing the prolific visual imagery of alchemy lies in the fact that many dominant intellectuals and spiritual leaders of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries adopted alchemical emblems as a discursive language, though not all of them were religious or political dissenters by any means. Alchemy was of interest, for example, to Florentine artists such as Piero di Cosimo, Parmigianino, Benevenuto Cellini, and those associated with the Dukes Cosimo I and Francesco I.¹³ At a later date in Prague, the artist Archimboldo employed alchemical symbology at the court of Emperor Rudolf II.¹⁴

Recent research into the history of alchemical illustration in the Renaissance period is sparse. Notable exceptions include the studies undertaken by Barbara Obrist, particularly her remarkable analysis of the fifteenth century German manuscript, *Das Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* which she revealed to be a coded political manifesto, rather than a sacrilegious tract.¹⁵ Helena de Jong has undertaken similarly ground-breaking research into the emblems of Michael Maier,¹⁶ as has more recently Hereward Tilton.¹⁷ Meanwhile, Joscelyn

third edition 1948); W. Waetzoldt, *Dürer and his Times* (1955); Kenneth A. Strand, *Woodcuts to the Apocalypse in Dürer's Time; Lucas Cranach d. Ä. 1472–1553: Das gesamte graphische Werk* (Munich, 1972).

¹² For this indispensable study, see Stanton J. Linden, "Alchemy and Eschatology in Seventeenth Century Poetry," *Ambix*, 31 (1984): 102–24.

¹³ Giulio Lensi Orlandi, *Cosimo e Francesco de' Medici Alchimisti* (Florence: Nardini Edizione, 1978). See also Council of Europe, "Astrologia, magia e alchimia nel Rinascimento fiorentino ed europeo" in exhibition catalogue to *Seventeenth European Exhibition of Art, Science and Culture. Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell' Europa del Cinquecento* (Florence: Edizioni Medicee, 1980).

¹⁴ For Rudolf's attitude towards magic: R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 196–242.

¹⁵ Barbara Obrist, *Les Debuts de l'Imagerie Alchimique (XIV^e–XV^e siècles)* (Paris: Le Sycomore, 1982), 126 ff.

¹⁶ Helena M. E. De Jong, Michael Maier's "*Atalanta Fugiens*": *Sources of an Alchemical Book of Emblems* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969).

¹⁷ Hereward Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix: Spiritual Alchemy and Rosicrucianism in the Work of Count Michael Maier (1569–1622)* (Walter de Gruyter, 2003).

Godwin has been one of the very few to discuss the visual imagery of Robert Fludd.¹⁸ On the whole, reputable studies are more likely to be encountered in the field of Renaissance English literature,¹⁹ or of medicine and chemistry, notable names in the latter respect being those of Allen G. Debus²⁰ and Walter Pagel,²¹ to mention only those most relevant to the present discussion. Scholars of the Rosicrucian movement, Carlos Gilly in particular,²² as well as Donald R. Dickson,²³ focus almost entirely on the written documentation. Tilton's recent important study of Maier's work in the context of the Rosicrucian movement, although it acknowledges the alchemical illustrations, continues to be an analysis written from the point of view of the history of science and his main body of evidence is drawn from the written texts.²⁴

Although alchemical symbols and theory seem to have been common currency in medieval and Renaissance urban discourse, the dominating concepts of Paracelsian alchemy bore seditious implications against the authority of the institutionalised Church. In fact, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there is evidence of constant antagonism towards Paracelsian alchemy on the part of both Protestant and Catholic theologians and natural philosophers, due to its insidious heretical nature. It was clear to many Renaissance scholars, such as Thomas Erastus (1523–1583) and Marin Mersenne (1588–1648),

¹⁸ Joscelyn Godwin, *Robert Fludd. Hermetic philosopher and surveyor of two worlds* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979; reprinted by Grand Rapids: Phanes Press, 1991).

¹⁹ For example, there are studies by literary scholars, such as Stanton J. Linden, "The Ripley Scrolls and 'The Compound of Alchemy'," *Glasgow Emblem Studies* (Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1998), vol. 3, 73–94. See also György E. Szónyi, "Architectural Symbolism and Fantasy Landscapes in Alchemical and Esoteric Discourse: Revelatory Images," *Glasgow Emblem Studies* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1998), vol. 3, 49–69.

²⁰ Allen G. Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy. Paracelsian Science and Medicine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Heinemann, 1977) and also, Allen G. Debus, *Robert Fludd and the Philosophicall Key* (New York: Science History Publications, 1979).

²¹ Pagel's main work is his authoritative study of Paracelsus: Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus* (Basel, second revised edition 1982).

²² Carlos Gilly, *Adam Haslmayr. Die erste Verkunder der Manifeste der Rosenkreuzer (Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica)* (Amsterdam: In der Pelikaan, 1994) and Carlos Gilly (ed.), *Cimelia Rhodostaurótica. Die Rosenkreuzer im Spiegel der zwischen 1610 und 1660 entstandenen Handschriften und Drücke (Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica)* (Amsterdam: In der Pelikaan, 1995).

²³ Donald R. Dickson, *The Tessera of Antilia. Utopian Brotherhoods and Secret Societies in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 1998).

²⁴ Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix* (2003), *passim*.

that the Paracelsian alchemists were transmitting unorthodox theosophical views which had been developed outside the doctrinal framework of the Christian Church. These beliefs continued to be expressed in the terms of Christian soteriology by the Paracelsians, for they considered themselves to be true disciples of Jesus Christ. Paracelsus himself had adamantly rejected pagan Greek scholarship on the grounds that they were inappropriate mentors for Christian thinkers, but, paradoxically, he himself popularised a type of revived paganism influenced by Ficino's and Pico della Mirandola's Christian interpretation of Greek Hermetism.²⁵ Erastus criticised Paracelsus for his paganistic medicine, specifically his use of astral demonology.²⁶ Paracelsus believed that each illness originated in a particular star ("jede Krankheit ein Stern"), whose virtue needed to be embodied in the corresponding earthly "arcanum," a medicine that could heal the ailment.²⁷

A recent publication by Carlos Gilly has clarified the history of the conflict between Paracelsians and the established Churches, specifically addressing the relation of Adam Haslmayr to the Rosicrucians and the patronage of such ideas by Duke August of Anhalt. He has also provided an account of the Lutheran attacks on Valentin Weigel's dissident theosophy. Referring to the contemporary term "Theophrastia Sancta" for the new Paracelsian religion, Gilly relates its origins to the beliefs of the Valentinians (first century AD), a source first suggested by Abraham von Franckenberg.²⁸ Gilly has pro-

²⁵ J. R. Partington, *A History of Chemistry* (London: Macmillan, 1961), 2, 115–51. Paracelsus departed from Galenic and Arabic medicine in his conviction that chemically prepared inorganic medicines were superior to the herbal preparations of medieval physicians. He stressed the importance of the metals, particularly mercury, antimony and iron salts, advocating also the medicinal use of poisons, such as arsenic, in strict dosages. He prepared these by means of distillation in order to purify and intensify the volatile spirits of the substance by removing the impure earths. This would introduce the hidden virtue of the star governing the disease and induce healing by homeopathic means.

²⁶ For the history of this dispute: Debus, *Chemical Philosophy* (1977), 1, 129–34. Also see Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, multivol. (New York: Columbia University Press, second reprint, 1953), 5, 652–67.

²⁷ Pagel, *Paracelsus* (1982), 105–12. Also see Walter Pagel, "Paracelsus als "Naturmystiker" in Antoine Faivre and Rolf Christian Zimmermann (eds.), *Epochen der Naturmystik* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1979), 85.

²⁸ Carlos Gilly, "'Theophrastia Sancta': Paracelsianism as a religion in conflict with the established Churches" in: Ole Peter Grell (ed.), *Paracelsus: The Man and his Reputation, his ideas and their Transformation* (Leiden: Brill 1998), 151–185.

duced a more radical critique of the dissident Spirituals than that of Will-Erich Peuckert in his definitive history of “Pansophia” in the Reformation period.²⁹

In the present discussion, one particular alchemical emblem takes centre stage, namely, an engraving of Christ as the philosopher’s stone, the fourth in a series of pictures located in Stefan Michelspacher’s *Cabala: Spiegel der Kunst und Natur* (Augsburg: David Francke, 1616) (fig. 1). Michelspacher was a Tyrolean medical practitioner, as well as an artist working in Augsburg in ca. 1618–1623. He probably designed his own illustrations which depict in subtle alchemical terms some important themes from the Revelation of St. John concerning the fate of humanity on the Day of Judgement. The engraving of Christ is an alchemical homily on the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, the only two recognised by Luther. The sacrament of Communion is here employed as a metaphor of the philosopher’s stone, a chemical and spiritual transmutation of gross matter into a divine substance comparable to the body of the resurrected Christ.³⁰

Michelspacher’s alchemical imagery is a hybrid of Roman and Protestant doctrines, revealing him to have been, by no means, a conventional believer whose opinions would have been validated by any established Church. His real sympathies lay with those spiritual groups who had become alienated from institutionalised belief-systems. According to his own admission, his work was a tribute to the Rosicrucian Brotherhood to whom he dedicated the 1616 edition of the treatise. As a historical reality the Brotherhood may never have existed.³¹ Nevertheless, the mythical Rosicrucians inspired such a large numbers of admirers to produce such a flood of publications in their name, that this literary by-product could validly be termed a “Rosicrucian movement.” These fellow-travellers employed an identifiably common idiom, as Yates has demonstrated, that of Paracelsian phraseology and content.³² The authors of the Rosicrucian

²⁹ Will-Erich Peuckert, *Pansophie: ein versuch zur Geschichte der weissen und schwarzen Magie* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1956–73).

³⁰ In this context, see also Urszula Szulakowska, “The Apocalyptic Eucharist and Religious Dissidence in Stefan Michelspacher’s *Cabala*,” *Aries. Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism*, 3 (2003): 200–23.

³¹ For the most recent research on this topic see Roland Edighoffer, “Rosicrucianism” [in:] Wouter J. Hanegraaff (ed.), *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism* (Leiden; Boston; Brill, 2005), 2, 1009–14.

³² Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (1986), 92–102.

Manifestoes, the *Fama Fraternitatis* (Kassel, 1615)³³ and the *Confessio* (Kassel, 1616),³⁴ declared their adherence to the reformed faith, but in the *Confessio* they also praised the value of the esoteric arts and placed them on the same level of importance as the Bible. Eventually they were to produce an alternative to the established Churches in a private form of spirituality. This psychological need for a personalised faith was one of the currents contributing to the Enlightenment project of a society based on secular values.³⁵

Michelspacher's engraving depicts the crowned figure of Jesus Christ at his Second Coming on the Day of Doom (fig. 1). Seated in a baptismal font, he administers the Eucharistic wine to two kneeling figures, male and female, who represent the alchemical Sulphur and Mercury in the form of the Sun and Moon. They also represent the human soul and body. Christianity had been an eschatological belief system from its earliest days among the Jerusalem Christians, anticipating the return of the Saviour Christ in the form of the Universal Judge.³⁶ The sacraments of Baptism and Communion were an integral part of eschatological discourse, since they prepared the soul for Judgement and, subsequently, for its reunification with the resurrected body. According to Paul, participation in the sacraments, specifically the Eucharist, was a guarantee of physical resurrection.³⁷ The eating of the body of Christ transformed the old sinner into the "new man," reborn in flesh, not only in soul. In marked contrast to the Greek disparagement of the body in favour of the soul, Judaism had evolved a distinctive belief in the resurrection of the body. The idea seems to have originated in Old Testament prophecy during the Exilic period, that of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Enoch and Baruch. The development of Pauline doctrine among the Gentiles in the first Christian century significantly reinforced this Jewish apocalyptic mind-set, particularly in Paul's insistence that Christ had saved

³³ For the statement of allegiance to Protestantism in the *Fama Fraternitatis*, see Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (1986), 249.

³⁴ The full statement of the Protestant principles of the authors of the *Confessio* is found in Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (1986), 259.

³⁵ Schilling, *Religion, Political Culture and the emergence of early Modern Europe* (1992), 205–45.

³⁶ Robin Bruce Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford University Press, 1988), 2 ff.

³⁷ A definitive study of this topic is Geoffrey Wainwright, *Eucharist and Eschatology* (London: Epworth Press, 1971).

sinner from eternal death, not only from perdition in hell.³⁸ Without the rite of Baptism to remove the deadly taint of original sin and without the saving grace of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist, it was believed that the human body would never rise again.³⁹ Without the resurrected body, there would be no eternal life.

Another well-known image of Christ the Judge appears in a context which is slightly later than the time-period covered by the present study. This is the engraving by Robert Vaughan made for Elias Ashmole's *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (London: G. Grismond, 1652) (fig. 2). It depicts the crowned figure of Christ leaning over his creation which takes the shape of a globe divided into three parts, as in traditional medieval cartography. The saved souls progress upwards toward an enthroned angel holding two swords, while the damned are cast into a tremendous fiery furnace that occupies a good half of the picture. The alchemical context of this picture is related to an account concerning the regulation of the furnace, but its soteriology is derived from late medieval illuminations of the Last Judgement, as well from early Renaissance alchemical eschatology such as that of the *Gloria Mundi*.⁴⁰

During the early Reformation, the obsession with the Last Days and the Second Coming had been fanned into a white-heat by Luther and the first generation of reformers. Luther's theology was by its very nature eschatological and apocalyptic. In his view, since Germany had failed to keep the true faith, the heavy punishment of God was looming, as was evidenced by astronomical and meteorological portents. In Michelspacher's engraving there is present a threat of damnation on the unworthy at the final Judgement who would include both Protestants and Catholics. The second image of his *Cabala* belongs to the Protestant context of anti-Catholic satire, since it derides the Pope by picturing him as Anti-Christ. He takes the form of the apocalyptic Beast from the Earth and of the Whore of Babylon (fig. 44). Yet, in spite of his recourse to Lutheran caricature, other details in the fourth engraving of Christ the King (fig. 1) demonstrate that Michelspacher's personal religious views were, in important

³⁸ Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis* (1988), 72–73, 79, 87. This is another indispensable work on this theme.

³⁹ Caroline Walker Bynam, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 58.

⁴⁰ *Musaeum Hermeticum reformatum et amplificatum* (Frankfurt, 1678), 203–304.

respects, at odds with Lutheran doctrine. His dissident position is evidenced in the use of the motif of the cross-bearing Christ standing in a wine-press operated by an angel (top-right). This visual emblem was an important Catholic motif. In fact, it was employed as proof of the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation and had become, at this time, a belligerent symbol of Catholic militancy in southern Germany and France.⁴¹ These doctrinal contradictions in Michelspacher's image can only be reconciled through his adoption of a theosophical position that aims to transcend sectarian disputes in favour of an experience of Christ's presence within the heart and soul of the individual. Michelspacher's engraving of Christ is an image of the Apocalyptic Judge who will punish all those who ignore his voice within their own soul, heeding only externally-imposed doctrines leading to sectarian bloodshed.

It is probable that Michelspacher belonged to dissident-groups that were more at odds with Lutheran orthodoxy, than they were with Roman Catholicism which they regarded as being a spent force of little consequence. Many of these Paracelsians, such as Jacob Boehme (1575–1624) and Abraham von Franckenberg, detested the anti-Catholic campaign conducted by their own Protestant camp. Already among the second generation of Protestants there had emerged groups of radical Spirituals, intensely disliked by Luther for their divergence from official Church teaching. They were led by philosophers, such as Hans Denck, Jorg Hauck and Sebastian Brandt. According to the studies undertaken by André Séguenny, there was a revival of interest in Erasmian Catholic humanism among many of these non-conformist separatists.⁴²

In Michelspacher's engraving, the rejected (possibly the conformist Protestants) are depicted in an abject condition in Purgatory, standing in a cave beneath the earth, imploring Christ to rescue them (fig. 1). It is another image that distinguishes Michelspacher's theology from that of Lutherans. The Catholic doctrine of Purgatory had been rejected adamantly by Luther, but, in spite of this, it was retained in alchemy since purgation was an essential stage in the processing of the chemicals that composed the philosopher's stone.

⁴¹ Maurice Vloberg, *L'Eucharistie dans l'Art* (Grenoble, Paris: B. Arthaud, 1946), 172–83.

⁴² André Séguenny, *Les Spirituels: philosophie et religion chez les jeunes humanistes allemands au seizième siècle* (Baden-Baden, Bouxwiller: Editions Valentin Koerner, 2000), 49–64.

The alchemists Zosimos and Stephanos, writing in Alexandria during the first Christian centuries, had described the chemical process in the form of a story of ritual sacrifice incorporating priest and initiates.⁴³ In a well-known study, Mircea Eliade sought for the origins of such bloody accounts in ancient shamanism and metal-smithing.⁴⁴ The materials of the stone, like the human body and soul, died and underwent purification, prior to their resurrection in a glorious body.

In the state of Purgatory after death, retribution for ill-doing was exacted by God through the torture of the somatic flesh (a spiritual substance with sensual attributes). The physical flesh, meanwhile, lay in the grave till Judgement Day.⁴⁵ According to this doctrine, the flesh was the ground of human salvation, its torment a necessity, whether in life as a martyr for Christ, or after death in the state of purgation.⁴⁶ Martyrdom was believed to resource the Church with the spiritual wealth of divine grace, the foundation for its future development on earth. According to Walker Bynam, after the time of the early martyrs had passed, deliverance for believers was assured only through participation, even if vicariously, in physical torment.

In a manner comparable to Christian eschatology, alchemical literature insisted on its own purificatory rituals that involved the preliminary torture, death and dismemberment of the “prima materia.” The canonical Catholic depiction of Christ’s sacrificed body was a primary source for sixteenth and seventeenth century illustrations of the tortured body in anatomical and alchemical publications. In effect, the practice of Paracelsian alchemical medicine and surgery had a sacramental connotation, since the physician acted on the human body in the same manner as God worked on the great universal Macrocosmic Body. In like manner, the Paracelsian physician introduced the universal panacea, a liquid form of the philosopher’s stone, into the alchemical alembic that was the Microcosmic human body. This alchemical medicine was permeated with the starry virtues of the heavens and the grace of Christ’s Spirit, redeeming the body and soul of the patient by granting him not only an extended life on earth, but even eternal salvation.

⁴³ Zosime de Panapolis, *Mémoires authentiques* (ed. Michèle Mertens), vol. IV, 1st part of *Les alchimistes grecs* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1995), 36–39.

⁴⁴ Mircea Eliade, *Forgérons et Alchimistes* (Paris: Editions Flammarion, 1977).

⁴⁵ Walker Bynam, *Resurrection of the Body* (1995), 290 ff.

⁴⁶ Walker Bynam, *Resurrection of the Body* (1995), 43–44.

In actuality, it appears that the alchemical references to the sacred, even Eucharistic, character of the alchemical process of transmutation were often more than merely symbolic metaphors. Paracelsian alchemists, specifically Khunrath, Maier and Fludd, seem to have regarded their chemical procedures as being essentially the same rite as the mass. This was a symbolic usurpation of the highest spiritual and political authority since the right to offer Communion was jealously guarded by the official hierarchies of all Christian denominations.⁴⁷ The alchemical Eucharist and its associated eschatology was a deeply heretical concept.

There was another unorthodox aspect to alchemical theosophy in its theory of the philosopher's stone, since this idea pre-empted the Last Day in bringing heaven down to earth prior to the arrival of the New Jerusalem at the end of time. The alchemist John of Rupescissa, writing in the 1370s during an earlier age of keen apocalyptic expectations, had named the stone "coelum" ("man's heaven"),⁴⁸ as did Khunrath on his model. The philosopher's stone in Paracelsian alchemy was conceptualised as being the strangest substance on earth; spirit made flesh, like Christ. Its alternative designation was "quintessence," the fifth essence of Aristotle, an aetherial matter. It was possible for medieval and Renaissance philosophers to imagine the presence on earth of such a somatic substance due to the ambiguous Christian description of heaven that insufficiently distinguishes it from the physical world. The Christian heaven, supposedly eternal and outside of time, nonetheless, remains a part of earthly life since heaven's inhabitants and its ruling Deity continually interact with humanity. The heavenly denizens seem to intercede in the annual cycle of the Church's rituals, in its intercessionary prayers for the dead, in the visions vouchsafed to both saints and miscreants and by means of portents sent by God in the form of comets and storms, ghosts, angels, demons and suchlike entities parading across mortal time and space. Since heaven was both simultaneous with and posterior to life, it was popularly regarded in medieval and Renaissance Christendom as being an extension of time into eternity.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Luther's attitude to the laity is discussed in Paul A. Russell, *Lay Theology in the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 56–64.

⁴⁸ Johannes de Rupescissa, "Liber Magistri de confectione veri Lapidis Philosophorum" in Joannes Jacobus Mangetus, *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa*, 2 vols. (Geneva: Chevet et al., 1702), 80–84.

⁴⁹ Eric Alliez and Michel Feher, "Reflections of a Soul" in "Fragments for a History of the Human Body," *Zone*, 4 (New York: Urzone, 1989), 2, 46–84.

If this was so, then what exactly was eternal life? Whatever could it be that would survive the death of the body? It is this question that constitutes the central issue in the present study, that of the survival of individual identity: the question of the manner in which subjectivity was created and the manner of its dissolution. Unlike the pagan viewpoint, in Catholic Europe from the medieval period to the present day, identity has been located definitively within the human body. Caroline Walker Bynam has undertaken a detailed analysis of the medieval anxiety concerning individual survival which was fundamentally an enquiry into the process of individuation. Was a disembodied soul the same as the original earthly individual? The Church pronounced against such a view, since it believed that individual survival depended on the survival of the body. Both body and soul constituted the individual and both had to be cleansed through purgation and eventually reunited.⁵⁰ The doctrine of Purgatory had been gradually accepted by the medieval Church, since it implied that an individual would regain his original body at the Resurrection, rather than being given a new one by Christ.⁵¹ The concept of Purgatory also provided the rationale for the chemical procedures of the medieval alchemists, adding another layer of meaning to the symbolism.

In medieval doctrine it was the Church alone that could authorise the survival of the subject (that is, the body) by ensuring that the soul and its temporary somatic body went either to Purgatory, or (infrequently) directly to heaven through the grace of the Church's sacraments. The corporeal body could survive only by sacrificing itself and transforming its qualities into those of the "glorious body," a Christ-like physicality.⁵² An expression of the glorified physique appeared in a distinctive image of the resurrected Christ in the 1595 edition of Khunrath's *Amphiteatrum Sapientiae Aeternae*. It differed significantly from the image of the risen Christ that had been commonly employed to represent the philosopher's stone in late medieval iconography. For example, in the *Rosarium Philosophorum* of the early fifteenth century and its later printed editions, Christ rises in the manner of conventional Christian iconography. A cross in his hands,

⁵⁰ Walker Bynam, *Resurrection of the Body* (1995), 32 ff.

⁵¹ Walker Bynam, *Resurrection of the Body* (1995), 186.

⁵² There is a discussion of these ideas in relation to the theology of Caspar Schwenckfeld in Séguenny, *Les Spirituels* (2000), 554 ff.

draped in a red cloth, he steps-out from the tomb (fig. 4).⁵³ In contrast, Khunrath's image shows a naked male figure in the midst of a fiery light, his arms outstretched as in images of Christ crucified (fig. 3). Below him, the dove of the Holy Spirit, the "Ruah-Elohim" (Spirit of God), emits Pentecostal tongues of flame. Together they create a universe in the form of the Hebrew alphabet, the primal language. The emblem represents the apocalyptic "Son of Man," as described by the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel, a designation later ascribed to Christ in the Gospels. In his origins he is the Cosmic "Anthropos" of Middle Eastern religions. The new visual motif of the Macrocosmic Man was exhaustively exploited by Robert Fludd who appropriated Vesalian anatomical illustration for his imagery. The Hermetic source for both Khunrath's and Fludd's Anthropos was the text of *Corpus Hermeticum* I in which the Demiurge Anthropos, son of "Nous," unites with "Phusis" (Nature). From this union emerges the primal substratum of creation, matter animated by "pneuma."⁵⁴

It was through the sacrifice of his own body that the Cosmic Man had made the world, re-using his own substance as the material of the universe. Prior to the Christian era, the myth of Anthropos, Son of Man, had been one of the most evocative religious stories inherited from the Middle East, specifically from Iran. It deeply affected the imagery and discourse of both Christianity and pagan mysticism. The image of this Great Man, the primal Creator, became one of the fundamental concepts in Paracelsian theosophy and alchemical medicine.

⁵³ "Rosarium Philosophorum" in *De Alchimia Opuscula* (Frankfurt, 1550), reprinted in *Artis Auriferae* (Basel, 1593). See also Christ as the philosopher's stone in "Rosarium Philosophorum" in Eberhard Zetzner (ed.), *Theatrum chemicum*, 5 (Strassburg: Heredium Eberhard Zetzner, 1622) 191.

⁵⁴ Brian P. Copenhaver, *Hermetica* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 3–4.

CHAPTER ONE

THE COSMIC BODY OF CHRIST-ANTHROPOS

But as the days of Noe were, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. For as in the days before the flood they were eating and drinking . . . And knew not until the flood came, and took them all away; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be . . . Therefore be ye also ready: for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of man cometh (Matthew 24: 37–44)¹

The concept of a Cosmic Man, the All, the soul of both the universe and humanity, was a significant factor in the theosophy of Paracelsus (1493–1541). The first visual depiction of this Being in the form of Christ-Anthropos, the “Son of Man,” appeared in Khunrath’s alchemical treatise in 1595 (fig. 3). It was developed into the image of the Macrocosmic Man by Robert Fludd who was a prolific encyclopaedist of Hermetic, medical and mechanical knowledge. In his *Philosophia Sacra* (1626), Fludd recalled texts in the Hermetic corpus (ca. second century AD) which recounted how “Man” (“Anthropos”), the divine Son of God, had created the world by uniting with “Nature” (“Physis”).²

Fludd had achieved notoriety for his early support of the Rosicrucian Manifestos in his *Apologia* (1616),³ expanded into the *Tractatus Apologeticus* (1617).⁴ He claimed a precocious intellectual ability for himself, stating that he had already composed the greater part of his enormous work, the “Macrocosm” (*Utriusque Cosmi . . . Historia*, 1, 1617),⁵ during

¹ All biblical quotations are taken from *The Holy Bible. Today’s King James version . . . Appointed to be read in Churches* (Bath: Bible First Ltd., 2002).

² Robert Fludd, *Philosophia Sacra et vere Christiana Seu Meteorologia Cosmica* (Frankfurt: Officina Bryana, 1626), 28.

³ Robert Fludd, *Apologia compendiarium fraternitatem de Rosae Crucis . . .* (Leiden: Gottfried Basson, 1616).

⁴ Robert Fludd, *Tractatus Apologeticus Integritatem Societatis De Rosae Crucis . . .* (Leiden: Gottfried Basson, 1617). These texts are discussed in Allen G. Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy. Paracelsian Science and Medicine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Heinemann, 1977), vol. 1, 213–15. See also Serge Hutin, *Robert Fludd (1574–1637). Alchimiste et Philosophe Rosicrucien* (Paris: Editions Litteraires, 1971).

⁵ This had several parts which were published according to a complicated plan as follows: Robert Fludd, *Utriusque Cosmi Maioris scilicet Minoris Metaphysica, Physica*

his undergraduate days as a medical student at Oxford. In 1598–1604/5 he undertook a tour of the continent. On his return, he eventually managed to graduate from Oxford, after much strife with the authorities due to his Paracelsian and anti-Gallenian convictions (but primarily due to his arrogant rudeness). He then commenced a successful and highly-visible public life as a physician at the court of James I, continuing to publish a series of weighty theosophical works, illustrated by inspired original engravings of an exceptional visionary power. Fludd gained, with time, considerable diplomatic skills, since he managed to defend his theosophical ideas and the magical aspect of his medical practice against James' suspicions that he was a necromancer.⁶

In some Hellenistic religious groups Anthropos had become interlinked with the historic figure of Jesus Christ, thereby creating a distinctive Redeemer type. The medieval alchemists added their own elements to this myth in their concept of "Mercurius," the prime matter to which was attributed the cosmic qualities of Anthropos. When the idea of the philosopher's stone developed in late Hellenistic alchemy it was imagined as being a perfected form of Mercurius.⁷ In the context of medieval Christianity, this pneumatic entity gradually acquired Christ-like attributes as a martyred Being that was put to death, but gained the victory over corruption. Subsequently, from the late fourteenth century the stone was depicted in manuscript illuminations as Christ, the Cosmic Man, containing all manifestation within his own body. In alchemical illustrations he appeared in both his crucified and resurrected forms. According to Obrist, visual emblems of the stone as Christ were first developed by late fourteenth century alchemists, commencing with the manuscript written by Gratheus, *La Sagesse de Salomon*.⁸ The resurrection of Christ

atque Technica Historia in duo Volumina secundum Cosmi differentiam divisam (Oppenheim: Johann Theodore de Bry, 1617–26): "Macrocosm," 1, pt. 1 (1617); "Macrocosm," 1, pt. 2 (1618); "Microcosm," 2, pt. 1 (1619); "Microcosm," 2, pt. 2 (1621); "Microcosm," 2, pt. 3 (1623); "Microcosm," 2, and pt. 4 (1626). See the plan of the treatise in Godwin, *Fludd* (1991), 93.

⁶ For the manuscript original of Fludd's apologia: C. H. Josten, "Truth's Golden Harrow," *Ambix*, 3 (1949): 91–150. Fludd's life has been discussed in William H. Huffman, *Robert Fludd and the End of the Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1988).

⁷ Sherwood-Taylor, *Alchemists* (1976), 61, 78. The concept of solidified "pneuma" seems to originate in the *Emerald Table* which may date from the second to third century AD, but is known only in early Arabic texts, not in Greek.

⁸ MS Vienne Bibliothèque Nationale MS 2372, folio 57v. In the same manu-

next appeared in the *Buch der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* (*The Book of the Holy Trinity*) which was composed by a German alchemist at the time of the Council of Constance in 1414–1418.⁹ This treatise used an extensive range of Christian icons to express the universality of prime matter. Like Christ, the matter underwent purification, a process symbolised by alchemical imagery of crucifixion and resurrection.¹⁰

Mercurius in alchemy could also signify the feminine principle, “Spiritus.” It was depicted in the form of the moon, the opposite principle to sulphur, a masculine entity, or substance, identified with the sun and “anima.” Mercurius retained in alchemy his pagan meaning as the dual-natured messenger of the gods: spirit and matter, female and male, similar attributes to those of Anthropos in the Hermetic corpus. As such he was identified with the serpent, or dragon, symbols of the “menstruum,” the life-force in the blood with a dangerous potency. The handling of blood was to be avoided. It was only by undergoing a process of alchemical purgation that the menstruum could become the elixir of life, the quintessential “coelum.”¹¹ Many alchemists from the sixteenth century regarded the quintessence as being equivalent to the Eucharistic blood of Christ, offering health, if not eternal life itself. The quintessence, or “pneuma,” was a volatile substance that could be chemically extracted and “fixed” by means of a suitable procedure to create the life-prolonging elixir, or tincture.¹² The alchemist Senior (tenth century, or earlier) in a Latin text had revealed that the “tincture” (elixir) was animated by its own soul.¹³

script there is another early illustrated treatise that employs imagery of Christ, written by the alchemist Constantinus, *Le livre des secrets de ma dame alchimie*, MS Vienne Bibliothèque Nationale MS 2372. See Obrist, *Les Debuts de l'Imagerie Alchimique* (1982), 67 ff; figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11.

⁹ For example, in MS Nuremberg Germanisches Nationalmuseum 80061, folio 98v. Discussed in Obrist, *Les Debuts de l'Imagerie Alchimique* (1982), 117 ff. Another essential study which discusses the *Book of the Holy Trinity* is Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub, “Signa Hermetis” in *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 4 (1937): 93–162, see esp. pages 107–12.

¹⁰ For example, MS Nuremberg Germanisches Nationalmuseum MS 80061, folios 97v, 98v, 109r in Obrist, *Les Debuts de l'Imagerie Alchimique* (1982), 117 ff.

¹¹ This idea originates with John of Rupescissa. See also F. N. L. Poynter (ed.), *Chemistry in the Service of Medicine* (London, 1963), 5–26.

¹² Sherwood-Taylor, *Alchemists* (1976), 63–67.

¹³ Senior's text is found in Eberhard Zetzner (ed.), *Theatrum chemicum Praecipuos Selectorum Auctorum* (Strassburg: Heredium Eberhard Zetzner, 1622) 5, 193–239: “Senioris Zadith, filii Hamuelis Tabula Chemica.” This deals with the making of the stone on the model of the human body. It is gestated in nine months. On page

In one of the most influential late medieval treatises, the *Rosarium Philosophorum cum figuris*, the philosopher's stone was represented by an image of Christ rising from his tomb (fig. 4).¹⁴ The author is unknown, though it has been suggested that he may have been the late twelfth century Petrus Toletanus, or his supposed brother Arnald of Villanova. The *Rosarium Philosophorum* was composed of quotations from the medieval master alchemists, both Arabic and western, with later commentaries added. The treatise was first printed in Lyons in 1504, then later in Frankfurt in 1550 in the second part of a compendium, the *De alchimia opuscula*, along with twenty woodcut illustrations. Scholars consider that these were based on a late medieval original which has since been lost. The text, however, continued to be issued without the pictures, the pictorial versions being known as the "Rosarium cum figuris."¹⁵ It is likely that the visual images were created in the early fifteenth century character, being inserted into a pre-existing text with a strong Arabic influence. A particularly significant presence in the text is that of the alchemist "Senior." There exist manuscript versions of the *Rosarium's* iconographic sequence, but these belong to the sixteenth century and appear to be copies from the printed versions (for example, MS. St. Gallen Stadtbibliothek Vadiana 394a).

Hence, it was in the German-speaking territories that there originated alchemical emblems depicting Mercurius as a cosmic divinity who took the form of Christ. According to Obrist, the alchemists' appropriation of Christian iconography was a strategy intended to counter the arguments of scholastics who maintained with Aristotle that "species" constituted distinct orders which were not interchangeable. Therefore, since the different metals belonged to different species, lead could not turn into gold. In response, alchemists "proved" the truth of alchemy by means of pictures, aiming to confuse real-

233 he says that "est tinctura quae est animata, quia ascendit spiritus ad custodem altiozem."

¹⁴ This text may be found as the "Rosarium Philosophorum" in *Theatrum chemicum* (Zetzner, 1622) vol. 5, illustration on page 191. It is accompanied by two lines in German: "Nach meinem viel unnd manches leiden unnd marter gross Bin ich erstanden/ clarificiert/ und aller mackel bloss." On page 189, the accompanying text states: "Qui habet istud dei donum mundi habet dominium ad finem divitiarum pervenit et naturam vinculum confregit."

¹⁵ The authoritative edition of the *Rosarium* is by Lutz Claren and Joachim Huber (eds), *Rosarium Philosophorum*, 2 vols. (Weinheim: VCH, 1992). See vol. 2, Joachim Telle, "Bemerkungen zum 'Rosarium Philosophorum'," 180–86.

ity with its painted simulacrum. In addition, by using Christian imagery they deliberately conflated alchemical imagery with the sacred visions of the saints. In this manner, the alchemists moved their theories from the ground of scholastic debate to that of the unquestionable truths of the Christian faith.¹⁶

After the 1590s, the use of Christological emblems in Paracelsian alchemy ceased altogether, apart from the one instance in Michel-spacher's *Cabala* of the cross-bearing Christ (fig. 1) and a shadowy reference to the crucifixion in Maier's alchemical mass (fig. 16). Although there were many textual references to Christ and his crucifixion in the treatises of Khunrath and Fludd, as well as occasionally in Maier's work, these never took visual form. In fact, Christian iconography was replaced by a new type of kabbalistic imagery. In 1595 Khunrath had retained only one image from late medieval Christology, that of the resurrected Christ (fig. 3). Khunrath analyses the nature of the Μακροκοζμου Filius (the son of the Macrocosm) which is his term for the antique "Anthropos."¹⁷ He was born in the light and Christ is the light that moves nature. In the engraving itself texts reveal the man to be the true Son of God ("Vere filius DEI erat IPSE") and he is the sign of victory ("SIGNO VINCES IN HOC"). In the text Khunrath assures the reader that the world is one, because God forbids plurality ("Quia Deus plures noluit").¹⁸ The universe is a single Macrocosmic body to which the Microcosmic human being is integrally related.

There were two events in the Gospels that related the glorious transformation of Christ, that of the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor (Luke 9, 28b–36) which the Church commemorates on the 6th August and that of the Ascension, a feast established in ca. 370 AD to be celebrated forty days after Easter Sunday. Khunrath's image, however, was used to represent not only the Christian Messiah, but more specifically Christ as the "Son of Man" whom he equated with the Hermetic Anthropos. Khunrath's theosophy was amplified by the kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin in which Christ had taken the form of the "Ruach-Elohim," the moving Spirit-Creator of Genesis 1: 2.¹⁹ The meaning of Khunrath's emblem was explained by Johannes

¹⁶ Obrist, *Les Debuts de l'Imagerie Alchimique* (1982), 55–65, 248–49.

¹⁷ Khunrath, *Amphiteatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (1609), 198.

¹⁸ Khunrath, *Amphiteatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (1609), 100.

¹⁹ Szulakowska, *Alchemy of Light* (2000), 120, 122.

Arndt (1555–1621) in a commentary appended to Khunrath's *De Igne Magorum* (1608).²⁰ Arndt had been a respected Lutheran theologian, though he admired Paracelsian theosophy, alchemy and kabbalah.²¹ His theology of the birth of the “new man” through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit displayed the influence of the “schwärmer” (heretics) of the 1530s–1560s, as well as of Valentin Weigel (1535–88).²² Arndt explains that the Hebrew names in Khunrath's engraving are those of an “angel” within the circle,²³ a reference that indicates he could be thinking of Reuchlin's kabbalistic angel Metatron who was the Messiah Christ.²⁴ The theme of this picture is the descent of Anthropos-Christ into the inferior world, as the “Ruah-Elohim,” the Creator-God.²⁵ In the accompanying text he is said to be the philosopher's stone and the “mundus parvus.”²⁶

For the kabbalist, the secret name of God, known as the “Tetragrammaton,” was the source of power. Pico della Mirandola in his *Conclusiones Nonogentae* (1482) had first attempted to interpret the Jewish kabbalistic texts in Christian terms.²⁷ It was Reuchlin, however,

²⁰ Johannes Arndt, “Judicium über die vier Figuren des Grossen Amphiteatrum Henrici Khunraths” in Heinrich Khunrath, *De Igne Magorum Philosophorumque secreto extremo et visibili. Das ist Philosophische Erklahrung* (Strassburg: Lazarus Zetzner, 1608), 107–23.

²¹ An authoritative recent study of Arndt's work is Hermann Geyer, *Johann Arndts “Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum” als Programm einer Spiritualistisch-Hermetischen Theologie* (Walter de Gruyter, 2001); 1: 28–50, 79–120, 423 ff; 2: 4–33, 183–269; 3: 1–104, 139–50, 211–31. Of continuing interest, however, is the older study by Christian Brau, *Bücher im Staube Die Theologie Johan Arndts in ihrem Verhältnis zur Mystik* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986). See also the study of the relation of Arndt's thought to that of the *Theologia Deutsch* and Weigel in Edmund Weber, *Johann Arndts vier Bücher vom Wahren Christentum* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1969), 21–35, 49–53, 71–75, 108–9, 138–42.

²² For the epistemic changes in the mid-sixteenth century caused by the Lutheran Reformation and their relation to chiliasm see Will-Erich Peuckert, *Die Grosse Wende. Das Apokalyptische Saeculum und Luther* (Hamburg: Claassen and Goverts, 1948), 587–644. See also Horst Pfeifferl, “Valentin Weigel und Paracelsus” in *Paracelsus und sein damonunglaubiges Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Verb. d. Wiss. Ges. Österreichs Verlag, 1988), 78–89. The definitive edition of Weigel's writings is *Valentin Weigel, Sämtliche Schriften* (Stuttgart: Friedrich Frommanns Verlag, 1962–78). Edited by Will-Erich Peuckert and Winfried Zeller.

²³ Arndt, “Judicium” (1608), 113.

²⁴ Johannes Reuchlin, *De Arte Kabbalistica* (1517) (Stuttgart: Friedrich Frommann Verlag, 1964, facs. of 1517 ed.), 133, 143. See also Johannes Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico* (1494) (Stuttgart: Friedrich Frommann Verlag, 1964, facs. of 1494 ed.).

²⁵ The role of the Ruach-Elohim is explained throughout the text, for example in Khunrath, *Amphiteatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (Hanau: n. pr., 1609), 187 ff (“Isagoge”).

²⁶ Khunrath, *Amphiteatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (1609), 193.

²⁷ Pico della Mirandola, *Conclusiones Nongentae* (1532 edition), 151–64.

who had provided the linguistic tools facilitating the Christianisation of the kabbalah in his *De Verbo Mirifico* (1494) and *De Arte Kabbalistica* (1517). He had converted the original Judaic form of the Tetragrammaton, “YHVH,” into a Christian signifier by placing the Hebrew letter “Shin” in its midst, thereby creating the form “YHSVH” (“Jesue”).²⁸ Fludd was so impressed by Reuchlin’s conceit on the name of Jesus that it became the primary structural unit of his own alchemical discourse.

In late fifteenth century Italy there had been an earlier non-Christian influence on alchemy at a time when images were being adopted by alchemists from the contemporary pagan revival. Classicising alchemical emblems were later employed by Fludd, probably under the influence of Maier’s scenarios. In fact, Maier’s emblems in the *Atalanta Fugiens* (Oppenheim: Lucas Jennis: 1617; 1618) set the style for alchemical illustration for the next three centuries, replacing the earlier Christological motifs. Fludd also followed the example of Khunrath’s equally innovatory, but more schematised, engravings in the *Amphitheatrum* (1595; 1604). The most specific depiction of the Macrocosmic body of Anthropos (prior to the reformulation of the image by Khunrath and Fludd) had been an emblem of the god Pan Silvanus, the All, as the philosopher’s stone. It first appeared in the context of Paduan alchemy in a manuscript now located in Florence, MS Biblioteca Laurenziana Cod. Ashburnham 1166 e. 1. b, *Miscellanea d’Alchimia* (ca. 1470) (fig. 5).²⁹

This manuscript was first discussed by Carbonelli, but he did not provide a detailed analysis of its style and contents and it has received little attention since.³⁰ The text is composed of aphorisms of famous alchemists who include Hermes Trismegistus, Aristotle, Geber, Arnald of Villanova, Senior and characters from the *Turba Philosophorum*, such as Rasis. They give instructions about the secrets of the process and the text is supported by visual imagery, arranged in a narrative

²⁸ See Reuchlin on the Tetragrammaton and the name of Jesus in *De Verbo Mirifico* (1964 facs. of 1494 ed.), 95–103 and on the Messiah as Metatron and Christ in *De Arte Kabbalistica* (1964 facs. of 1517 ed.), 133, 143–55. Guillaume Postel also makes the same identification in his commentary on the *Sefer Jezirah* in the 1552 edition, see Guillaume Postel (ed. and comm.), *Sefer Jezirah* (Paris, 1552) (Stuttgart; Bad Cannstatt, 1994). Edited by Wolf Peter Klein, 143–75.

²⁹ MS Florence Biblioteca Laurenziana 1166, *Miscellanea d’Alchimia*, folio 18r.

³⁰ This manuscript was first discussed by Giovanni Carbonelli, *Sulle fonti storiche della chimia e dell’Alchimia in Italia* (Rome, 1925), 111–15. He does not examine the significance of the figure of Pan.

sequence to form an account of the chemical work. The alchemical quintessence is the central theme of the work and there are rare types of illustration depicting the philosopher's stone in geometrical form. Although this manuscript contains some imagery that can be found elsewhere in alchemical texts, such as the alchemical egg (folio 13r), it also includes drawings that are much rarer, or even unique to it, such as the figures of a dying man (folio 16r) (fig. 6) and a recumbent woman with a skull (folio 16v) (fig. 7). There is a series of imagery of suns, moons, the four elements and alchemical equipment, as well as one unique image of a clenched fist that is an ancient counting system, using the fingers of the hand as a primitive abacus (folio 14r).³¹ It is also a mnemonic device and the necessity of an accurate memory is the topic of three folios (8v, 13v and 14r).³²

Jung identified the figures of the male and female as being those of "Adam" and "Eve" in the Garden of Eden (though the treatise lacks a serpent).³³ The originality of the manuscript illustrations validates Obrist's observation that there were no predetermined schemata that alchemical illustrators felt obliged to follow.³⁴ In this particular case, for example, there is no Ouroboros to depict the unity of matter, nor any birds to represent the spirit, or the distillation process. There is no bizarre hermaphroditic figure to symbolise the union of male and female in the stone. Instead, the figure of Pan Silvanus is "το παν," the Macrocosm in the form of the Microcosmic stone. This Paduan emblem was, in fact, a reinterpretation of a medieval exegesis in which Pan had been equated with Christ.

The style of the figures is related to the classical revival taking place in Padua in the 1440s to 1450s, inspired by Donatello's presence at the Santo church. Local antiquarians, such as the humanists Cyriaco d'Ancona and Felice Feliciano had provided the initial

³¹ There are 28 folios (56 recto and verso) 33 of the folios are illustrated. There are 11 naturalistic drawings of alchemical equipment (folios 18v–23v). 5 portraits of famous alchemists. 14 other folios are illustrated with large diagrams of alchemical symbols or abstractions of the chemical process.

³² The most recent analysis of the treatise appeared in Urszula Szulakowska, "Two Italian alchemical manuscripts: some philosophical problems: monism and dualism" in Didier Kahn, Sylvain Matton (eds.), *Alchimie: art, histoire et mythes. Actes du 1er colloque international de la Société d'Etude de l'Histoire de l'Alchimie*, conference papers, Paris, Collège de France, 14–16 mars, 1991 (Paris/Milan, 1995), 249–63.

³³ Carl Gustav Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy* (second edition London: Routledge, 1968), 281.

³⁴ Obrist, *Les debuts de l'Imagerie Alchimique* (1982), 251–56.

stimulus to an interest in the antique remains in the Veneto. The figure of Pan in the manuscript recalls the artist Mantegna's similar interest in such semi-human forms which he was the first to explore in the frescoes of the Eremitani church, as well as in a variety of engravings on the theme of the Dionysia that incorporate pans, fauns and sylvani. Various stylistic elements in the figure drawings suggest that the manuscript is Paduan, but the most conclusive evidence is in the written script. This accords with hands such as that of Bartolommeo Squarca of Padua in the 1470s, being the same half-rounded, Italianate style that preserves Gothic mannerisms and decorative flourishes characteristic of the North-East region, a mixture of cursive and angular.³⁵

The Paduan manuscript with the folio of Pan Silvanus was copied and further elaborated in the early seventeenth century by the illustrator of a manuscript in the British Library, MS London British Library Sloane 1316. In this copy, Pan (folio 13r) is shown as wearing the sun and moon in his hair and he is labelled: "Ista ficus est lapis pater Silvanus." (fig. 8) He is seated on the ground, playing some bagpipes and is made to state: "sum lapis philosophorum." Lost in this copy, however, has been the alchemical numerology and symbolism of the Paduan version, which had referred primarily to his Macrocosmic significance as the body of the All. He has lost his former goat's hooves and his once magnificent bagpipe now retains only one of its seven pipes. In the Paduan original, Pan's physical components were a metaphoric explication of the physical composition of the universe. His face takes the form of the red sun, while a crescent-moon in his hair stands for his goat's horns. His body is shown as hairy. The bagpipe that he carries has seven pipes, representing the seven metals and the planetary bodies. Pan is constituted of the four elements in descending order, thus: water (moon), fire (sun), air (bagpipes) and earth (body and hooves). His elemental construction, plus the fact that bagpipe has the shape of an alchemical still, reveals him to be a symbol of the philosopher's stone. His position in the treatise immediately after pictures of Adam and Eve (sulphur and mercury) dying in the Garden of Eden, indicates that he is their progeny in the form of the perfectly harmonised stone of the philosophers, the resurrected Cosmic Man.

³⁵ Compare, for example, with Bartolommeo Squarca's hand in MS Oxford Bodleian Library Canon., Misc., 87, P. P. Vergerio, *Liber de ingeniis moribus*.

Within this alchemical emblem of Pan there exists a further Christological sub-text. The metaphoric equivalence of Pan with Christ was first explained in the *Reductorium Morale* of Book XV of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, written by Pierre Bersuire in France between 1337 and 1340.³⁶ Bersuire had referred to Pan as being the Macrocosm, following late antique mythographers such as Cornutus in the first century AD,³⁷ Servius, Macrobius in his *Saturnalia* and Hyginus in the *Fabulae*.³⁸ All of them had sought to prove that the pagan gods were forms of the one God who was the Cosmic All. Pan had been described as having a sun-face by Cornutus, since the ancients had described him as "Pan Lucidus," the bringer of light, and thus an appropriate symbol of Christ.³⁹ In the alchemical context, the sun signified the mineral sulphur and its redness referred to the red colours that appeared during the chemical process. Bersuire had explained that Pan was Christ, since his face was inflamed by the fire of charity; his chest was starry, because of the clarity and multiplicity of his virtues; his pipe (syrinx) of seven reeds represented the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit; his legs were hairy like the foliage of Nature and his feet were those of goats to demonstrate Christ's humility in adopting a human body.⁴⁰

In the Paduan Pan Silvanus there also exist musical associations signified by the emblem of the blue star to his left. This refers to Pythagorean cosmic harmony, since the seven pipes of Pan's musical instrument represent the mathematical proportions of the Pythagorean musical scales. In this system it was believed that the heavenly spheres had been formed on the basis of rational harmonic progression. The Pythagorean system was bequeathed to the medieval natural philosophers by Boethius whose writings became the foundation of the medieval university "quadrivium:" mathematics, geometry, music and astronomy.⁴¹

³⁶ Erwin Panofsky (preface), *Petrus Berchorius. Reductorium Morale. Liber XV. Ovidius Moralisatus* (Utrecht, 1966), 40 ff.

³⁷ Fridericus Osannus (ed.), *Lucius Annaeus Cornutus. De Natura Deorum* (Gottingen, 1844), 159.

³⁸ Percival Vaughan Davies, *Macrobius. The Saturnalia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 747–48.

³⁹ Osannus, *Cornutus* (1844), 159 ff.

⁴⁰ Panofsky, *Petrus Berchorius* (1966), 40 ff.

⁴¹ Christoph Meinel, *Alchemie und Musik. Die Alchemie in der Europäischen Kultur und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Wolfenbuttlar Forschungen*, 32 (Wiesbaden: Herzog August Bibliothek) 201–27.

Still later in sixteenth century alchemy, another new image, that of Cosmic Anthropos, was added to the older alchemical portrayals of the philosopher's stone as Christ, or in other traditional forms as a hermaphrodite. It should be noted that whenever the figure of Anthropos appears in late Renaissance alchemy, it is always in the context of eschatology and apocalyptic prophecy. The Old Testament image of "Bar Nasha"/"Anthropos"/"Son of Man" had originated in an apocalyptic context. In the New Testament, Christ as the Son of Man, the suffering Redeemer, becomes the executioner of God's justice on the Day of Doom (Acts 7: 55–60):

Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God.

(Acts 7: 56)

In Luke 21: 25–28, 34–36, Christ foretells his Second Coming, proclaiming that in the Last Times there will be signs in the sun, moon and stars and the roar of the sea troubling the nations of the earth. They will see the Son of Man coming with power and might. His followers are to pray so that they might avoid the tribulations and stand before the Son of Man.

The Christian image of the Son of Man, specifically the one devised by the apostle Paul, was partly a historical inheritance from a pre-Christian Anthropos figure, whose cult had existed in the second century BC in Palestine, Syria and Egypt. Originating in Mesopotamia, this person had been translated to a Judaic context in the apocalyptic texts of Daniel, Ezekiel and Enoch 2. These had provided the original models for the eschatological prophecies in the Synoptic Gospels and the Revelation of John. The Greek "Anthropos" is an abbreviated translation of the older form, "First Man," "Primal Man" or "Great Man,"⁴² originally a nameless Being. In a number of religious beliefs in the Near East and North Africa of the Hellenistic period, Anthropos was regarded as being the source of the physical universe, as well as the Cosmic Soul, or "Pneuma," "Ratio," "Logos," "Inner Man," or "Son of Man."

⁴² A significant older study of this important topic is Carl H. Kraeling, *Anthropos and Son of Man. A Study in Religious Syncretism of the Hellenistic Orient* (New York: Columbia UP, 1927), 108–9. A different approach is taken by Seyoon Kim, *The 'Son of Man' as the Son of God. Wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1983).

The image of the “Son of Man” (“Anthropos”) entered Judaism in the second century BC,⁴³ appearing initially as a nameless, man-like person described in Daniel who subsequently became a messianic character in the account of Enoch. He was an Iranian element that was incorporated into the Jewish account of the creation of Adam. The “Son of Man” or “Anthropos” is a translation of the Hebrew term “bar nasha” which is found in the Synoptic Gospels and in the Hebrew Apocalypses of Daniel and Ezekiel. In the Semitic idiom “bar nasha” was not a first name, simply meaning “one,” or “someone”. It was the Hellenistic Christians who interpreted the term as meaning “the Son of Man” (“Anthropos”), following the Greek translation: “ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.” The original Jewish “bar nasha” is first encountered in the Book of Daniel 7: 13–14, which was also the first to mention the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. He subsequently re-appeared in the apocryphal Book of Enoch (first century BC) which added new elements to messianic prophecy, by integrating the non-Judaic Son of Man, the story of his concealment by God, his role in the revelation of secrets and his final task as universal Judge.⁴⁴ Ezekiel, in turn, developed an eschatological account which prophesied a final conflict at Jerusalem followed by Judgement. The superhuman “Bar Nasha,” as God’s champion, represented the chosen people. Kraeling has, in fact, differentiated between the historical characters of the “Anthropos” and of the “Son of Man” that were fused together in subsequent Christian apocalypticism. As a victorious champion, Anthropos belonged to the history of creation, while the Son of Man “Bar Nasha” was an eschatological type.⁴⁵

To these ancient identities was added in due course the historical Jesus.⁴⁶ It was the apostle Paul who established the definitive Christian dogma concerning the nature of Christ. His account recalls the role of the ancient Iranian and Jewish Saviour figure (although the exact relationship to the pagan elements is the subject of serious contention on the part of Christian theology).

⁴³ Kim, “*Son of Man*” (1983), 15–37.

⁴⁴ Kraeling, *Anthropos and Son of Man* (1927), 128–37.

⁴⁵ Kim, “*Son of Man*” (1983), 15–37. Kraeling, *Anthropos and Son of Man* (1927), 148–50.

⁴⁶ Kraeling, *Anthropos and Son of Man* (1927), 81–92. Kim, “*Son of Man*” (1983), 95–98.

[he] has delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his beloved Son: In whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins. Who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature: For by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible . . . he is before all things, and by him all things consist. And he is the head of the body, the Church: who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead (Colossians 1:13–20).

By the end of the first century AD, in various Syrian and Egyptian theosophical systems, Anthropos was finally named and he was located as a divine being in the Empyrean, the “Pleroma”. In several of these religions he was identified with the Platonic abstract Godhead “Nous,” being designated “Logos” and “the All” (“το παν”), or Macrocosm.⁴⁷

A different vision of Anthropos is encountered in late Hellenistic Hermetism in which he is perceived to be a dynamic Macrocosmic forefather who gives birth to the lower world of humanity by impregnating Nature. This scenario is expressed in the *Emerald Table*,⁴⁸ a cryptic document of unknown origins which was co-opted into the late Hellenistic alchemical corpus of texts. It dates perhaps from the second century AD in an Alexandrian context (or it may be an Arabic original, for no Greek texts exist). In this verse, celestial bodies are pictured engaging in sexual activity and giving birth to an entity that could be interpreted variously as Anthropos, Cosmic Man, or, by the medieval alchemists, as the philosopher’s stone. The significant sections of the text of the *Emerald Table* are:

What is below is like what is above, and what is above is like that which is below, for the performing of the marvels of the one thing. And as all things were from one thing, by the mediation of one thing; so all things were born of this one thing, by adaptation. Its father is the Sun, its mother is the Moon; the wind carried it in its belly; its nurse is the Earth. This is the father of all the perfection of the whole world . . . You shall separate the earth from the fire, the subtle from

⁴⁷ Kraeling, *Anthropos and Son of Man* (1927), 188–90.

⁴⁸ The commentary of Hortulanus on the *Emerald Table* is found in numerous late fourteenth century and early fifteenth century manuscripts, such as MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. Ms. 11201, folios 84r–98r and MS Oxford Bodleian Library Ashmole 1448, folios 259–262. The only extensive discussion of Hortulanus remains that of Julius Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hermetischen literatur. Heidelberger Akten der Vor-Portheim Stiftung* . . . (Heidelberg, 1926) vol. 4, 182–84.

the gross . . . It ascends from the earth into the heaven, and again descends into the earth and receives the power of the superiors and inferiors . . . Thus was the earth created⁴⁹

More developed accounts of this alchemical Cosmic Body of Anthropos are located in alchemical texts published in the late Renaissance, such as the *Liber Platonis quattorum* printed in Zetzner's *Theatrum chemicum* (Strassburg, 1622).⁵⁰ (It was known in manuscript prior to this appearance). The text of the *Liber Platonis quattorum* describes the construction of an alchemical vessel out of a human skull, an image intended perhaps to have only a metaphorical meaning:

The vessel . . . must be round in shape. Thus the artifex must be the transformer of this firmament and of the brain-pan, just as the thing for which we seek is a simple thing having uniform parts. It is therefore necessary that you should generate in it a body of uniform parts . . . from the brain-pan, that is, from the head of the element Man, and that the whole should be macerated with urine . . . The vessel is made round after the fashion of upper and lower world. For it is similarly suited to that whose generation is sought in it, for a thing is bound by its like.⁵¹

There may be an influence from the *Liber Platonis quattorum* on the visual discourse of MS Florence Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana 1166 in which a skull is prominently featured in the illustration of the dying Eve (folio 17v), (fig. 7). This image faces that of the resurrected Pan (folio 18r) (fig. 5). Jung pointed out that the *Liber Platonis quattorum* carried references to the Hebrew "teraphim," goats mentioned in the Book of Samuel.⁵² Coincidentally, the drawings of Eve and Pan in MS BL 1166 inter-relate goats (Pan) with skulls, in this case the skull representing the alembic in which the philosopher's stone is incubating.

Robert Fludd's theosophical system is centred on this same Hermetic concept of the Macrocosmic Body which he illustrates profusely in a variety of forms throughout his treatises, commencing in 1617 in

⁴⁹ The translation is from Sherwood-Taylor, *Alchemists* (1976), 61.

⁵⁰ "Platonis Quattorum cum Commento Hebuhabes Hamed: explicatus ab Hestole" in *Theatrum chemicum* (Zetzner, 1622) 5, 101–85.

⁵¹ The only discussion in print of the *Liber Platonis* is still that of Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy* (1968), 262–69. The translation is from Carl Gustav Jung, *Psychology and Religion: West and East* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), 239.

⁵² Jung, *Psychology and Religion* (1958), 262–69.

his two-volume "Macrocosm" (*Utriusque Cosmi . . . Historia*, 1617; 1618).⁵³ The idea for his schemata originated in the second book of Agrippa's *Occulta Philosophia* (1433) which had provided detailed tables, explaining in kabbalistic terms, the correspondences between the powers and qualities of God and those of the angelic beings, as well as the relation between the parts of the Macrocosm and those of the human body.⁵⁴ For example, in the table of the *Scala Duodenarii*, Agrippa lists the names of the twelve angels presiding over the astrological signs. The first angel, Malchidiel governs the sign of Aries in the month of March and, thereby, is responsible for the head of a human being. The correspondences listed also include the Great Names of God, the twelve orders of blessed spirits, the twelve tribes of Israel, the twelve prophets and apostles, as well as plants and stones, concluding in twelve corresponding grades of the damned. Agrippa had organised his cosmological structure according to six worlds: first, that of the Archetype (God); then in order: "mundum intelligibilis," "mundum coelestis," "mundum elementaris," ending at the lowest levels with the "minor mundum" and finally the "mundum infernalis."

Fludd was to reduce this scale to three levels of Being: first, the world of the "Archetypus" (the Empyrean), followed by the celestial world and then the elemental one. In his image of the Cosmic Body (fig. 9), the three heavenly realms constituting the body of Primal Anthropos (labelled "Macrocosmus" on the left) correspond to the human body ("Microcosmos"), respectively to "Caput" "Thorax" and "Venter." Fludd equated the Macrocosmic "Caelum Empyreum/Intellectuale/Rationale" to the "Intellectus/Ratio" in the "Mens hominis." On the second level, the starry Macrocosmic "Caelum Aethereum/Stellatum" is also described as the "Orbis vita," for it is at this level that the alchemical spirit of life, the "Quintessentia," is located. The equivalent qualities in the human body on the right are the "Anima vitalis" or "Spiritus vitae," for this is the level on which dwells the human soul. At the lowest level of the Macrocosm and Microcosm, Fludd placed his "Coelum Elementaris" which corresponded to the human "Facultas naturalis," or "Corpus." Uniting the different cosmic levels was the "pyramidis spiritualis," a cone of

⁵³ Robert Fludd, *Utriusque Cosmi . . . Historia*, 5 vols. (Oppenheim: Johann Theodore de Bry, 1617–26).

⁵⁴ Vittoria Perrone Compagni (ed.), *Cornelius Agrippa De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 262, 266–68, 272, 282, 286, 289, 290, 292–94.

light-rays emitted by the Trinitarian God at the top of the picture to the lower level of “Corpus.” In turn, another cone of light-rays returned to God from the earth, that of the “pyramidis formalis.” At the mid-point of their intersection appears the shining face of the sun.

Fludd’s medical theory was based on a concept of four angels sited at the four cardinal compass points who governed human health and his primary source was also Agrippa, specifically his diagram of the *Scala Quaternarii ad quatuor elementorum correspondentiam*. It was in this table that Agrippa had presented the “Quatuor angeli praesidentes cardinibus coeli,” namely, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel and Uriel who were to inspire Fludd’s unique medical system. They each ruled three of the astrological signs, a trinity that corresponded to one of the four elements. In the “minor mundum” the angels governed the “Mens” “Spiritus” “Anima” and “Corpus” respectively, as well as the four corresponding humours (“Cholera” “Sanguis” “Pituita” “Melancholia”), the four spirits (“Animalis” “Vitalis” “Gignivitus” “Naturalis”) and the four “complexiones” (“Impetus” “Alacritas” “Inertia” “Tarditas”). Agrippa omitted the discussion of any specific illnesses ordained by these powers and it was Fludd himself who devised an account of the sicknesses resulting from the baleful activity of the tabulated demonic realms.

Fludd’s unique contribution to Agrippa’s scheme was to provide figurative expressions of the tabulated correspondences, as well as imagining powerful cosmologies to depict God’s creative actions within the Macrocosmic body. In the first part of his “Microcosm” (*U. C. H.*, 2, 1619)⁵⁵ he accordingly produced a geometric diagram of the Cosmic Body (fig. 9).⁵⁶ In the later *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623),⁵⁷ Fludd presented even more specific comparisons between the Macrocosm and the Microcosm, relating parts of the human anatomy, such as the abdomen, to their equivalent in the celestial sphere.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Robert Fludd, *Utriusque Cosmi . . . Historia. Tomus Secundus De Supernaturali, Naturali, Praeternaturali et Contranaturali Microcosmi Historia in Tractatus Tres Divisa*, Part 1, (Oppenheim: Johann Theodore de Bry, 1619), 82.

⁵⁶ Fludd, “Microcosm,” *U. C. H.*, 2, Part 1 (1619), 81: Tractatus I: “pyramidis formalis nihil aliud sit, quam effluxus seu emanatio lucis sive fulgoris, a fulgido Dei solis: sive rutilo essentiae supersubstantialis mundo, deorsum tendens in mundum substantialem.”

⁵⁷ Robert Fludd, *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum Effigie Triplici* (Frankfurt: Johann Theodore de Bry, 1623). This is Part 3 of the “Microcosm,” *U. C. H.*, 2.

⁵⁸ Fludd, *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623), 63: “De Contentibus Proprius Abdominis.”

He also discussed the mystical manner in which the human heart was linked to the heart of the cosmos, the sun. This was governed by the Archangel Michael, the guardian of the world who deputised for the Messiah Christ, or even was another form of the Son of God.⁵⁹

Fludd provided exact cosmic equivalents for almost every part of the human anatomy. Thus, he dealt with the mystical brain of the universe, which is the divine "Mens" of the Empyrean,⁶⁰ while providing an account also of the manner in which the cosmic eyes of God emitted the light that is the creative principle of the whole universe.⁶¹ In the "Macrocosm" Fludd had provided an elaborate illustration of the functions of the physical brain in relation to the Divine Mind and that of the Cosmos (fig. 10). This image has nothing in common with Vesalius' illustrations of the dissected brain.⁶² Fludd was not interested in the physiology of the brain, only in its function as a Microcosmic mirror of the universal structure. Hence, the brain here is shown reflecting the "Mundus Intellectualis," in which the Triune "Deus" and the hierarchies of angels operate, such as the "Dominationes," "Virtutes" and "Thronos." This realm directly contacts the frontal brain of man, where it has a reflection in the form of three concentric circles, the highest level being that of "Mens," within which is the circle of "Intellectus" and, within that, the human "Ratio." This higher mind leads into the aetherial "Mundus imaginabilis" which consists of the shadows of the four elements, the "umbra Terrae," "umbra Aquae," "umbra Aeris grossius," "umbra Aeris tenuis" and "umbra Ignis." The lower "Mundus sensibilis" comprises the tactile, physical elements. Both of these circles are labelled as being components of the "anima." Meanwhile, at the back of the brain there appear two spheres associated with memory and motor functions. The upper sphere is divided into "Memoria," "Custos" and "Visionum," while the lower, that of "Memorativa" and also of motion "Motiva," leads directly into the spinal cord.

In the *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623), however, Fludd also provided additional images of the actual physical body. There is a diagram

⁵⁹ Fludd, *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623), 264–76: "De Mystica Cordis Anatomia."

⁶⁰ Fludd, *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623), 283 ff: "De Mystica Cerebr. Anatomia."

⁶¹ Fludd, *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623), 167, 284.

⁶² Fludd, "Macrocosm," *U. C. H.* (1617), 217.

of the brain, for example, shown from the same view as the equivalent depiction in Vesalius' *Fabrica* (1543) 7: 5–6. In this type of image, Fludd was solely interested in the physiology of a particular organ.⁶³ On a number of occasions he also displayed the organs of the digestive system, a particularly clear diagram of the human abdomen appearing in the third volume of the *Medicina Catholica* (1631) (fig. 11), a treatise dealing with pragmatic diagnostics, specifically the use of the pulse.⁶⁴ It shows the location of the heart above the diaphragm, with the stomach and intestines below, all carefully labelled. Around the image were written the names of the eight cosmic winds and the four geographical compass-points that governed the actions of the body. The heart was orientated eastwards (“Oriens”) and it was affected by the subsolar wind (“Subsolanus”). The same picture of the abdomen had originally appeared on the title-page of the *Philosophia Sacra* (1626) (fig. 14) in which context it had similarly described the operation of Macrocosmic meteorological forces on the human physiology.

Fludd always organised his theoretical discourse into two distinctive types of knowledge, that of lower mechanical and that of divine theosophical. The first part of the “Macrocosm,” accordingly, was devoted to divine science, while the second part, the “Naturae Simia” (“the ape of Nature”) dealt with practical skills of every kind. In this division of knowledge, he was following Dee’s system of classification and both Hermeticists were basing themselves on the Platonic distinction between conceptual knowledge and the mechanical crafts.

In other images of the Macrocosmic Body, Fludd depicted it in the manner of antique sculpture as a limbless torso, but he retained the head and exposed the internal organs. In an example in the “Microcosm” (1619), such a figure is used to explain the three-fold construction of the universe (fig. 48). Its first level is that of “Radius Dei seu Lux Increata” equated with “Mens,” the Mind of the Universe as well as with the presence of God in human beings. The second level is that of the “Sphaera luminis seu Lucis creatae” equivalent to the “Intellectus,” the higher celestial realm and the higher reason in humanity. The lowest level is the “Sphaera spiritus Ratio Empyrei” which is the lower Empyrean filled with the aetherial spirit.⁶⁵ In

⁶³ Fludd, *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623), 163.

⁶⁴ Fludd, *Medicina Catholica*, 3 (1631), 52.

⁶⁵ See, for example Fludd, “Microcosm,” *U. C. H.* (1619), 1, 105.

these images Fludd is relying closely on the Vesalian *Fabrica* (1543) (illustrations 5. 12, 5. 22 and 5. 24) which were themselves adaptations of classical sculpture.⁶⁶ In the *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum*, as was his custom Fludd offers an empirical view of the dissected limbless torso (fig. 15), in this case eliminating the head as in the Vesalian originals.⁶⁷ However, in cases where he was employing the limbless torso as an image of Cosmic Anthropos, Fludd included the head and eliminated much of the shading of his more pragmatic diagrams, so that the figure would appear in an ethereal form, removed from material contamination. Hence in an image in the "Microcosm" of 1619, the view of the opened abdomen is intended to be an allegory of the correspondences between the triple-structured universe and the human body, with the four elements being located in the lower cosmos labelled "Venter" (stomach) (fig. 48).⁶⁸ The elements give rise to the four humours in different organs of the body, such as the sanguine humour, composed of air, which originates in the blood of the liver. In this engraving, Fludd also explains the inter-relation of heart and sun whose realm is that of the "Sphaera vitae". The whole cosmic system is divided into three levels equated with the human torso, namely, "Caput" which is the "Coelum Empyreum" in the human body; the "Thorax" which is the "Coelum Aethereum" and the "Venter" which is the "Coelum Elementaris."

In the "Microcosm," 2 (*U. C. H.*, 1619) there is a uniquely imaginative diagram explaining the construction of the universe by means of the Pythagorean musical scales. The universe is the body of God in his material manifestation (fig. 12).⁶⁹ This emblem consists of a triangle standing above a circle, within which are located three more circles, over which is imposed another triangle labelled "Tetragrammaton" and containing the Hebrew letters "Iod He Vau He." The triangle represents the seat of the uncreated and incomprehensible mind of God, whose voice creates the fabric of the world. The larger triangle represents his actions ("Deus extra omnia") in the external universe made of "Hyle" (prime matter). In this diagram, the divine First Cause is shown acting through the power of music, specifically

⁶⁶ Glenn Harcourt, "Andreas Vesalius and the Anatomy of Ancient Sculpture," *Representations*, 17 (Special Issue: The Cultural Display of the Body) (1987): 28–61.

⁶⁷ Fludd, *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623), 113.

⁶⁸ Fludd, "Microcosm," (*U. C. H.*, 1619), 1, 105.

⁶⁹ Fludd, "Microcosm," *U. C. H.*, 2, Part 1 (1619), 62.

using the two Greek harmonic scales. The “Diatesseron” is the operational mode in the subtle worlds of the “Mundus angelicus” and the “Mundus elementaris,” while the “Mundus stellaris” is under the influence of the “Diapente bis.” In the outer circle, the “Diapason” is the creative force acting on the lower physical world in the forms of the “Diapason spiritualis,” the “Diapason corporalis” and the “Dis Diapason.” The three harmonic modes are depicted in the form of double semicircles, emanating in varying combinations directly from the triangle of the Tetragrammaton at the centre of the diagram.

Apart from his anatomical dissections and his abstract diagrams, Fludd also conceived yet another version of the same theme in the form of beautifully-drawn, realistic nudes. One such example appears on the title-pages of both the first part of the “Macrocosm” (1617) and of the “Microcosm” (1619) (fig. 13), depicting a man with spread-eagled limbs in the manner of Cornelius Agrippa’s diagrams in *De Occulta Philosophia* (1433). The specific positions of the arms and legs in Agrippa’s figures provided the template for various geometrical figures inscribed around them. Agrippa had explained the mystical significance of the human form as: “Homo itaque alter mundus vocatus est altera Dei imago.”⁷⁰ In these visual structures, it was the earthly body that was the pattern for the Macrocosm.⁷¹ It was also the starting-point for a series of magical emblems: five pointed stars, squares and circles, whose patterns were designed to attract the power of the heavens. Agrippa’s account of the design of God’s Cosmic Body and its various members was a prototype for Fludd’s anthropomorphic cosmology.⁷²

Fludd’s title-page to the *Philosophia Sacra* (Frankfurt, 1626) depicts a geometrical diagram representing the Macrocosmic body which contains the four cardinal points and their respective winds (fig. 14). It also explains the geographical orientation of the Microcosmic human form and the winds and diseases that control it. In Fludd’s medical scheme, the winds brought disease since they carried the demons of illness loosed by four angels stationed at the four compass-

⁷⁰ Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, *Opera*, 2 vols. (London, 1600; Hildesheim; New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1970), Bk. II, 226–35; Bk. III, 390–96; quote from page 407.

⁷¹ Fludd, “Microcosm,” *U. C. H.* (1619), 2, Part 1, 226–28: “De Geometricis figuris atque corporibus qua virtute magia polleant.” Also pages 232–35: Cap. 27. “De convenientia eorum cum coelestibus.”

⁷² Agrippa, *Opera* (1600), Bk. III, 345–47.

points. Correspondingly, the winds of the East (“Oriens”) are shown at the top of the diagram, with their names: “Aquila,” “Subtelanus” and “Eurus.” On the left-hand side is placed North (“Septentrio”), accompanied by the wind “Boreas.” In the midst of the diagram are shown the solar-plexus and the intestines. South is on the right-hand side (“Meries”), with its wind “Auster,” while West (“Occidens”) is at the foot of the diagram, in the company of the winds “Corus,” “Favonius” and “Africus.” Below this diagram, lies a grim-looking man, presumably the suffering patient.

Fludd relied heavily on astrology in his practical medicine, as he explained in his (slightly) more pragmatic *Medicina Catholica* (1629–31).⁷³ His system was based on the model of Paracelsian cosmology which was a monistic construct in which the world and the human being formed a single entity. Consequently, the alchemist through his empathetic contact with the heavenly spheres could transform physicality. Paracelsus believed that a human being consisted of two bodies, one physical and the other astral. It was by means of the imagination located in the astral body (cosmic Anthropos) that a person could attain to “gnosis” and thereby learn to control physical manifestation through the “astra” present in all things. Visual imagery, such as talismanic ciphers or alchemical pictures, could stimulate the imagination of the magus.⁷⁴ In *De pestilente* Paracelsus explained that the Cosmic Soul pervaded and inter-linked Macrocosm and Microcosm, each person having an astral body that overlay and penetrated his physical body, the “supercoelestis corpus,” through which an empathetic union could be attained with Cosmic Man:

⁷³ Robert Fludd, *Medicina Catholica, Seu Mysticum Artis Medicandi Sacrarium*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt; W. Fitzer, 1629–31).

⁷⁴ See Pagel, “Paracelsus als ‘Naturmystiker’” (1979), 57–58, 61, 70, 89–99. The theological works of Paracelsus are found in Karl Sudhoff and Wilhelm Matthiesen (eds). *Paracelsus. Sämtliche Werke: Part II* (Munich: O. W. Barth, 1923), 1, 89–110 (“De religio perpetua.”) The authoritative edition of Paracelsian alchemical and medical texts is *Paracelsus. Sämtliche Werke: Part I, Medizinische, naturwissenschaftliche und philosophische Schriften*, vols. 6–9 (Munich: O. W. Barth, 1922–25); vols. 1–5, 10–14 (Munich; Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1928–33). Edited by Karl Sudhoff and Wilhelm Matthiesen. Some of the most distinctive theosophical texts are “Das Buch Paramirum” in Sudhoff, *Paracelsus. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 1, 31–126 and “Opus Paramirum” in Sudhoff, *Paracelsus. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 1, 37–223. See also “Philosophia ad Athenienses” in Sudhoff, *Paracelsus. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 1, 389–423 and also “der Grossen Wunderarznei” in Sudhoff, *Paracelsus. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 1, 7–487.

In the heavens you can see man, each part for itself; for man is made of heaven. And the matter out of which man was created also indicates to you the pattern after which he was formed.⁷⁵

Khunrath's engraving of Christ-Anthropos, the Archetype of the universe (fig. 3), initiated many of the elements later found in Fludd's prolific illustrations of the Macrocosmic Man. These included the use of the male nude, kabbalistic inscriptions, geographical compass-points, the diagrammatic structure of the Macrocosm and the motif of the dove of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁶ The apocalyptic context of these images and their role in the Protestant Reformation of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries will be considered in the following chapter.

⁷⁵ The text has been translated in Jolande Jacobi (ed.), *Paracelsus Selected Writings, Bollingen Series, 28* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1951), 31 ff.

⁷⁶ Fludd, "Macrocosm," *U. C. H.*, Part 1, 49.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ALCHEMICAL EUCHARIST

This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die. I am the living bread . . . if any man eat of this bread he shall live for ever: and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.

(John 6: 50–51)

The religious strife of sixteenth century Europe was reflected in German books of alchemy which were equally concerned with theology and politics in addition to chemistry and medicine. It was not a simple matter of Catholic versus Protestant, however. The different Protestant groups were engaged in internecine strife: Lutherans against Calvinists, Zwinglians against Lutherans, while everyone agreed on the need for repressive action against the Anabaptists and neo-Arians.¹ Named by historians the “Second Reformation,” this later flame of reforming zeal was characterised by individual piety.² Luther had disliked and feared these decentralising tendencies, naming their protagonists “Schwärmer,” while his chief disciple Philip Melancthon referred to the radical reformers as “enthusiasts” (filled with the Holy Spirit).³ Luther had not wanted the laity to take over the Church completely, since he feared that it would lead to anarchy in religious belief, as well as to political disorder. This was confirmed for him by the devastating events of the Peasants’ Rebellion (1526), after which he became convinced that for the sake of political stability the Church should be led by properly-appointed clergy, including bishops, and that it should be subordinated to state-control. It would

¹ See the analysis of dissident groups in Stephen E. Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent. Religious Ideology and Social Protest in the Sixteenth century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), 1–51, 139–202. For a specific study of the Anabaptists, Werner O. Packhull, *Mysticism and the early South German-Austrian Anabaptist Movement, 1525–1531 (Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, 19)* (Pennsylvania/Ontario: Herald Press, 1977), 17–33; for an account of Hans Denck in this context see pages 35 ff.

² Schilling, *Religion, Political Culture and the emergence of early Modern Europe* (1992), 247–301.

³ Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent* (1973), 21–25.

be clerics that determined the correct interpretation of scripture, not wandering lay-preachers. Calvin adopted much the same view, except that in the city-states governed by Calvinists or Zwinglians, such as Basle or Zurich respectively, it was the city council that claimed the right to interpret Scripture.⁴

The most incisive analysis of these events has been produced by Séguenny, who was the first to give a generic name to these widely-differing dissidents, calling them “Spirituals” to reflect their emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit within the individual soul. He examined the opposition mounted against Lutheranism by the Spirituals of the 1520s–1540s. Paradoxically, while continuing to regard the Catholic Church itself as a defunct institution, they found a solution to Luther’s insufficient reforms in the Catholic humanism of Erasmus that had been rejected by Luther himself.⁵ In the manner of Erasmus, the Spirituals discarded Luther’s view of humanity as being an essentially abject creation. Instead, they perceived a divine essence existing within human nature, the Christ-Logos that was an inseparable part of God’s own Being. For example, the Silesian dissident Valentin Weigel (1535–88), a Lutheran pastor from Chemnitz, in his *Kirchen-oder Hauss-Postill* (1578–79) ventured into dangerous territory in his argument that humans were not merely the adopted children of God, but his real offspring in that they were joined with Christ “somatikos” (“leibhafftig”), having his flesh and blood within them. Weigel stated that “Christ, God and man, is in us.”⁶

In the views of the Spirituals, Christ’s redemptive role lay in the fact that he exemplified the perfect man; his bloody sacrifice on the cross was pushed into the background. This was a challenge to the essential tenet of Lutheranism that only faith in Christ’s sacrifice could draw the grace of the Holy Spirit. According to Paul, it was by grace alone that a man could be saved and this was God’s gift (Romans 4: 1–5: 21). Luther had called this distinctively Protestant doctrine “justification by faith,” basing his theology on that of Paul:

⁴ McGrath, *Reformation Thought* (1993), 206–11.

⁵ Séguenny, *Les Spirituels* (2000), 14.

⁶ Valentin Weigel, “Von der Vergebung der Sunden,” *Samtliche Schriften* (Stuttgart: Friedrich Frommanns Verlag, 1962–78), vol. 4: 7, 17, 57, 133–51, 320–22. See also the discussion in Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent* (1973), 203–45.

For all have sinned and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus; Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood. (Romans 3: 23–25)

The Spirituals rejected both Catholic and Lutheran dogma concerning the sacrifice of Christ's body in the Eucharistic ritual as the indispensable factor in human salvation.⁷ Instead, they considered that the sacrament was irrelevant for the attainment of inner illumination and eternal life (Erasmus himself had been indifferent to the Catholic sacraments). For that matter, the Spirituals developed, according to Séguenny, a quite distinctive concept of the Holy Spirit. Instead of regarding him as being the Third Person of the Holy Trinity, a unique Being with his own qualities, they perceived the Spirit to be an impersonal transcendence, a pneumatic force with the power to transform a sinner, the "old Adam," into the "new man." This recreated soul would be God's self-generated son like Christ, not like the "old Adam" a lesser creation made "ex nihilo." In fact, Séguenny argues that the Spirituals produced an existentialist philosophy, especially in the thought of Sebastian Brandt. This took the form of a pessimistic enquiry into the relations between God and humanity, whose resolution required a direct manner of gaining spiritual knowledge. In Brandt's case, this was not through a mystical epiphany, but through individual powers of reasoning. Séguenny, in fact, made an illuminating distinction between the rationalistic approach of sixteenth century Spiritualists and the mysticism of the late fifteenth century *Theologia Germanica*.⁸ The former could be termed "theosophy," a personal knowledge of God based on reasoned thinking, while the second was an emotional experience in which the human soul was subsumed in God's own Being.

Moving forward in this history, one encounters an unexpected twist in the relation of dissidents to the Churches, since the Spirituals of the 1590s who had been influenced by Paracelsian theosophy reinstated the Eucharist into their religious soteriology. Some even

⁷ For a Catholic perspective on the dogma of Christ's sacrifice: Daly, *Origins of the Christian Doctrine of Sacrifice* (1978), 53 ff. Also, for the history of the sacraments of sacrifice and baptism in pagan and Christian rites, specifically the mass and baptism, see E. O. James, *Sacrifice and Sacrament* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962), 13–27, 104–25, 213–59.

⁸ Séguenny, *Les Spirituels* (2000), 131

expressed sympathy towards the Catholics and demanded an end to their persecution. The alchemists Khunrath, Michelspacher, Fludd, Boehme and Franckenberg evolved a view of the Eucharistic miracle as being a type of metaphysical chemistry, which was performed not only through the power of Christ's Spirit, but also through the astral virtues of Nature, or even by kabbalistic manipulation.

The Hungarian alchemist Melchior Cibinensis in the early sixteenth century wrote a treatise in which the rite of the Eucharist served as a metaphor for alchemical transmutation, the chemicals being altered in a manner comparable to the transubstantiation of the Communion bread and wine.⁹ Cibinensis, who was executed by the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I in 1531 for his Protestant affiliations, had dedicated his treatise to the Reformation of the Church. According to Jung, he can be identified with Nicolaus Melchior Szebeni of Hermannstadt (formerly the Hungarian city of Sibiu or Cibiú). He was chaplain and astrologer from 1490 to the court of Ladislaus II of Hungary and then served Louis II (1516–26). After the defeat of Louis by the Turks at the battle of Mohacs in 1526, Cibinensis fatefully joined the court of Emperor Ferdinand I in Vienna where he was eventually executed for heresy. Jung has argued that, in fact, his text pre-dates 1516, that is, it was written prior to Luther's official revolt against the Roman Church commencing in Worms on 31st October, 1517.¹⁰ Nonetheless, it is dedicated to the reformation of the Church.

Michael Maier included a discussion and paraphrase of the treatise of Cibinensis in his *Symbola Aureae Duodecim Nationum* (1617) and he commissioned an accompanying illustration from the artist, Matthieu Merian, who worked for the publishing-firm of Johann Theodore de Bry. Maier's own religious beliefs as a Lutheran were not clearly defined in his work, but it is significant that he had defended Paracelsus against the defamations of Erastus in his *De Circulo Physico, Quadrato* (Oppenheim: Lucas Jennis, 1616). It is well-known that he wrote a supportive commentary on the Rosicrucian Manifestos in the *Themis Aurea* (Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis, 1618). Maier was a member of the central European aristocracy, a Palatine count, and he trained as a

⁹ The text appears as "Addam et processum sub forma missae, a Nicolao Cibinensi, Transilvano, ad Ladislaum Ungariae et Bohemiae regem olim missum," in *Theatrum Chemicum*, 3 (Basel: Lazarus Zetzner, 1602), 853 ff.

¹⁰ Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy* (1993), 396–404.

physician, being employed at the court of Rudolf II in Prague.¹¹ He travelled around Germany and Holland, arriving in England in early 1612 where he was attached to the court until 1618. There exists a Christmas card addressed to James I and to Henry, Prince of Wales, in which the greeting has been constructed by Maier in the shape of a rose. It has been cited by Adam McLean as evidence of Maier's Rosicrucian convictions.¹² Most historians accept that, even in the absence of direct evidence of contact, there is sufficient internal evidence in Maier's work to indicate that during his stay in England he engaged in dialogue with Fludd.

Merian's picture illustrates a Roman Catholic mass, but it also contains imagery from the Book of Revelation (fig. 16).¹³ The scene is an allegory of the alchemical process of "cibatio" ("feeding") in which the distilled spirits are re-united with the calcinated ashes of the prime matter. The woman and child represent the Apocalyptic Woman in Revelation 12: 1–6, 13–17, who is pursued by the Beast, seeking to destroy her son, his mortal enemy. The author of Revelation describes a vision of a "woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars." The dragon that pursues her is doomed to be crushed under her feet. A similar alchemical image had previously appeared in *Das Buch von der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* in the fifteenth century, in which Christ was shown crucified on an emblem of a lily, while the Apocalyptic Virgin sat at his feet in the midst of the sun's rays, on the down-turned crescent-moon.¹⁴ In the alchemical mass of Melchior Cibirensis, after the reading of the Gospel, there follows a Marian hymn, *Ave Praeclara*, whose second line recalls the Apocalyptic Virgin: "Virgo, decus mundi, regina coeli, praeclara ut sol, pulchra lunaris ut fulgor." Cibirensis states that this Marian hymn is the testament of the whole art. Further, he cites the apocalyptic texts of Isaiah, 65: 17 and 1 Enoch, 72: 1, as well as Revelation 21: 1: "Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth had

¹¹ For Maier's biography see the recent study by Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix* (2003), 35–90.

¹² Adam McLean, "A Rosicrucian Manuscript of Michael Maier," *The Hermetic Journal* (1979), 1 ff. See also Ron Heisler, "Michael Maier and England," *The Hermetic Journal* (1989), 119–25.

¹³ Michael Maier, *Symbola Aureae Mensae Duodecim Nationum* (Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis, 1617), 507–52. The illustration appears on page 509.

¹⁴ This is illustrated in Hartlaub, "Signa Hermetis" (1937), 110, fig. 8.

passed away.”¹⁵ Lutherans interpreted the figure of the Virgin as a symbol of the Reformed Church, the forerunner of the New Jerusalem, pregnant with the true faith, whose persecutor, the dragon, was the Roman Church. The Catholic interpretation, conversely, held that she was the Virgin Mary, the new Eve, who bore the Messiah and was the mother of the true Apostolic Church. In Maier’s image it seems likely that the woman plays the role of the Virgin Mary, since this interpretation better suits the alchemical meaning of the picture.

According to medieval exegesis, Mary’s role as Co-Redemptrice and, as a minister of the Church alongside Christ, had already been prefigured in the New Testament in the story of the Miracle at Cana (John 2), in the story of the changing of water into wine. In this story, it is Mary who is the indirect author of the miracle through her request to Christ to provide more wine. As the Mother of God she could gain God’s saving grace for the sinner in her relation to the sacrificed Body of Christ. Her milk was regarded as a metaphor of the saving blood, just as Christ’s blood was sometimes envisioned in the late middle ages as maternal milk, his feminised body suckling the faithful. In the corporeal metaphors of Catholicism the genders inter-changed, Mary being regarded, like Christ, as the fountain of life at which all Christians could quench their thirst. Mary had already been venerated in the form of divine food as early as the second century, for example, as “manna” by St. Maxim of Turin since she gave her people nourishment sweeter than honey. Her image was also allegorised as the “*Vitis frugifera*.” (“Virgin of the grape.”)¹⁶ In Maier’s alchemical context the image of the Apocalyptic Virgin was a reference to an alchemical fluid that had the transformatory and life-giving qualities of the Communion wine. This was “*lac virginis*” (“virgin’s milk”), a volatile spirit, considered to be another form of the quintessence. The production of this fluid was the first stage in creating the stone, or elixir that could transmute base metals into silver.

In actuality, it is possible to demonstrate that Maier’s picture is a far more radical disquisition on the alchemical mass than Cibirensis’ discrete original text. The latter had discontinued his account prior to the consecration of the bread and wine, probably to avoid accu-

¹⁵ “Nicolao Cibirensi” in *Theatrum Chemicum*, 3 (1602), 855 ff.

¹⁶ Vloberg, *L’Eucharistie dans l’Art* (1946), 249, 255–56, 275, 284–85.

sations of desecrating the mass. Jung points out that Cibirensis located his alchemical transmutation, not in the place of the Catholic Words of Institution, but somewhere in the vicinity of the "Credo." The chemical action remained incomplete and the text ended prior to the Consecration. The alchemical mass jumped from the "Secret" at the Offertory stage, straight through to the Post-Communion texts.¹⁷ Most important of all, Cibirensis never specifically identified Christ with the philosopher's stone, as Khunrath was to do nearly a century later.¹⁸ In sharp contrast to the reticence of the pre-Reformation text, Maier's accompanying illustration is a bold exposition of the manner in which the alchemical process *re-enacts*, rather than merely *symbolises*, the Catholic Communion. Maier's engraving, a hundred years after Cibirensis, clearly identifies Christ with the "lapis philosophorum" and the elixir of life.

In the engraving, the chasuble of the officiating priest is embroidered with an image of Christ hung on the cross. The emphasis on sacrifice and commemoration is Roman Catholic in character,¹⁹ Protestants preferring to emphasise the character of the Communion as a communal meal. The illustration depicts a moment within the Consecration of the bread and wine, that of the Elevation, and the artist has even included the detail of the ministrant holding-up the priest's vestment. Prior to this, the chalice with the wine has been blessed with the Words of Institution, those that Christ spoke at the Last Supper, "This is my blood," then the bread, "This is my body." The Elevation of the Chalice and the Host follows, the Host being elevated as high as possible so that the congregation could see it clearly. In the late middle ages, due to an increasing awe of God and a sense of distance from him, Communion by the laity had become an infrequent occurrence. Confession was required before every Communion, but it was not possible to engage in this frequently, since there were insufficient priests. The restrictions on the laity were especially severe; for example, married people had to abstain from marital relations for several days. Fasting was also

¹⁷ The rite of the Catholic mass is explained in Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and development* (New York/Boston: Benziger Bros., 1955), vol. 2, 186–237 and also in James, *Sacrifice and Sacrament* (1962), 104–25, 213–59.

¹⁸ This is the analysis of Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy* (1993), 489.

¹⁹ The Catholic dogma is discussed in Daly, *Origins of the Christian Doctrine of Sacrifice* (1978), 53 ff and also in James, *Sacrifice and Sacrament* (1962), 104–25, 213–59.

commonly observed. The act of eating the body of Christ was hedged around with baleful warnings to the unworthy. Human weakness rather than grace was stressed, so that people were afraid to take the host under the threat of eternal damnation.²⁰ The laity had to be in such a state of grace to receive the Communion bread that it seemed impossible to attain such a condition. (Wine was never offered, being solely a clerical privilege.) Thus, instead of eating the body of God the laity participated in a spiritual Communion through the act of viewing the elevated Communion-wafer which the priest alone ate, having enacted the rite in a semi-secret manner out of view of the congregation.²¹

After the Elevation there follows the Memorial of Christ's requirement that he be remembered by the repetition of the Words of Institution ("Unde et Memores"). The sacrifice of the body and blood ("Oblatio") signifies the promise of eternal life in the words, "panem sanctum vitae aeternae et calicem salutis perpetuae." The grace of God is sought so that the offering of his Son at the hands of the priest should be acceptable to him ("Supplices").²² The Spirit of Christ is invoked in the central part of the rite by the extension of the priest's hands over the bread and wine. It is the Words of Institution that bring about the miracle, not the presence of the Spirit alone, as in the eastern Orthodox Church.

There was a proto-type for Maier's apocalyptic Eucharist in an engraving from Khunrath's *Amphiteatrum* (1595) which showed an alchemist praying in his laboratory before an altar on which there stood a book displaying two geometrical diagrams (fig. 17). This volume replaced the missal. One of the diagrams took the form of a pentacle and the other, that of the squaring of the circle. The pentacle, or "annulus" as Khunrath called it, was modelled on Agrippa's generic Cosmic Man in the *Occulta Philosophia*,²³ but in Khunrath's context it became an image of Christ as Anthropos, the "anima mundi." The pentacle in the altar-book referred to the alchemical "azoth," another form of Khunrath's Christ. The other

²⁰ Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite* (1955) vol. 2, 206–14, 222–25.

²¹ Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite* (1955) vol. 2, 194 ff, 202 ff, 206–14, 359–67.

²² Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite* (1955) vol. 2, 186–237.

²³ Perrone Compagni (ed.), *Cornelius Agrippa* (1992), 329–34. See also, Agrippa, *Opera*, (1970), Bk. II, 226–35; Bk. III, 390–96; quote from page 407. For an iconographic study of the meaning of the pentagram: J. Schouten, *The Pentagon as a Medical Symbol* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1968).

diagram on the altar, that of the squaring of the circle, contained a similar Christology; the circle squared being an icon of Christ's miraculous incarnation in which was reconciled spirit (the circle) with matter (the square).

The tent in Khunrath's engraving takes a Turkish form. It recalls the tabernacle-tent, the portable shrine, of the Jews in the Book of Exodus, during their forty years of exile in the desert after their flight from Egypt. In Hebrews 9: 1–10, 25 the biblical account of the tabernacle was used as a Christian allegory to explain the atoning work of Christ. In Exodus 25–31, 35–40 the inner shrine was the Holy of Holies, housing the Ark of the Covenant, while the outer chamber was called the "Holy Place," containing the seven-branched candlestick, the table for the shewbread and the altar of incense. This space was surrounded by an enclosure in which stood the Altar of Sacrifice. The shrine was set in the midst of the Israelite camp. In historical fact, the account in Exodus post-dates the time of Moses and the description reflects the structure of Solomon's Temple, a building of no small interest to Renaissance esotericists.²⁴ In Khunrath's engraving of the laboratory, the table laden with alchemical and musical equipment, the incense-burner and the hearth-place seem to echo the description of the Holy Place in Exodus (fig. 17). In fact, the details also concur with the description in the kabbalistic *Zohar* of the Temple sacrifices at Jerusalem.²⁵ The whole image is a subtle exposition of the alchemical transmutation as being the equivalent of the Eucharistic transubstantiation. Hence, the alchemist is shown kneeling, as if before a sacrificial altar in Judaic or Catholic rites, rather than sitting at the table of a communal repast as in the Protestant Communion.

An important source for Khunrath's concept of the alchemical mass had been Reuchlin's *De Arte Kabbalistica* in which he had referred to Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac on the mountains of Moriah (Genesis 22).²⁶ This event had been interpreted by medieval Catholic interpreters as a pre-figuration of the sacrifice of Christ and hence of the

²⁴ C. Schick, *Die Stiftshütte, der Tempel in Jerusalem und der Tempelplatz der Jetztzeit* (1896), 3–51. Also J. Morgenstern, "The Tent of Meeting," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 38 (1918): 125–39, as well as J. Morgenstern, "The Ark, the Ephod and the Tent," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 17 (1942–3), 153–265.

²⁵ Fischel Lachower and Isaiah Tisby (eds.), *The Wisdom of the Zohar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), vol. 3, 933–37, 1020–22.

²⁶ Reuchlin, *De Arte Kabbalistica* (Stuttgart, 1964, facs. of 1517 ed.), 152.

mass. It was also the first covenant of God with the chosen people and thus the story became an allegory of the New Testament covenant of God with man, sealed by Christ's sacrifice.²⁷ In Matthew 26; 28 Christ had proclaimed the covenantal aspect of the Eucharist, "Drink ye all of it; For this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." Those who partook of Communion would have eternal life, according to Paul:

the God of peace [. . .] brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant (Hebrews 13: 20–21)

Calvin's theology had strongly accentuated the covenantal aspect of the rite of Communion in the *Institutiones*, defining a sacrament as both "an external symbol by which the Lord seals on our consciences his promises of good will towards us, in order to sustain the weakness of our faith" and as a "visible sign of a sacred thing, or visible form of an invisible grace."²⁸

The famous Dutch artist, Jan Vredeman de Vries (1527–ca. 1604), noted for his studies of geometrical perspective, had designed the picture of the alchemical laboratory for Khunrath, as testified by the inscription in the 1595 edition. A Calvinist, he had escaped from the Netherlands at the time of their occupation by the troops of the fanatical Catholic Duke of Alba in 1567. He gained employment as an architect for Rudolf II in Prague, but also travelled in Italy, returning eventually to Antwerp.²⁹ Like many other Dutch and Flemish artists and architects, he spent a number of years in Gdansk in the 1590s.³⁰ No records have survived that could explain his connection with Khunrath, but it is likely that they met in Prague, or maybe even in eastern Germany. An important Christological discourse is expressed in the spatial construction of de Vries' picture, a sophisticated, single-point perspective system. His architectural drawing recalls similar scenes carved on the doors of the tabernacles housing

²⁷ Daly, *Origins of the Christian Doctrine of Sacrifice* (1978), 53 ff.

²⁸ Alistair McGrath, *Reformation Thought* (London: Blackwell, 1993), 181–85, quote from page 182. See also K. McDonnell, *John Calvin, the Church and the Eucharist* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 116–40, 210–41 and McGrath, *Life of John Calvin* (1990), 147–73.

²⁹ Jan Vredeman de Vries, *Perspectiva, Leiden: Henricus Hondius, 1604* (New York: Columbia University Press; Dover, 1968), introduction by Adolf K. Placzek.

³⁰ E. Iwanoyko, *Gdanski okres Hansa Vredemenana de Vries* (Poznan, 1963).

the Eucharistic wafer in Italian Churches. A common motif on these doors was that of an empty hallway in the form of a geometrical construction known as a “pavimentum diminutionis” in which the vertical lines ran together into a vanishing-point located in an open door-way. This visual genre had originated in Desiderio da Settignano’s tabernacle-doors for the main altar of the Church of S. Lorenzo in Florence (ca. 1461). The same perspective-system was often used as a metaphor in paintings of the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary, expressing the dogma of the Incarnation of Christ and by implication of his physical presence in the Eucharist.³¹ Ficino’s neoplatonic philosophy was the source for this type of conceptual geometry (as has been discussed by Goldberg and Wittkower). It was intended to demonstrate that beneath the appearance of matter there lay another abstract, spiritual reality.³² The vanishing-point in this type of imagery was referring to the origins of matter in God and also to God’s descent into physicality in the form of Christ.

In medieval and Renaissance popular culture the divine flesh of the Communion-bread was regarded as being a mysterious healer of physical ailments, since it provided supernatural food and health. The Feast of Corpus Christi had been established by Pope Urban IV in 1264 to take place eleven days after Pentecost and it was given special mention by the Thirteenth Session of the Council of Trent (11th October, 1551).³³ The commemoration involved an elaborate procession in which the Eucharistic monstrance was taken out of the local Church and paraded around the borders of the parish, blessing the populace and land and warding off the dangers of sickness, sudden death, war and natural catastrophe. In popular belief, the Communion bread and wine were identified with miraculous biblical substances, such as the “heavenly manna” or “panis angelicum” (“bread of the angels”). They were also equated in popular parlance with alchemical potions and were called “balsam,” “pharmakon,” “elixir vitae” and “medicina sacramentalis.”³⁴ In Fludd’s alchemical

³¹ Szulakowska, *Alchemy of Light* (2000), 129–37.

³² Jonathan Goldberg, “Quattrocento Dematerialisation: Some paradoxes in a Conceptual Art,” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 35, (1976): 153–68. Also, Wittkower, Rudolf, *The Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London: Tiranti, third edition 1962).

³³ H. J. Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (fourth pr. St. Louis and London: B. Herder, 1960), 76.

³⁴ Piero Camporesi, “The Consecrated Host: A Wondrous Excess,” in *Fragments*

treatises, Christ himself was awarded the attributes of a medical practitioner.³⁵ These sacramental medicines were described in the vibrant texts of Jacob Boehme³⁶ and in Franckenberg's pithy ciphers and cryptography.³⁷ Indeed, in Franckenberg's theosophical work, *Raphael das ist Einheiliges Licht . . . Artzeney* (1639), he produced his own account of the alchemical Eucharist and its healing powers. This also is the central import of Fludd's *Medicina Catholica* (1629–31).

One of the first changes put into effect by the Lutherans was more frequent participation in Communion, as well as the partaking of both bread and wine at Luther's insistence. The solitary mass of the priest was abolished. The Council of Trent, which opened on 13th December 1545 and continued in three sessions (1545–48, 1551–52, 1562–63), similarly encouraged more frequent physical Communion. The dogma of the rite was clarified definitively and issued publicly by Pius IV in June 1564. Nevertheless, the Tridentine decrees continued to assert the value of a purely spiritual participation in Communion. Against the Reformers, Trent defended Tradition as interpreter of Christ's word, namely, that of Roman Catholic doctrine developed in historical time, alongside the pristine texts of Scripture.³⁸ In addition, the Council of Trent gave far greater prominence to the cult of the Blessed Sacrament, as evidenced by the development of lavish Eucharistic monstrances in the late Renaissance and early Baroque to exhibit the Communion-wafer for veneration.³⁹ In the seventeenth century, the intensified cult of Corpus Christi was associated with other devotions dedicated to the sacrificial Body of Christ,⁴⁰ such as the Elevation of the Cross during the lamentation service on Good Friday, as well as the late-medieval cult of the

for a *History of the Human Body*, Part One, edited by Michel Feher, Ramona Naddaff and Nadia Tazi (New York: Urzone, 1989), 221–37.

³⁵ For a discussion of the general character of Fludd's medical practice, see Allen G. Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy. Paracelsian Science and Medicine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Heinemann, 1977).

³⁶ Boehme's most important work on this theme is "Von Christi Testamenten (1623)" in *Boehme. Sämtliche Schriften* (1957), vol. 6, no pagination.

³⁷ See Stephen Crisp (trans. and ed.), *Abraham von Franckenberg: A Warning against the Deceit of setting up Man's Reason as Judge in Spiritual Matters (1646)* (London 1677), 3–7.

³⁸ R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 10 ff.

³⁹ E. Maffei, *La Réserve Eucharistique jusqu'à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1942).

⁴⁰ Vloberg, *L'Eucharistie dans l'Art*, 227, 237, 244.

Sacred Heart of Jesus and of the Sacred Heart of Mary. Similarly integrated into this same ritualistic celebration of the Redeeming Body, were the Feasts of the Transfiguration and that of the Ascension.

Hence, in late medieval Catholicism, through into the Counter Reformation period, the devotional and doctrinal emphasis was placed on the broken, bleeding and agonised flesh of Christ. This tendency was further emphasised by the humanising tendencies of fourteenth century piety, particularly in the meditations created by Thomas-à-Kempis in his “*Imitatio Christi*,” visualising Christ’s human life. In like manner, the visions of St. Bridget of Sweden widely popularised the graphic details of the bloody Passion of Christ. In spite of this enhanced intimacy with the human form of Christ, the eating of the Communion bread still caused tremendous anxiety. Obligated by the decrees of the Council of Trent to believe in the physical transubstantiation of bread into the Lord’s body, some reported visions in which the bread was seen to bleed.⁴¹ Paul had taught that Christ came in Judgement at the Communion (I Corinthians 11: 27–34).⁴² This was signified by an Aramaic expression used in the liturgy, “*Maranatha*” (I Corinthians 16: 22).⁴³ It signified “Come Lord!” and was a threat of damnation against those who partook unworthily of the bread and wine. In the New Testament, in fact, the image of the vine mostly signifies perdition (Revelation 14: 18–20). This meaning had been obtained from Isaiah who had described the Messiah as planting a vineyard, then pressing the grapes from the fruitful vines, while casting the barren ones into the flames (Isaiah 5: 1–7).

In religious imagery of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a popular theme was the blood of Christ and its relation to the Eucharistic wine, as in an engraving by Albrecht Dürer (ca. 1498) where angels are depicted collecting Christ’s blood in a Communion chalice. In the Ghent altarpiece of the van Eyck brothers (1432), the central panel depicts the sacrificial Lamb standing on an altar, the blood from his side flowing into a golden chalice. This can be compared to another influential icon, that of Dürer’s “Triumph of the Lamb of God” in the *Apocalypse* series of engravings (1511). In Revelation, 5: 8–14 the sacrificial Lamb is seen in the midst of the throne of

⁴¹ Camporesi, “The Consecrated Host” (1989), 222–25.

⁴² Wainwright, *Eucharist and Eschatology* (1971), 81, 83.

⁴³ Wainwright, *Eucharist and Eschatology* (1971), 61, 66.

God. It is a scene that alludes to the baptism of Christ when the Baptist cries out: "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world" (John 1: 29). The Eucharist anticipates the nuptial banquet of the bridegroom Christ on the Last Day (Revelation 19: 7–9, 21: 2), when the Lamb will feed the faithful with his own being.⁴⁴

The supposed author of Revelation was John the Evangelist and he too had a peculiar association with Eucharistic soteriology. One of John's medieval attributes was a chalice, since according to the apocryphal *Acta Johannis* he had been offered a drink of poison that turned into wine on touching his lips.⁴⁵ It is noteworthy that John's poisoned chalice found its way into the sixteenth century alchemical emblems of the *Rosarium Philosophorum*.⁴⁶ The cup appears in a woodcut entitled "Aenigma Regis" where it is held by a crowned hermaphrodite (the philosopher's stone). Out of the chalice emerge three snakes, referring to the three alchemical principles of sulphur, mercury, salt (fig. 18). The couplet beneath this picture states: "Hie [sic] ist geboren der Keyser aller ehren (sic)/Kein höher mag uber jn geboren werden." The snakes represent the poisonous character of the prime matter in its components of sulphur, mercury and salt. Transmuted into the elixir of life, it became the alchemical equivalent of the healing blood of Christ, the "coelum." John of Rupescissa had described recipes for this wondrous draught which was intended to succour "poor evangelical men" (late fourteenth century Waldensian preachers) by driving away the infirmities of old age and extending their lives.⁴⁷ It was to be distilled from wine, hence its sacramental aura, though it could also be obtained from vegetable and mineral products as in later Paracelsian alchemy.⁴⁸

Rupescissa's associate Arnald of Villanova in his *Rosarium*, as well as the *Aurora Consurgens* (late fourteenth century) had taught the same idea concerning the alchemical blood of Christ. The *Aurora Consurgens* was published in the compendium *Artis Auriferae* (1593), although the

⁴⁴ Wainwright, *Eucharist and Eschatology* (1971), 94–95.

⁴⁵ Vloberg, *L'Eucharistie dans l'Art* (1946), 255.

⁴⁶ See the woodcut entitled "Aenigma Regis" in "Rosarium Philosophorum," *Artis Auriferae* (1593), vol. 2, 359.

⁴⁷ Michela Pereira, "Uno Tesoro Inestimabile: Elixir e'Prolongatio Vitae' nell'Alchimia del '300', *Micrologus. Nature, Sciences and Medieval Societies, I Discorsi dei Corpi* (Brepols, 1993), 161–87.

⁴⁸ Pereira, "Uno Tesoro Inestimabile" (1993), 183–85.

editor eliminated the first part containing “Parable VII.” In the manuscript editions this section had spoken of the philosopher’s stone in the same terms that were used for the Communion bread.⁴⁹ There are other contemporary references to this discourse in which the stone and elixir are identified with the body and blood of Christ. For example, in the anonymous treatise, *Gloria Mundi*, published in the *Musaeum Hermeticum*.⁵⁰ Thomas Norton, the late fifteenth century English alchemist, had also dealt with this topic and his treatise was printed by Elias Ashmole in the *Theatrum Britannicum* (London, 1652).⁵¹ The most effective, medicinal elixir was considered to be potable gold, a substance whose prestige increased in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Michael Maier dedicated a whole treatise to this tincture (*De Circulo Physico, Quadrato*, 1616). Gold, he argued, was the sun in the material sphere, just as the sun was the divine principle in the heavens.⁵² Fludd was to develop these theories further, producing a recipe for an elixir that would heal both soul and body. Even earlier Rupescissa, like Bacon, had already distinguished between a common and a miraculous sacramental potable gold. The common beverage could be fabricated in processes described by Geber which in the early stages employed corrosive substances such as nitric acid to make “aqua regia.” This was the only solvent capable of liquefying gold by holding it in solution. On the other hand, the alchemist could also manufacture an artificial medicinal gold “of the twenty fourth grade” which was the “aurum Dei.” This substance could be obtained only by employing the power of the philosopher’s stone, the gold being transformed into a medicine eventually by the human body.⁵³

⁴⁹ *Artis Auriferae* (1593), 185–246. Marie-Louise von Franz (ed. and trans.), *Aurora Consurgens* (New York and London: Bollingen, 1966). The full text was also printed in the alchemical compendium of Johannes Rhenanus (ed.), *Harmoniae inperscrutabilis chymico-philosophicae* (Frankfurt, 1625).

⁵⁰ *Musaeum Hermeticum reformatum et amplificatum* (Frankfurt, 1678), 203–304. See also H. Kopp, *Die alchemie in altere und neuer Zeit* (Heidelberg, 1886), vol. 1, 254 examining the Renaissance alchemical treatise, *Der Wasserstein der Weysen* in its discourse the philosopher’s stone as a parallel of Christ. See also Hartlaub, “Signa Hermetis” (1937), 93–162.

⁵¹ Elias Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, London, 1652 (New York and London, 1967), 10.

⁵² Michael Maier, *De Circulo Physico Quadrato* (Oppenheim: Lucas Jennis, 1616), 23.

⁵³ Pereira, “Uno Tesoro Inestimabile” (1993), 186.

Alchemical transmutation in Paracelsian discourse had more in common with Catholic dogma as established by the Council of Trent, than with the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation (in which the Communion bread remained unchanged). Melancthon had altered the Words of Institution to “cum pane” in the *Variata* appended to the original *Augsburg Confession*. Hence, it was unclear as to whether Christ was physically, or only spiritually, present in the Eucharist. Luther himself had insisted that it was the actual body of Christ that was eaten in the Communion, following Christ’s instructions to eat his body and drink his blood. In *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1520), Luther referred to the text of I Corinthians 11: 23–26, arguing that if he failed to understand how bread could be the body of Christ, then he would take his understanding captive and bring it into obedience to Christ, believing that not only is the body of Christ in the bread, but that the bread is the body of Christ.⁵⁴ Then, concerning the bitter dispute over whether the laity should be given the wine as well as the bread, or whether the wine should be reserved for the clergy as the Council of Trent was to maintain, Luther stated in the same text:

The most important proof, and, to me a fully cogent one, is that Christ said: “This is my blood, shed for you and for many for the remission of sins.” . . . Did he not address all? . . . He said: “All ye drink of it.”⁵⁵

The Calvinists had a rather different view of the Communion. In their interpretation, Christ’s body was truly eaten, but in a spiritual form through the grace of the Holy Spirit. He qualified this belief, nevertheless, by his statement in his *Institutes*, IV (1559) that:

from the substance of his flesh Christ breathes life into our souls—indeed, pours his very life into us—even though Christ’s flesh does not enter into us.⁵⁶

There was also a further problem in the question of the nature and function of the Communion. The reformers felt that it was unclear as to how, exactly, Christ’s original sacrifice on the cross was related

⁵⁴ Martin Luther, *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium* (1520), [in:] *Martin Luther Studienausgabe* (2nd ed., Berlin, 1982), 175–209. Translated in Bertram Lee Woolf (ed.), *The Reformation Writings of Martin Luther* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1952), 1, 230.

⁵⁵ Woolf, *Reformation Writings of Martin Luther* (1952), vol. 1, 230.

⁵⁶ Translation from McDonnell, *John Calvin* (1967), 241; see also pages 210–93.

to that of the Eucharist. The Catholics believed that every Communion enacted by the Catholic Church was the original sacrifice of Christ, not a repetition, since Christ himself performed it through the person of a consecrated priest, as proclaimed by the decrees of the Council of Trent (1551–1552).⁵⁷ For Catholics there were two aspects to the mass: that of a commemorative meal and that of a sacrifice, the enacting of which was a “good work” that could be offered for the remission of the sins of the living and the dead. The bread and wine turned into the real, physical body and blood of Christ, although their apparent qualities did not change.⁵⁸ The Lutherans altered the emphasis in the meaning of the mass significantly to its aspect as a meal, using the term “abendmahl” (“supper”), rather than the Catholic term “Eucharist” which means “thanksgiving” (Greek, “eukharistia”) for the offering of Christ’s body and blood. The sacrificial aspect was subdued in the rite, so much so that in Zurich stewards brought bread and wine to the seated assembly as if at a meal, rather than making the congregation kneel before an altar. The Dutch Calvinists also sat around a large table. While the Communion was not really a meal in the Lutheran service, nonetheless, the connotation of a ritual offering was relegated.⁵⁹ The Protestant image of Christ feeding the people did not require the miracle of transubstantiation, since Christ also fed his people through the word of the Gospel, a spiritual feeding of equal importance in Luther’s opinion, while reformers such as Calvin ranked Scripture greater in importance than the Communion.⁶⁰

In contrast to these positions the first generation of Spirituals adopted an altogether different tack that de-emphasised both Christ’s physical sacrifice and the external word of Scripture in favour of a pietistic experience of God’s inner presence. Weigel, for example, had stated in his *Gnothi Seauton. Nosce teipsum* (1571) (Newenstadt, 1615) that if the suffering, death and merit of Christ were to be effective then the “vita Christi” had to occur within the soul itself, not merely in the historical past: “Christus inhabitans, non ab extra

⁵⁷ David N. Power, *The Sacrifice We Offer. The Tridentine Dogma and its Reinterpretation* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clarke, 1987), 190.

⁵⁸ See Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (1960): “Decrees of the Thirteenth Session, 1551,” Chs. I–VIII, 72–80.

⁵⁹ Wainwright, *Eucharist and Eschatology* (1971), 18, 20, 22 ff.

⁶⁰ McGrath, *Reformation Thought* (1993), 138–41, 159–87.

manens,” for: “Christus extra nos non salvat.”⁶¹ Weigel even argued in the *Kirchen- oder Hauss-Postill* (1578–79) that the sacraments should be discontinued, due to their misuse by “false preachers” to such an extent that they had become a spiritual hindrance.⁶² In the next generation, Maier, Fludd, Boehme and Franckenberg regarded the Eucharist as a metaphysical type of chemical process. Maier, in fact, was so reticent concerning his beliefs that he disguised his religious references in barely decipherable signifiers. For example, in *De Circulo Physico, Quadrato* (1617), the sacred geometry *may* involve Christological discourse, or in his alchemical poem, the *Phoenix*, its eighth part *could* be interpreted as being an allegory of Christ, the Eucharist and the Resurrection.⁶³ In the *Atalanta Fugiens* (1617; 1618) there appear slightly more overt references to the alchemical sacrament. In the fortieth emblem, for instance, there appear two fountains, explained in the text as alluding to the elixir of life described in the work of Raymund Lull.⁶⁴ Maier states that the elixir’s meaning is analogous to the water of life of Christ, meaning by this both the sacrament of Baptism and also that of the Eucharist.⁶⁵

The battles over the Eucharist were an integral part of the history of Protestant iconoclasm and of their general attitude to religious art-forms. Michalski has concluded that the “image dispute is linked primarily, by thousands of threads, to the Eucharistic dispute.”⁶⁶ Calvin and Zwingli were in complete opposition to the use of images in the Church, regarding them as pagan idolatry.⁶⁷ They debated fiercely the related issue of the role of the sacramental sign in relation to the thing signified. Zwingli totally rejected the concept of the Communion bread as signifying the presence of Christ in any form, whether material or spiritual. Against this position, Calvin hypothesised a close relation between symbol and content, in which the symbol had the character of a doorway, opening-up its content immediately to the receiver.⁶⁸ Calvin argued that:

⁶¹ See the account in Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent* (1973), 233.

⁶² Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent* (1973), 223 ff.

⁶³ This is examined in Sylvain Matton and Jacques Rebotier, *La Musique des Cantilenaes Intellectuales* (Alençon: J.-C. Bailly, 1984).

⁶⁴ De Jong, *Michael Maier’s “Atalanta Fugiens”* (1969), 259.

⁶⁵ De Jong, *Michael Maier’s “Atalanta Fugiens”* (1969), 259.

⁶⁶ Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts* (1993), 169 ff.

⁶⁷ Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts* (1993), 169–83.

⁶⁸ McGrath, *Reformation Thought* (1993), 182.

Believers ought always to live by this rule: whenever they see symbols appointed by the Lord, to think and be convinced that the truth of the thing signified is surely present there . . . And if it is true that a visible sign is given to us to seal the gift of an invisible thing, when we have received the symbol of the body, let us rest assured that the body is also given to us.⁶⁹

In contrast, Luther's response to icons had been moderate and he invented new types of visual iconography suitable for Protestant use. He had weakened the prohibition against visual images in the Old Testament by distinguishing between "exterior idolatry" (the cult of images) and "interior idolatry," the internal idols in the heart that distracted humans from the worship of God, a much more serious issue in Reformation theology. The consequence for artistic style in German painting, such as that of the School of Cranach, was a reduction in rhetorical devices intended to produce the effect of realism. Instead, a flat, graphic form was adopted. Luther also disliked the use of symbols, favouring literalism for the sake of clarity in expressing religious truths. This originated as a reaction to the Catholic dogma of transubstantiation. Luther found it intolerable that the Communion bread should retain the appearance of bread, while being the Body of Christ. In consequence, he had developed an aversion to all the multi-layered iconography of late medieval and Renaissance Catholic imagery, especially the Marian types in which the Virgin's form was an allegory of the Church, the New Jerusalem and so on. Further, he feared the psychological seduction of icons, leading to idolatry, since they attracted forms of worship due to God alone.

In response to these problems, Luther's new programme for art was a compromise, exactly like his doctrine of the sacraments. He demanded the abandonment of the symbolic image in favour of clear narratives from the life of Christ, such as Christ with the children of Jerusalem, or his baptism and teaching-mission. He advocated the use of texts in order to clarify the meaning of the picture and, also, to prevent the emotive illusionism of the image from diverting the viewer's attention from Scripture. The purpose of Lutheran imagery was to teach the Word, not to waft the congregation to heaven by playing on its emotions. Instruction, rather than emotion, was the sole intention of Protestant art.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Quoted [in:] McGrath, *Reformation Thought* (1993), 182.

⁷⁰ Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts* (1993), 193, 32–37.

Khunrath, in fact, seems to have applied all of Luther's requirements in the engravings commissioned for the *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (1595), including such a copious amount of text that the engravings are able to stand free of the rest of the treatise. The constraints of the graphic process of engraving inevitably produce a clearly-outlined, linear style, as well as a flat, dry background with a complete absence of aerial atmospherics. Indeed, the Roman Catholic artist, Peter Paul Rubens, had employed the technique of etching instead so that he could avoid the didactic clarity of the engraving. His own religious persuasion and his employment in the Catholic courts of Europe were the major factors in his choice of style. In contrast, the Paracelsian alchemists evidence their alignment with Reformation principles in the very form of their illustrations.

Still further, Khunrath seems to have adopted Luther's hermeneutic system in which a distinction was made between the "sensus literalis historicus" of a text and its "sensus literalis propheticus."⁷¹ Luther had modified the medieval Augustinian hermeneutic that had formerly been used to analyse four related aspects of a text, first, its literal meaning, then its "allegorical" interpretation concerning dogma and its "anagogical" sense expressing the hope of salvation. Finally, the "tropological" interpretation concerned moral conduct.⁷² In his hermeneutic deliberations Luther had defended the value of the *Quadrige*, but he came to prioritise the literal sense of scripture, while maintaining a critical distinction between the letter and the spirit of scripture. Luther had adopted the method of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étapes in which the literal sense of a text was not the literal rabbinical meaning (in the case of the Old Testament), but rather its hidden Christological spiritual sense.⁷³ For example, Luther, like Augustine, continued to interpret the Psalms in his *Dictata super Psalterum* as a prophetic Christology, thus, his "sensus literalis" was the "sensus propheticus."⁷⁴ In other words, in Lutheran hermeneutics, the need for an account of scripture that would strengthen an individual's faith in Christ took priority over the literal historical context of a reading.

⁷¹ Alister McGrath, *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 158.

⁷² McGrath, *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation* (1987), 153.

⁷³ McGrath, *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation* (1987), 156–57.

⁷⁴ McGrath, *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation* (1987), 159.

The strongly subjective dimension of Luther's exegesis . . . is so intimately linked with the development of his theology of justification . . . The literal-prophetic and the tropological senses are increasingly viewed as one and the same thing, as the perceived significance of Christ *pro nobis* comes to be identified as the supreme Christological insight of scripture.⁷⁵

The influence of Lutheran hermeneutics influenced the unusual structure of Khunrath's *Amphiteatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* and the manner in which his alchemical allegory was made to yield a Christocentric meaning. On the dedication page, Khunrath presents a "theosophical oration" addressed to Jesus Christ. The alchemical allegory is based on Khunrath's theme of the divine light of Eternal Wisdom in relation to the two levels of alchemy, material and spiritual. A prologue provides an account of seven stages of ascent towards Divine Wisdom. It contains a list of three-hundred and sixty-five biblical verses drawn from the Old Testament books of Proverbs, Wisdom and Psalms.⁷⁶ Khunrath provides two versions of the biblical texts, one from the Vulgate and one which is his own translation from the Hebrew (Proverbs) and Greek (Wisdom). These sections of scripture had already been ascribed Christological meanings by Luther. To their Christian exegetical context involving the work of human salvation, Khunrath adds a further alchemical interpretation. Then, in addition, he produces yet another theosophical account in which personal spiritual enlightenment is gained by means of progression through seven levels of a kabbalistic universe, as in Reuchlin's system.

The ecstatic tenor of Khunrath's rhetoric is itself perhaps modelled on the "spiritus rhetoricus" of Erasmus' early hermeneutics in which he had explored the spiritual sense of a text as being a force of divine grace that could spontaneously transform the reader. It was the personal experience of the sense of scripture that Erasmus had favoured in the *Enchiridion*.⁷⁷ Hence, also the outcries of "Hallelujah!" and "Lob Herr!" that punctuate, or conclude, Khunrath's writings.

It is Luther's mode of interpretation, however, that facilitated the development of his alchemical theosophy of Christ as the "Ruah-Elohim," the quintessential Spirit of Nature and the creative Principle of alchemy. Metaphors of Christ as the philosopher's stone had been

⁷⁵ McGrath, *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation* (1987), 164.

⁷⁶ Heinrich Khunrath, *Amphiteatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (Hanau, 1609), 19–60.

⁷⁷ McGrath, *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation* (1987), 136, 155.

mooted in earlier alchemical imagery, but it was Lutheran hermeneutics that permitted these tentative earlier allegories to be elaborated into an exposition of Christ's presence, body and spirit, in the alchemical process. Khunrath's direct equation of Christ with the quintessence was the result of a Lutheran exegesis that involved the "sensus literalis propheticus." As in the case of the Old Testament prophecies, the immediate literal context (in this case of physical chemistry) was de-emphasised. It was subsequently re-employed to express an interpretation of the chemical process that elevated it into a reflection of Holy Scripture. The alchemical process and its literary products, in effect, themselves became a new book of divine revelation, that of Nature, in the Paracelsian sense. Khunrath often refers to the Paracelsian "doctrine of signatures" according to which God had marked the physical world with signs that were intended to facilitate both the art of healing and the work of human salvation described.⁷⁸ Due to the form of his interpretative system, Khunrath's alchemical treatise was able to describe a process of individual illumination enacted within a Paracelsian alchemical laboratory redesigned for the process of human salvation.

⁷⁸ Khunrath (1609), p. 151: "ex Astris, tanquam Alphabeto Coelesti, a Magistro exercitato Astronom. et Astr. legi ac scire potest". Khunrath discusses the solstices and refers to the ephemerides. He comments: "Temperamentorum humanorum corporum quae ad dispositionem et constitutionem Coeli et constellationum variantur, moventur, inclinatur. Imo actiones hominum aut redduntur eisdem difficiliore aut faciliores".

CHAPTER THREE

ALCHEMY AND DOMESDAY

I am the first and the last: I *am* he that liveth, and was dead; and behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death (Revelation 1: 17–18).

Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel. And ye shall know that I *am* the LORD, when I have opened your graves, O my people, and brought you up out of your graves, And shall put my spirit in you, and ye shall live, and I shall place you in your own land.

(Ezekiel 37: 12–14)

In the *Pretiosa Margarita Novella* written by Petrus Bonus of Ferrara in the early fourteenth century,¹ Hermes states that the old philosophers (meaning alchemists) knew about the forth-coming end of the world and the resurrection of the dead, when the soul would be united with its original body. As a result the body would be transfigured (“glorificatum.”) It would be made incorruptible and subtle in form, thus able to penetrate all solids. Its nature would be as much spiritual, as corporeal. For, writes Petrus, when the stone decomposes like a man in his grave, God restores to it soul and spirit, and takes away all imperfection. Then, the substance is strengthened and improved, just as after the resurrection a man becomes stronger and younger than he was before. The old philosophers perceived aspects of the Last Judgement in the art of alchemy, specifically in the germination and birth of the philosopher’s stone in which process the soul of the matter was united with a purified version of its original body.

Another fourteenth century text, the *Aurora Consurgens*, similarly provides a lengthy eschatological account in the course of which the author refers to Paul’s doctrine of the resurrection of the body. The “Sixth Parable” explains in detail the analogy between the philosopher’s stone and the Second Adam who is Christ in his Eucharistic form.

¹ The *Pretiosa Margarita Novella* was first published by Janus Lacinius in Venice in 1546. See folios 1 ff (introduction).

The text paraphrases I Corinthians, 15: 21–54 concerning the general resurrection, stating that when mortal shall put on immortality and the corruption of the living shall put on incorruption, then Death would be swallowed up in victory. Just as all die in Adam, so in Christ all shall be made alive. The first Adam and his sons originated in corruptible elements, but the second Adam (who is called the philosophic man/Christ) was made from pure elements and has entered eternity. Senior is quoted in his statement that there is one thing that never dies, but shall continually increase when the body shall be glorified at the final resurrection.² The alchemists' adherence to the details of Paul's account of the resurrection was very unusual in late medieval and Renaissance theology, since, according to Walker Bynam, his view of the resurrected flesh had been rejected by most of the Church fathers and did not enter Catholic dogma. This illustrates the unorthodox character of alchemical ontology which often went counter to the common medieval aversion to the unstable fabric of the natural world.

Illustrations of apocalyptic themes in alchemy attained their richest elaboration in the course of the early seventeenth century. Such beliefs had been expressed by Khunrath in one of the engravings made in 1602 for the *Amphiteatrum* depicting his Lutheran and Roman persecutors. One of the most demonic of these, a "blasphemer," is captioned: "Blasphemmat sit anathema maranatha."³ As discussed earlier, the Aramaic word "maranatha" was associated in Eucharistic eschatology with Christ's Coming as Judge to condemn sinners (I Corinthians 16: 22). In Khunrath's context the reference to "maranatha" expresses a criticism of both the Roman and the Lutheran clergy who administered sacraments that were merely external signs lacking any real spiritual benefits.⁴

Another example of Paracelsian alchemical eschatology is found in Johann Daniel Mylius, *Philosophia Reformata* (Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis, 1622),⁵ which contains a precise sequence of images describing the

² See part 1 of "Aurora Consurgens" in Johannes Rhenanus (ed.), *Harmoniae imper-scrutabilis chymico-philosophicae* (Frankfurt, 1625), 175 ff ("Decas II").

³ See Szulakowska, *Alchemy of Light* (2000), fig. 35 at top right.

⁴ The full argument concerning this issue is found [in:] Szulakowska, *Alchemy of Light* (2000), 139–49.

⁵ Johann Daniel Mylius, *Philosophia Reformata* (Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis, 1622). Discussed by Stanislas Klossowski de Rola, *The Golden Game* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 167–82.

process of the body's re-unification with the soul. In a picture labelled "putrefaction," the prime matter has undergone its first purification and has been "killed." It is represented by a skeleton standing on a black orb representing the "massa confusa" (fig. 19). Further illustrations picture the copulation and the subsequent death of the sun and moon, over whose bodies there stands another skeleton holding a scythe. The fully-fleshed corpses of the male and female lie on top of a sarcophagus, head to toe (fig. 20). They resurrect in the form of the hermaphrodite, also lying on the sarcophagus, while rain falls around him (fig. 21). This is the stage of "cibatio" or feeding, restoring the spirits to the matter. Walker Bynam's investigation into the doctrine of the resurrection of the body has revealed that there were significant changes in the imagery of the dead during the medieval period. The depiction of the resurrection of the dead in the twelfth century was based on a Byzantine original, showing the regurgitation of bodies from the grave in a decayed or dismembered state and their re-assemblage into their original earthly form. This imagery changed in the late medieval period and bodies were no longer shown as bones emerging from the earth, but as bearing their full component of flesh.⁶ Alchemical imagery accords with this later tradition.

The imagery of resurrection in medieval Christian iconography had become associated with the increasingly popular belief in Purgatory, a waiting-place in which souls were purged prior to their entry into heaven.⁷ Alchemical iconography appropriated the whole scenario of purgatory, resurrection and Judgement, using both Pauline eschatology as well as later ideas.

Apocalypics as a type of eschatological thinking had originated among the ancient Hebrews in ca. 220 BC to 100 AD. The belief in the immortality of the soul was common to the Graeco-Roman world, though not the concept of the return of the body which seems to have originated in Iran. In the Judaic perspective there was no separation between body and soul and the idea of bodily resurrection is found in the books of Ezekiel, Enoch, Baruch and Isaiah. Christianity was an integral part of this Judaic tradition in its belief that Christ had come to save the godly, so that at his Second Coming they would be resurrected in both body and soul to dwell with him

⁶ Walker Bynam, *Resurrection of the Body* (1995), 188.

⁷ Jacques le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (London: Scolar Press and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 289–92, 356–59.

in the New Jerusalem. Their enemies, on the other hand, would be cast into eternal damnation. Death itself would be conquered by the bloody sacrifice of the Lamb.⁸ The early Christians anticipated the return of Christ at any moment, as is evidenced throughout the letters of Paul. He foretold that all Christ's followers would be resurrected in the same manner as their Lord, that is, in body as well as soul:

But if there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen: And if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain. (I Corinthians 15: 13–14)

In opposition to early Christian eschatology, ascetic groups such as the Greek Valentinians had rejected the resurrection of the old flesh. Matter was the very substance that their religion aimed to escape. Since the physical world was a cosmic mistake, not an intentional creation, then there would be no general resurrection, only that of individual souls who would be given a new spiritual flesh, unrelated to the earthly body.⁹ The manner in which Rheginos despises the flesh is the result of an instinctive dualism quite distinct from that of Paul who considers the human being to be a somatic totality in the Judaic manner, not an opposition of soul and flesh. For Paul, the resurrection transformed the whole body through the work of the Son of Man, Christ. There were, in fact, religious orientations, such as that of Athenagoras in his *Legatio* and *De Resurrectione*, which were reconciled to Pauline soteriology.¹⁰

Apocalyptic expectations were further strengthened in the writings of the early Church fathers, such as Lactantius (ca. 240–320) and, later in the medieval period, Rupert of Deutz (ca. 1075–1129), Otto of Freising (d. 1158), Anselm of Havelberg (d. 1158) and Richard of St Victor (d. 1173). The Calabrian abbot Joachim of Fiore (1131–1202) had preached that the Third Age of the Holy Spirit had arrived in the twelfth century, the age of spiritual freedom in which Church authority had become irrelevant. Even so, this age would pass and humanity would be forced to live through the reign of Antichrist prior to the Millenium that would precede the Second

⁸ Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis* (1988), 20.

⁹ Malcolm Lee Peel, *The Epistle to Rheginos. A Valentinian Letter on the Resurrection* (London: SCM Press, 1969), 147 ff.

¹⁰ Athenagoras, *Legatio and De Resurrectione* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 95 ff.

Coming.¹¹ At this time eschatological discourse was co-opted into the service of the esoteric sciences, most especially into alchemical theory in the twelfth century Latin translation of the *Turba philosophorum* (Arabic original ca. 900 AD). Christian interpolations were added to this text referring to the death and resurrection of the chemicals in apocalyptic terms.¹² The process of distillation in Christian alchemy symbolised death and resurrection, as well as the union of Macrocosm and Microcosm. To the alchemists the death and resurrection of the stone in the manner of a human being was the clearest indication that alchemy was a divine, not a human science.

From the late fourteenth century there was a great increase in apocalyptic prophecy, with wandering laymen adopting the guise of prophet as a cover for dissidence from the political, social and religious status quo in Germany. Barnes has argued that behind the search for a universal science, such as that of the alchemist Roger Bacon (d. 1294), lay the aims of prophecy concerning the coming Time of Tribulations and the Millenium.¹³ Arnald of Villanova (d. 1311) concerned himself with the advent of Antichrist, as did John of Rupescissa. The historical evidence shows that both of these were associated with wandering preachers, the predecessors of Protestant evangelicals, who taught not only moral and theological reform, but also encouraged political unrest.¹⁴ After the development of the printing-press, the circulation of popular prediction increased, a notable example being the widely-diffused prophecies of Johann Lichtenberger (d. 1503) which were a source for Luther's own predictions. The Revelation of John and the apocalyptic teachings of the Church fathers were awarded the highest status by Protestant prophets, although equally popular were the Sibylline oracles, pseudo-Methodius, Joachim del Fiore, St Bridget of Sweden (d. 1373) and Brother Reinhard (d. 1503). Continuing the liason between alchemy and eschatology, Paracelsus produced a prophetic literature that considerably influenced the development of

¹¹ Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis* (1988), 22–23.

¹² The "Turba philosophorum" is found in two versions in the *Artis Auriferae* (1593), 1, 1–139. See also Julius F. Ruska, "Turba philosophorum: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hermetischen Literatur," *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin* (Berlin, 1931), 1, 115 ff, 182 ff.

¹³ Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis* (1988), 24 ff. See also Stewart C. Easton, *Roger Bacon and his Search for a Universal Science* (New York, 1952), 169.

¹⁴ Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Columbia University Press, second reprint, 1953), 3, 347–69; 4, 37–41.

the early seventeenth century Rosicrucian myth, most especially his vision of the last prophet, "Elias Artista."¹⁵ Many Paracelsians came to believe that he would appear in 1603 and the appearance of a new star in 1604 had precipitated great excitement, being taken as a portent of Elias and the beginning of a new age.

The main effects of this apocalyptic furore were felt in Lutheran urban centres. The Calvinists were less concerned with the Last Day, since they enthusiastically anticipated the coming millennium due after the Time of Tribulations when God's kingdom would be established on earth. Lutherans, however, placed more emphasis on the preceding reign of Satan in which there would be a last battle on the plain of Armageddon, followed by Judgement. According to Barnes, in the years 1529–30 it was Luther who gave "a world-historical, indeed, a world-transcending significance to contemporary events by placing them in an eschatological framework."¹⁶ He had deduced from the Book of Revelation that its reference to the last prophet before the time of tribulations must be to himself. Originally he had been disinclined to retain Revelation within the Lutheran canon of sacred texts, but as a result of popular opinion he retained it in his collection of Scriptural texts, even producing a commentary that encouraged an explosion of further prophetic and esoteric activity. Throughout the sixteenth century the prophetic texts of the Old Testament books enjoying special popularity were those of Ezekiel, Daniel, Enoch and above all the fourth book of Esdras (II Esdras in modern editions). This had foretold an atrocious situation on earth, symptoms of which seemed to be evidenced by the conditions of Reformation Europe. That time was regarded as being the last messianic age, due to last for four hundred years, after which it would be followed by seven days of Judgement.¹⁷ The presence of Antichrist was indicated by signs such as the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, an invader whose army was identified with the forces of Antichrist, or of Gog and Magog. Other portents included the proliferation of sects and violent theological disputes.

It was Luther who first identified the Papacy with Antichrist and, on this basis, Lutheran artists had crowned the head of the Whore of Babylon with the papal tiara, as in the Wittenberg Bible of 1522

¹⁵ Gilly, *Adam Haslmayr* (1994), 130.

¹⁶ Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis* (1988), 5 ff.

¹⁷ Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis* (1988), 216–19.

(Revelation 17: 1–7). Furthermore, they equated the Pope with the Beast from the Bottomless Pit (Revelation 11: 7). The standard apocalyptic repertoire was created in Luther's immediate social circle by Lucas Cranach in his woodcuts for the *Passional Christi und Antichristi* (1521) and for Luther's *Septembertestament* (1522). Despite the international and historical prestige of Dürer's apocalyptic engravings (1498), which were copied in the Wittenberg Bible (1522), later Protestant iconography did not develop on his model, but on that of Cranach.¹⁸

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the incidence of prophecy was restricted to Protestants, Roman Catholics insisting that the time of the Second Coming would remain a mystery. In reaction to the disruptive influences of apocalyptic literature and anti-authoritarian preaching, the fifth Lateran Council (1512–17) had not only denounced these populist concerns, but had also tried to suppress them. The avid interest in the coming Apocalypse was a symptom of the psychological distress in Germany, caused by the political turmoil of the early Reformation. The Roman Church had offered the laity the comfort of its role as mediator between God and human, but the reformers had eliminated psychological comforts, such as good works, prayers to the saints and the Virgin Mary, the sacrament of confession and indulgences for the faithful in Purgatory. The depersonalisation of God in Luther's theology led to a breach in the relations between God and human and it was no longer possible to draw him closer through the rituals of the Church. From now on, the sinful human had to depend totally on the seemingly capricious grace of God as to whether he would be saved, or condemned. Was individual faith in the saving power of Christ's sacrifice really certain to be powerful enough to save one's soul at the end of time? In the new insecurity, pious Protestants turned to prayer and prophecy, trying to decipher the will of inscrutable Providence. This spiritual turmoil was at its most passionate in the years immediately preceding the Thirty Years War (commencing in 1620).¹⁹

In his pioneering study of the eschatological turmoil of the Reformation, Barnes has examined some of the effects on esoteric practices

¹⁸ Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocalypse in Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931), 77.

¹⁹ The general background of German chiliasm is described in Erich-Will Peuckert, *Die Grosse Wende. Das Apokalyptische Saeculum und Luther* (Hamburg: Claassen and Govers, 1948), 299–474.

such as astrology, numerology and other types of esotericism. It was believed by many prophets and magicians that the Holy Spirit in the Last Days was revealing the concealed secrets of Nature, as Christ had foretold. These were available only to those of the true faith, namely, Lutherans. It is no coincidence that the alchemical resurgence of the late sixteenth century occurred in the Lutheran areas of Europe, particularly in the eastern German states through into Silesia, where there emerged lively groups of Paracelsian alchemists.²⁰ Luther's main disciple, the humanist Philip Melanchthon (who was also Reuchlin's son-in-law) displayed a special interest in alchemy. He also encouraged the use of the new humanistic science of linguistics in order to mine sacred texts for further prophecies.²¹ Nicolas Selnecker, a student of Melanchthon, produced a typical example of an oracular text, *Der Prophet Daniel, und die Offenbarung Johannis* (n. p. 1567).²² Protestant humanists of this type also involved themselves in astrology, mathematical calculation, kabbalah and the study of natural portents. There was a reaction, however, to this obsession with the discovery of natural and divine secrets in the appearance of the anonymous *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* (Frankfurt: Johann Spiess, 1587).²³ It represented a fearful reaction to the concept of "scientia" which was regarded as an illicit knowledge that transgressed God's realm. Nevertheless, the production of esoteric prophecies, linked with ideas drawn from Paracelsian theosophy, continued to increase into the early seventeenth century. The science of mathematics was turned to the service of prophecy, as in the popular writings of Eustachius Poyssel who presented an account of the

²⁰ A short account of the Silesian alchemists may be found in Karl R. H. Frick, *Die Erleuchteten. Gnostisch-Theosophische und Alchemistisch-Rosenkreuzische Geheimgesellschaften bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1973), 130–32; see also Table III. For a history of Silesia in this period see Ludwig Petry and J. Joachim Menzel (eds.), *Geschichte Schlesiens*, Band 2, *Die Habsburgerzeit 1526–1740* (Darmstadt: J. G. Bläschke Verlag, 1973).

²¹ Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis* (1988), 72–3.

²² See also Irena Backus, *Reformation Readings of the Apocalypse* (Oxford Univ Press, 2000), 129. Nicolas Selnecker had been a co-drafter of the Formula of Concord and was a member of Melanchthon's inner circle. He was the court preacher at Dresden in 1558–65, taught at Jena 1565–68 and then at Leipzig 1568–86. He moved away from Philippism and played an important role in reorganising the Saxon Church in 1574–86, reversing crypto-Calvinist tendencies. He wrote the *Institutio religionis christianae* (1573, 1579).

²³ E. M. Butler, *The Fortunes of Faust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952).

post-apocalyptic order in *Die Braut dess Lambs, Das Himmlische Neue Jerusalem* (1591). He also prophesied the Second Coming for the year 1623 in *Die Schlusel David, Esaie: 22, Apocalip: 3* (1594).

Historians have become familiar with the most notorious of these esoteric mathematicians, Simon Studion, a schoolmaster at Wurttemberg who had studied at Tübingen in the circles in which the myth of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood was created.²⁴ His book *Nao-metria* (meaning “new measurement”) was composed of a set of cosmic measures based on Poyssel’s *Die Schlusel David* and they incorporated the supposed date of the Second Coming of 1623.²⁵ Slightly later, between 1604 and 1632, the highly-influential Johann Faulhaber of Ulm published twenty-five mathematical writings, most of which dealt with eschatology.²⁶ He revealed the manner in which the Holy Spirit had concealed magical knowledge within a series of biblical numerologies whose secrets would be revealed in the Last Days.²⁷

The terminology of the Last Days and of corporeal resurrection had been provided by Peter Lombard’s *Sentences* in the fourteenth century which were based on Augustine’s *City of God* and *Enchiridion*, as well as on the writings of St. Gregory, Julian of Toledo, Hugh of St. Victor and others.

The materialism of this eschatology expressed not body-soul dualism but rather a sense of self as a psychosomatic unity. The idea of person, bequeathed by the Middle Ages to the modern world, was not a concept of soul escaping body or soul using body; it was a concept of self in which physicality was integrally bound to sensation, emotion, reasoning, identity-and therefore finally to whatever one means by salvation.²⁸

In Christian iconography the grave was pictured as a devouring mouth, an image that was kin to the mouth of Hell. In another emblem from Mylius’ *Philosophia Reformata* (1622) corpses are shown dispersed over the surface of the earth. Their graves have been opened and carrion birds hover around, picking the flesh off the

²⁴ Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis* (1988), 225, 229.

²⁵ Studion’s original manuscript is held in Wurttemberg Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart and there is a photocopy in the Warburg Library, London.

²⁶ Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis* (1988), 199–200.

²⁷ Johann Faulhaber, *Himlische gehaime Magia Oder Neue Cabalistische Kunst, und Wunderrechnung, Vom Gog und Magog* (Nuremberg, 1613).

²⁸ Walker Bynam, *Resurrection of the Body* (1995), 3–11.

skeletons and eating it (fig. 35).²⁹ It is an image originating in the eschatological tradition of the *Dance of Death*. One of the most common motifs in medieval apocalyptic paintings was that of the mouth of Hell, or of Judas being chewed in the jaws of Satan. This was a horrible fate since if the body was eaten, this would result in eternal death, since the body, once dissolved by digestive juices, could never be reconstituted.³⁰ The mouth and stomach of the devourer became the body's final resting-place and its death would be everlasting. Walker Bynam has analyzed the prejudice against eating and digestion in traditional Christian morality (the deadly sin of gluttony), as well as in eschatology. Food was regarded as poison by Tertullian, for example, since death had been introduced into the world through Adam eating the forbidden apple in the Garden of Eden.³¹ In turn, a potent symbol of resurrection was that of the prophet Jonas being spewed from the mouth of the whale; an image that appears in frescoes and manuscript illustrations of the Last Day, when those consumed by animals and fish were evacuated, returning to life in the body.³² Common medieval words for destruction were "eating," "consuming," "digesting" ("nutrire," "consumare," "pascere").³³ Food, like fertility, changed the body, but the Platonic-influenced ontology of Christian doctrine caused change to be distrusted, since it destroyed identity and indicated the imperfect and fallen nature of the world.³⁴ Heaven was a condition of stasis.

Against all these existential fears in mainstream religious belief and popular taboos, the alchemists continued to regard digestion as a positive process, due to the very nature of their chemical process whose essential function was to change substance. For example, in Emblem XXXV of the *Atalanta Fugiens* (fig. 22), Maier discussed the processes of digestion as being an indispensable stage in alchemical practice, comparable to the feeding of a young child and to agricultural processes.³⁵ In Emblem XXVIII he related the alchemical

²⁹ Mylius, *Philosophia Reformata* (1622), 359.

³⁰ Walker Bynam, *Resurrection of the Body* (1995), 118–19.

³¹ Walker Bynam, *Resurrection of the Body* (1995), 40–42.

³² Walker Bynam, *Resurrection of the Body* (1995), 30–32.

³³ Walker Bynam, *Resurrection of the Body* (1995), 34–35.

³⁴ Walker Bynam, *Resurrection of the Body* (1995), 96–99.

³⁵ De Jong, "Atalanta Fugiens" (1969), 239–42.

process of digestion to the purificatory mechanisms of the body, such as the excretion of motions, urine and sweat by the stomach, liver and veins (fig. 23). In the illustration appears King Duenech enjoying a steam bath in order to be freed from black bile (“aqua foetida”), the cause of saturnine conditions such as melancholia and decay. The alchemists also used baths in order to improve the proportions of the humours in their chemicals, to produce healthy blood in the body and to convert cold and moist materials into warm and dry ones.³⁶ Tilton has discussed the origins of this emblem in the *Allegory of Merlin*, an alchemical treatise printed seven years prior to the *Atalanta Fugiens*.³⁷ Maier refers to himself as a cook at the golden table, a reference to his *Symbola Aureae Duodecim Mensae* in which the Rosicrucian Fraternity is described as being seated at a golden table.³⁸ The theme of the dismemberment of the body proliferates in Maier’s illustrations from the *Atalanta Fugiens* (1617; 1618), though he attempts to mitigate the degree of physical violence exhibited in his visual symbols. One case is the text accompanying Emblem XIX, “Si de quattuor unum occidas, subito mortuus omnis erit” (“If you kill one of the four, all will suddenly die.”) The engraving portrays the four elements as four warriors whose essence is inter-connected, for Maier states that when one of the brothers dies, the others will also perish in the fire (fig. 24). He urges that you should kill the living one, but in such a way that you can revive him again, otherwise his death has not been of any use for death will reveal him.³⁹ He is a form of Christ, as revealed by Maier’s explanation that when this dead one arises, then death, darkness and the waters (of the abyss) shall flee from him. Hermes is made to testify that the Dragon that stood guard over the abyss shall flee from the sun-beams, “our Son” shall live and the dead King shall come out of the fire. Finally, in Emblem XLIV (fig. 26) appears the figure of Belinus, a late Hellenistic version of Osiris appropriated from an account in the *Rosarium philosophorum*. In Maier’s engraving he is shown in the form of a crowned figure arising from a coffin, while a scene in the background describes

³⁶ De Jong, “Atalanta Fugiens” (1969), 206–13.

³⁷ Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix* (2003), 142–43.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ De Jong, “Atalanta Fugiens” (1969), 158–62.

the dismemberment of his body by a half-hidden man wielding a sword. A woman laments his death. Belinus explains that

when you have taken me partly out of my nature, and my wife out of hers and after you have killed these natures and we are raised by a new and incorporeal resurrection, so that after that we cannot die any more.⁴⁰

In the *Rosarium philosophorum* Belinus had recalled the manner in which Saturn had dismembered his body, but he went to his mother (a type of Isis) to request that she collect up the parts and re-assemble him.⁴¹

In Emblem XXIV of the *Atalanta Fugiens* the engraving depicts a wolf (antimony) devouring the King (Saturn/prime matter), after which the wolf himself is destroyed in the fire (calcinated) (fig. 25). Thereby the king returns to life in a young and vigorous form as the tincture that cures every disease.⁴² The allegory has been drawn from the work of the early seventeenth century alchemist Basil Valentine who employed the emblem of the wolf to indicate the semi-metal antimony.⁴³ The Fourth Key of Valentine's treatise, the *Duodecim Claves*, treats of "dissolution," the pictorial emblem consisting of a skeleton standing on a coffin covered with cloth, with a lit taper at the left (fig. 27). According to the text, after death matter is purified by fire or the spirit, as symbolised by the candle. In the distance, behind the skeleton, is shown a Church, on whose steeple perches a peacock, a traditional Christian symbol of the resurrection.⁴⁴

Influenced by the antique revival, alchemists had adopted the emblem of Saturn devouring his son in order to represent the poisonous qualities of lead. Untreated lead was one of the chemical forms of prime matter and it was astrologically governed by the planet Saturn, the ancient God of Time and of the Golden Age. In the early sixteenth century manuscript of *De Alchimia* in Leiden, Saturn is dressed in the full armour of a wealthy German knight, with the sign of the moon in his hair. He devours in turn no less

⁴⁰ De Jong, "Atalanta Fugiens" (1969), 161–62. The account of Belinus can be found in "Rosarium Philosophorum" in *Theatrum Chemicum* (Zetzner, 1622), 5, 186–67.

⁴¹ *Theatrum Chemicum* (Zetzner, 1622), 5, 187.

⁴² "Atalanta Fugiens" (1969), 186–90.

⁴³ De Jong, "Atalanta Fugiens" (1969), 189.

⁴⁴ The illustration can also be found in the *Musaeum Hermeticum* (1678), 400. Valentine "Practica una cum duodecim clavibus," *Ibid.*, 377–432; "Duodecim claves," *Ibid.*, 393–423.

than five babies (fig. 28). Behind him, the female personification of the star-sign Virgo weighs two more in a set of scales, while pouring the alchemical tincture out of a flask into a bath-tub in which a young man is being bathed by an angel. The figure of Virgo is seen to arise from Saturn's side as in medieval depictions of the birth of Eve from the side of Adam (for example, in the left wing of Hieronymous Bosch's painting, *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (ca. 1500–10)). In the Leiden manuscript, four other babies are being devoured by wolves and roasted over the flames of a roaring fire. Amidst the complex sadism of the picture, the victims undergo their fate placidly, unaware of any pain. The picture is an allegory of the sowing of the seed of gold in base matter (lead) and its ensuing purification to produce the elixir of life.⁴⁵

A unique evocation of the story of Saturn occurs in the little-known treatise by Lambsprinck, *De Lapide Philosophico* (1625).⁴⁶ In this story, King Saturn (lead, prime matter) devours his own son (the seed of gold) and then falls sick. This narrative could be read, in fact, as a homosexual discourse, a topic which has not been discussed in any studies of alchemical imagery. The union of the first principles, matter and spirit, is almost invariably depicted in heterosexual terms, as exemplified in the account of the fifteenth century English alchemist, George Ripley, *Cantilena Riplei*.⁴⁷ He related how the male and female parts (soul and body) after being crucified, were then betrothed to each other. As man and wife, they were buried together and afterwards quickened again by the Spirit. On being elevated to heaven (in the process of distillation), the body and soul were transfigured and enthroned in the heavens. They then elevated all other bodies to their own level.⁴⁸ In Lambsprinck's treatise the son, Mercury, has been made to play the role usually reserved for the feminine principle. Effectively he becomes the Bride of the Father, undergoing the "coniunctio" with him in the act of his being devoured. Father and Son are purged together through the process of the father's illness.

⁴⁵ This manuscript is MS Leiden Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Cod. Voss. Chem. f29, folio 73.

⁴⁶ Almost nothing is known about the author and there exist no studies of this work. Its full title is Lambsprinck, *De lapide philosophico e germanico latine redditus per Nicolaum Bernaudum Delphinatum Medicum*... (Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis, 1625). It can also be found in the *Musaeum Hermeticum Reformatum* (1678), 339–71.

⁴⁷ In George Ripley, *Opera Omnia Chemica* (Kassel, 1649), 421 ff.

⁴⁸ Ripley, *Opera Omnia Chemica* (1649), 81.

A third, winged figure in this pictorial sequence acts as “dux,” or guide. It is clear that these figures are drawn from images of the Christian Trinity, as is made manifest in the “Undecima Figura:”

Pater, Filius, cum ductore, sibi sunt juncti manibus, Corpus, Spiritus et Anima, hic subintelligitur.⁴⁹

The Son runs away with the “dux” and is depicted standing with him on a mountain-top, as in the New Testament account of the temptation of Christ by Satan. Meanwhile, in the absence of the Son the Father dies from sorrow and yearning. He revives when the Son returns. Embracing him the Father devours him moved by the intensity of his love (fig. 29)⁵⁰

Tuus enim reditus hoc mihi confert gaudium.
Cum vero domum patris ingrederetur filius,
Hunc Pater manibus amplexatur,
Praenimioque gaudio hunc deglutivit,
Idque proprio sui ipsius ore.
Pater hic praenimia visudat.⁵¹

The Father subsequently develops an illness, during which he prays that his Son may be led out of his body. In answer to his prayer, God sends down rain which fertilises the Father’s body so that he becomes pregnant with the regenerated form of his Son (fig. 30).

In this remarkable account the masculine genders of both Father and Son are unstable, since they adopt female attributes at different points in the story. The devouring of the Son is equivalent to the sexual union of male and female in other alchemical works. It is also an allegory of the sowing of the seed of gold in prime matter, as in the Leiden *De Alchimia*. According to Lambsprinck, the Father is transformed into liquid and a new Father and new Son are duly created out of this embryonic fluid. Henceforward, the Son always remains in the Father and the Father always in the Son, as in the Christian Trinity. This union yields innumerable fruits, eternal and imperishable. In the last engraving, together with the “dux,” all three are shown seated on one seat (fig. 31);

Hic Pater et Filius in unum sunt copulati,
Ut simul in aeternam manent⁵²

⁴⁹ *Musaeum Hermeticum* (1678), 363.

⁵⁰ “Decimatertia figura” in *Musaeum Hermeticum* (1678), 367.

⁵¹ *Musaeum Hermeticum* (1678), 366–67.

⁵² *Musaeum Hermeticum* (1678), 371.

The *Aurora Consurgens* (late fourteenth century) contains some of the most direct allusions to the doctrine of the resurrection of the body transposed into an alchemical context.⁵³ This text was a likely source of influence on Khunrath's *Amphiteatrum*, since the author, like Khunrath, identifies alchemy with "Sapientia Dei" and commences his treatise with references to Divine Wisdom taken from Ecclesiastes 7: 11 and Proverbs 1: 20–21. One of the drawings in the *Aurora Consurgens* depicts the sun (sulphur, gold, soul) disappearing down the throat of a green lion, signifying that gold is soluble in green vitriol. This is one of the first stages in the production of potable gold, the universal panacea. The seventeenth century alchemist Oswald Croll, an older contemporary of Maier's at Prague, had been an enthusiastic exponent of the recipe for making this medicine. In his *Basilica Chymica* (Frankfurt, 1609) he described the central importance of the sun in the procedure.⁵⁴ He explained that it was the fount of life, the eye both of the material world and of the heavens, as well as the breathing-vent of the life of the elements. Exactly the same ideas are later repeated by Fludd in the medical theory of his *Medicina Catholica* and both alchemists were drawing their ideas from Paracelsus. Croll's recipe for potable gold was based on sublimed calx of Sol (chemical gold), to which he added a pound of common ferric aqua fortis (iron dissolved in nitric acid). In this liquid there was to be dissolved one ounce of ammonia salts on a low heat, producing "aqua regia," a mixture of hydrochloric and nitric acids that would dissolve gold.

Pereira in a recent study has demonstrated that the alchemical concept of the elixir of life originated in Christian eschatology concerning the perfectibility of the human body in a post-earthly condition. Made from the philosopher's stone, a perfectly tempered corpus, the elixir offered an extension of life and a return to health. The philosophical discussion concerning this perfect body had been the central theme of Pseudo-Lull's *Testamentum*, as well as of Geber's *Summa perfectionis magisterii*.⁵⁵ They had concluded that to produce "the stone which is not a stone," it was essential to balance in a "complexio aequalis" the four Galenic temperaments (the choleric, saturnine, sanguine and phlegmatic).⁵⁶ Galen had denied that such a condition

⁵³ See part 2 of "Aurora Consurgens" in *Artis Auriferae* (1593), 185–246.

⁵⁴ Oswald Croll, *Basilica Chymica* (Frankfurt: J. T. de Bry, 1609), 208–15.

⁵⁵ Pereira, "Uno Tesoro Inestimabile" (1993), 161–87.

⁵⁶ Pereira, "Uno Tesoro Inestimabile" (1993), 162.

was attainable, though Avicenna was prepared to countenance it. Roger Bacon had originated a theory of the perfect alchemical body in his *Medicina Philosophica*.⁵⁷ According to him, it was the balance of elements in the perfected philosopher's stone that immortalised whatever it touched in the mineral world, turning that substance also into the stone, or the elixir. As Pereira points out, it was not possible for a Christian, as it was for a Taoist, to consider the possibility of immortal life in the flesh. The most that was available to western alchemists was to find a medicine that could preserve life and restore youth. Rupescissa's recipe in his *De consideratione quintae essentiae* would assuredly produce herbal-based, benedictine wine, or a more knock-out, distilled spirit. The pseudo-Lullians stole these sections of his text for their own *Liber de secretis naturae seu de quinta essentia* and *Testament*; texts that popularised the cult of the elixir throughout Europe.⁵⁸

In the course of the Reformation, another original concept of the resurrected body was devised by the Silesian religious dissident, Caspar von Schwenckfeld (1489–1561), who came from a noble family in Ossig, near modern Legnica.⁵⁹ His ideas were particularly well-received in southern Germany and Switzerland. From 1538 he developed a novel argument according to which Christ had been born on earth not to save mankind and the world, but to glorify it. The real purpose of Christ's incarnation had been to enable, through his sacrifice on the cross, the transformation of others into divine beings like himself.⁶⁰ Unlike Luther who believed that Christ had taken on a natural body, Schwenckfeld argued that Christ's body had never been human, but had been engendered separately by God the Father. God wanted to create his own image and to realise himself outside of himself.⁶¹ This had been accomplished in the person of Christ, who was not only a model for the task of glorification, but the one

⁵⁷ Pereira, "Uno Tesoro Inestimabile" (1993), 170–72.

⁵⁸ Pereira, "Uno Tesoro Inestimabile" (1993), 176–80.

⁵⁹ R. Emmet McLaughlin, *Casper Schwenckfeld Reluctant Radical. His life to 1540* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986). The texts are available in the standard edition of Chester David Hartranft and Elmer Ellsworth Schultz Johnson (eds.), *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum*, 19 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1907–; Pennsburg –6). See also Andre Sciegienny (Seguenny), *Homme charnel, homme spirituel* (Wiesbaden, 1975).

⁶⁰ *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum* (1907–61), 4, 244, 246.

⁶¹ Seguenny, *Les Spirituels* (2000), 251 ff.

to whom God has entrusted the completion of his creative work, namely, to transform the first Adam and his body into a new man with a spiritual body.⁶² Schwenckfeld significantly differed from other Christian theologians in his audacious claim in *Von der Menschenwerdunge Christij* (1538) that natural man could be made divine in the course of his life-time, prior to the Day of Judgement.⁶³

Christ in glory was the proto-type for perfected human flesh. This idea parallels the Galenic theory of balancing the bodily humours in a perfectly tempered body. Schwenckfeld, however, did not envisage perfection in these medical terms, but in that of an immortal body, divinely illuminated by Christ's sacrifice. The existence of Christ's glorified, but human body on earth testified that humans are not in essence natural bodies, but that their true form is that of Christ. In this argument, Schwenckfeld was relying on Paul's problematic account of the risen body.⁶⁴

flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither does corruption inherit incorruption . . . For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality

(I Corinthians 15: 50, 53)

The controversial early Christian theologian, Origen (d. ca. 254), had offered an answer to Paul in Romans 6: 4–8 as to what aspects of the body could enter heaven. According to *De Principiis* (4: 3.1) at the resurrection, the corporeal form would abandon matter and would cling to the soul. The body would be stripped of flesh.⁶⁵ Theologians, commencing with Olympus, rejected Origen's viewpoint categorically on the grounds that the flesh was an indispensable part of man's creation and that it had to enter the after-world, though not in its present sinful condition.⁶⁶ Schwenckfeld adopted the concept expressed by Paul in I Corinthians 15: 45; "primus homo adam factus est in anima viventem, novissimus adam in spiritum vivificantem." There was an element in the original human flesh that would not allow it to reach perfection except by means of Christ's crucifixion, an action whose effect was to suppress the obdurate materiality of the body, rendering it receptive to the work of its glorification.

⁶² Séguenny, *Les Spirituels* (2000), 255 ff.

⁶³ Séguenny, *Les Spirituels* (2000), 257.

⁶⁴ Séguenny, *Les Spirituels* (2000), 258.

⁶⁵ Walker Bynam, *Resurrection of the Body* (1995), 534.

⁶⁶ Walker Bynam, *Resurrection of the Body* (1995), 259–63.

Schwenckfeld also had a novel interpretation of the dogma of transubstantiation, maintaining that it was the body of Christ that was the bread of life, not vice versa. As a result, he rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, as well as all other sacraments, ceremonies and priests.⁶⁷

Christ's victory over death was decisive. On their own, his disciples could never conquer death, the consequence of their own sinful flesh. Since flesh was the cause of death, then natural carnality had to be denied, as in Paul's unequivocal insistence on asceticism (I Corinthians 7: 29, 31). Why, in that case, should flesh be allowed into heaven at all? The element of continuity between the two human bodies, the natural one and its resurrected version, was an insoluble mystery for Paul.⁶⁸ In an attempt to address this problem, he devised an analogy with the dying seed for the process of the death and resurrection of the body, rising not as carnal flesh, but as a "spiritual body" (I Corinthians 15: 21–54). In his view, at the resurrection, the body will not be the same one that had died, for the risen body will be a new creation, just as the grown plant is not the same entity as the sown seed.

It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption. It is sown in dishonour; it is raised in glory . . . It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body (I Corinthians 15: 42–44).

This Pauline account of the seed was rejected by the doctors of the Church since it did not provide for a proper resurrection of the original body. In spite of this, as far as the alchemists were concerned, the Pauline allegory was essential and they installed it at the heart of their practice in the purification of prime matter. From the fifteenth century onward a common alchemical illustration is that of a farmer sowing the seed of gold in prime matter. As a visual emblem, it originated in the circles of the pseudo-Lullians, being depicted for the first time by the distinguished artist, Gerolamo da Cremona, in a Florentine manuscript of pseudo-Lullian alchemical texts.⁶⁹ In this

⁶⁷ R. Emmet McLaughlin, *The Freedom of Spirit, Social Privilege and Religious Dissent* (Baden-Baden, 1966), 255–71.

⁶⁸ M. E. Dahl, *The Resurrection of the Body* (London: SCM Press, 1962), 32.

⁶⁹ MS Florence Biblioteca Nazionale-Centrale II, iii, 27 (ca. 1472), folio 59r. It occurs at the start of the "Distinctio" of the "Testament," specifically in the "Practica."

particular manuscript there also exists an unusual diagram explaining the process of digestion and taking the form of three circles (fig. 32). Two are connected in the manner of a distillation flask, with an effluent pipe and a collecting vessel beneath. The text explains that the sick metals (the “imperfect” ones such as copper, or lead) have infirm bodies due to their flawed digestive systems. They can be cured by imbibing the perfect elixir (tincture) that results from a process in which the prime materials are properly digested.⁷⁰

In Mylius’ *Philosophia Reformata* (1622) a sower sows new seed in a field containing graves and corpses, while an angel sounds the Last Trump. In a later version of this same picture, an additional reference to Pauline eschatology has been added in the motif of a crop of corn growing out of the grave from which a man is rising (fig. 33).⁷¹ It is a new body, glorified, rather than the old flesh that was laid in the grave. This is an allegorical depiction of the process of fermentation in which the prime matter separated from its spirits is laid in the “grave” (flask and furnace) to fester and then be burned in the process of calcination to remove impurities. The seed of gold is placed within the roasted materials to commence the fermentation. The theme of the sown seed recurs frequently in early seventeenth century alchemy, for example, in Mylius’ emblem book, *Opus Medico-Chymicum*, Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis, 1618), a scene of the sowing of gold is the emblem representing “Petrus de Villanova,” said to be “Arnoldi frater.” The accompanying motto has the wording “Haec Medicina super omnes alias Medicinas et Mundi divitias in oppido perquirenda.”

There is an interesting version of the theme of the sown seed in the early seventeenth century MS London British Library Sloane 1316 in which a naked man is shown leading a plough that is drawn by two cockerels, labelled “Aves Hermetis.” The motif of the cock identifies the man as Mercury and in the caption below the picture there appears his alchemical sign (fig. 34). The accompanying text

⁷⁰ MS Florence Biblioteca Nazionale-Centrale II, iii, 27, folio 25r: “Circulus digestionis.” The process of alchemical digestion has been examined in Urszula Szulakowska, “The Tree of Aristotle,” *Ambix*, 33 (1986), 53–77; see fig. 8.

⁷¹ The sowing of the seed of gold with an angel announcing the Last Judgement, Johann Daniel Mylius, *Philosophia Reformata* (Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis, 1622). See also the reprint with new versions of the illustrations in *Musaeum Hermeticum Reformatum* (Frankfurt, 1678); the resurrection is on page 409.

instructs that the earth will produce fruit only if it is properly irrigated: “terra non fructificat absque frequenti irrigatione.” A crowned king seated below the scene of the ploughing points at a turtle (sic) which represents the dead prime matter. The king states that you should go into the fire and when you see Mercury appear with his brother, you should expect him within the month: “vade in ignem et cum [sign for Mercury] fratre suo expecta me per mensem.” The king is the stone of the philosophers.⁷²

Another early Christian writer, Tertullian, had formulated a different account of physical resurrection in which he had used the Stoic notion of “pneuma” as the equivalent of soul, giving it the meaning of a breath, as in God’s creation of Adam by breathing life into him. Since the soul as “pneuma” already had semi-material properties, then after death the material body would become superfluous. The corporeal resurrection could be enacted by the pneumatic soul on its own. “Pneuma” was the source of the later alchemical concept of the quintessence and both were imagined to have fiery qualities. The pneuma is encountered in Fludd’s theory of the “spiraculum,” the cosmic wind-pipe that distributes the life-giving qualities of the sun throughout the universe. In alchemy, the pneumatic qualities were called “spiritus” and the Paracelsians tended to identify this with the Holy Spirit, as in Lampsbrinck’s engraving of the three alchemical principles. This was not acceptable to Christian doctrine, since knowledge of the Holy Spirit was a grace vouchsafed only to Christ’s followers.

Alchemical authors always employ Pauline terminology in their accounts of the resurrection of the philosopher’s stone, one of the most direct examples being found in the *Liber de arte chymica*, written by an anonymous German in the sixteenth century. The body of the perfected stone, he argues, when perfectly harmonised is like that of Christ, who, because he was sinless and divine in essence, had such a perfect affinity in his corporeal elements that he would never have died had he not sought death of his own free will in order to redeem mankind. So too, the stone is glorious. Yet, for the sake of its imperfect, diseased brothers and sisters, it dies and rises again, glorious and redeemed, and tinctures its siblings so that they gain eternal life, making them perfect like pure gold. God the Son

⁷² MS London, British Library Sloane 1316, folio 6.

is the “homo glorificatus,” like the “lapis philosophorum.” Hence, the stone is also called “trinus.”⁷³

Martyrdom was the essential prerequisite for resurrection in the view of the early Christian fathers such as Justin, Irenaeus and Tertullian. After the Last Judgement, the martyrs and ascetics would receive their compensation, rising again with glorified bodies to become priests of God, ruling the earth with him.

⁷³ Jean Jacques Mangetus, *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa*, 2 vols. (Geneva: Chouet et al., 1702), 2, 686.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SACRIFICIAL BODY

Another historical development that should be integrated into the present discussion is the practice of anatomical dissection which was an important source for many of Fludd's alchemical illustrations. On the title-page of the *Anatomiae Amphiteatrum* (1623), for example, he depicts a dissection (figs. 37, 38). In the same period, the alchemist Stefan Michelspacher had also written a book on anatomy, the *Pinax Microcosmographicus* (1615),¹ as well as another on the drawing of the body in single-point perspective, *Lobliche Kunst der Geometriae sive inn der Perspectiv* (1616).² The publication of Paracelsus' treatises on surgery had triggered an interest among his alchemical followers in the workings of the human body and its relation to the Macrocosm.³ (Paracelsus himself, paradoxically, had doubted that the dissection of dead bodies could provide any genuine understanding of the living human form).⁴

A different type of physiological study that also influenced the alchemists and which bore an eschatological connotation was Andreas Vesalius' *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem* (Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1543). The intriguing aspect of Vesalian anatomical illustration is the visual ambiguity of the cadavers as to whether they are truly dead, or still alive in some manner. In these pictures the bodies appear in various states of dismemberment, giving them the Christ-like pathos of Christian martyrs in painted narratives. Anatomy in

¹ Stefan Michelspacher, *Pinax Microcosmographicus hoc est Admirandae Partium Hominis Creaturarum Divinarum praestantissimi Universarum Fabricae, Historica brevis at perspicua Enarratio, Microcosmico tabulis sculpto aeneis Catoptro lucidissimo, explicationis vice addita, Impensisque; maximis Stephani Michelspacheri Tirolensis* (Augsburg: no publisher given, 1615).

² Stefan Michelspacher, *Opera das ist Grundliche doch Kurze Anzeigung Wie Nothwendig die Lobliche Kunst der Geometriae sive inn der Perspectiv* (Augsburg: David Francke 1616).

³ Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim (Paracelsus), *Grosse Wunderartznei*, translated into Latin as *Chirurgia Magna in duas tomos digesta* (Basel: Perna, 1573). There was also the Latin translation by Gerhard Dorn of Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim (Paracelsus), *Chirurgia Minor, quam alias Bertheoneam intitulavit*, 3 vols. (Basel: Perna, 1575).

⁴ Rudolf Hartmuth, "Theophrast von Hohenheim (Paracelsus); Physician and Apostle of the New Creation" in Hans-Jürgen Goertz (ed.), *Profiles of Radical Reformers* (Ontario: Herald Press, 1982), 255–68.

the Renaissance was a sacrificial cult in its own right, as Schulz⁵ and Cunningham have demonstrated.⁶ As a temple of death, the anatomical theatre was presided over by the university lector; the audience surrounded the corpse as if they were viewers at an execution,⁷ or at its cultic equivalent, the sacrifice of the Eucharist. In Renaissance anatomical and alchemical illustrations the body was sacrificed but not, in some sense, really killed, the visual appearance of the process being comparable to vivisection. The (perhaps unintentional) masochism in the pictures is due to their historical descent from traditional depictions of martyrdom and crucifixion. The bodies have the superhuman ability to be both dead and alive simultaneously, whether performing a didactic function, as in Vesalian anatomy, or symbolising the prime matter for an alchemical procedure as in Fludd's *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623).

Due to the Christian notion of heavenly beings participating in earthly life, while the body became a participant in heavenly life, the alchemists had an ambiguous view of what was death and what life. Corrupt flesh could not enter heaven, argued Paul, so another type of body replaced flesh temporarily in the after-life, until the body in the grave could be resurrected. This was the somatic body, a spiritual body which was sensate and could be punished in Purgatory. The dead-yet-living cadavers wandering around the solitary landscapes of Vesalian anatomical engravings have the character of somatic bodies in Purgatory. Koerner has reflected on the puzzling vivification of Vesalian "escorci," flayed corpses that pose in classical stances, draping their skins around themselves in a landscape of death.⁸ I would suggest that these bodies are neither dead flesh, nor disembodied

⁵ Bernard Schulz, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy* (Massachusetts: UMI Research Press, Studies in the Fine Arts: Art Theory, second print, 1985). In 1528, at the University of Louvain, Vesalius had commenced his anatomical studies, moving in 1533 to Paris and obtaining his medical degree in 1537 at Padua where he became professor of surgery. In 1543 he published his *De humanis corporis fabrica*, incorporating two hundred woodcut illustrations divided into seven books. These pictures were attributed by Giorgio Vasari, the Florentine biographer, to Jan Stefan van Calkar, a Dutch artist working in Venice in the 1530s.

⁶ Andrew Cunningham, *The Anatomical Renaissance. The Resurrection of the Anatomical Project of the Ancients* (London: Ashgate, 1997), 13.

⁷ Luke Wilson, "William Harvey's Prelections: The Performance of the Body in the Renaissance Theatre of Anatomy," *Representations*, 17 (*Special Issue: The Cultural Display of the Body*) (1987): 62–95.

⁸ Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture* (1993), 25, 28–31.

ghosts, but rather that they exist in a purgatorial somatic condition. There was a religious rationale at this time in the practice of providing the bodies of criminals for anatomical dissection, the bodies being tortured on earth in order to redeem the somatic body in Purgatory. Hence, the anatomical and alchemical bodies depicted in Renaissance medical and alchemical treatises are similarly “in transit” between earth and heaven, martyred for the sake of knowledge and spiritual illumination.

The act of dissection, ordered by a deified actant in the professorial chair, reflected the original moment of cosmic creation, ordering fleshly matter and subordinating it to the scrutiny of sight and intellect.⁹ Nonetheless, the resistance of society and of religious and secular authorities to the act of dissection prior to the seventeenth century was not only due to revulsion against decaying human flesh. Many people were terrified by the sight of the process in which a corpse gradually lost its formal qualities and, thus, its subjectivity. The partitioned corpse could no longer signify any one particular identity. When the knife penetrated the outer façade of the body, the singular subject was reduced to a meaningless plurality of fragments, to chaos. This was death indeed. The Bull *Detestande feritatis* (1299) of Boniface VIII had specifically forbidden the partition of dead bodies, a practice especially popular in Germany. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, nevertheless, the judicial process began to employ torture more frequently for capital crimes, the degree of mutilation indicating the severity of the offence. Hence, the criminal punishment reserved for the worst crimes, heresy, witchcraft and treason, was the drawing and quartering of the body, cutting it open, revealing the innards and then chopping it apart so that it lost its singularity.¹⁰

The façade of the body, in effect a threshold between inner and outer worlds, was its skin which in Christian theology became invested with subjectivity. Cutting into the skin was an act that simultaneously split the subject, resulting in a plural being that was suspect, even considered to be demonic as evidenced by the hybrid creatures

⁹ Similar interpretations concerning the rhetorical devices implicit in the anatomical theatre are discussed in Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned. Dissection and the human body in Renaissance culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 41–45, 80–91, 100–21.

¹⁰ Walker Bynam, *Resurrection of the Body* (1995), 324–25.

that populate the hells of Hieronymous Bosch. In the theatre of dissection the eye of the physician became like the eye of God, viewing the inner cavities of the body, an act forbidden to human sight. Accompanying this fear was an atavistic horror of blood and a dark suspicion of all those who dealt in human blood, chiefly surgeons who freed the substance in which the life-force was contained.¹¹ Against such superstitious attitudes, the new anatomical sciences of the sixteenth century gradually facilitated the development of a new model of medical practice, resulting in the increased effectiveness of surgery and a corresponding rise in its status over the next two centuries. In Vesalian anatomical illustrations, as in Fludd's alchemical context, the cleaving of the body became a new metaphor for the opening of human reason to the truths of both God and Nature. There also became apparent the possibility of an innovative art-practice due to the enhanced knowledge of human architecture, producing greater emotive power and kinetic force in the arts of the Renaissance.

Robert Fludd incorporated the science of dissection into his medical alchemy and he alluded to a historical source on the title-page of his *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (figs. 37, 38). The cadaver has been placed in a simple private room, rather than in a grand anatomical theatre as in Vesalius' title-page to the *Fabrica* (1543). Furthermore, instead of sitting on a throne in front of a lectern while a technician performs the actual dissection, Fludd shows a group of scholars engaged in carving-up the corpse with their own hands. His image is not derived from that of Vesalius, nor was it taken from the older work of Mundinus (Mondino de'Luizi), *Fasciculo di Medicina* (Venice edition, 1493). Fludd's scenario shows resemblance to a scene on the title-page of Berengario da Carpi's *Commentaria . . . super Anatomia Mundini* (Bologna, 1521), as well as to the title-page of Realdo

¹¹ Caroline Walker Bynam, *Fragmentation and Redemption Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 239–97. The popular prejudice against those whose work is to cut bodies apart, whether dead or alive, is discussed in Sawday, *Body Emblazoned* (1996), 81 ff. A detailed account of blood taboos is given in Michael T. Walton and Phyllis J. Walton, "Witches, Jews and Spagyrist: Blood Remedies and Blood Transfusions in the Sixteenth Century," *Cauda Pavonis*, 15, no. 1 (1996): 12–15.

Columbo's *De Re Anatomica Libri XV* (Venice, 1559). In both of these pictures, the anatomical theatre and its magisterial lector has been abandoned in favour of private study of the corpse by a small peer-group of learned medics.

Fludd described the structure of the cosmos in anatomical terms in his *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623), *Philosophia Sacra* (1626) and the *Medicina Catholica* (1629–31). His conceptual foundation was the dynamic Paracelsian human physiology, with its internal stars, archons and alchemical forces.¹² Both the human and Macrocosmic bodies consisted of organs of brain, sight and hearing, as well as a torso, containing a heart and a digestive system (as illustrated in Fludd's later engravings.) Paracelsus had declared that: "It is not . . . the reading of many books . . . which is desirable in a physician, but the highest knowledge of things and mysteries . . . experiment and 'ratio.'"¹³ The experience to which he was alluding was not that of material practice, but of universal mysteries as revealed in the book of Nature. It was the light of Nature that was his "ratio."¹⁴ Likewise, Paracelsians, such as Michelspacher and Fludd, understood anatomy as being, not a pragmatic medical tool that raised the status of surgery to a science, but a demonstration of the mystical relations of Microcosm to Macrocosm.

An example of this process of mystification is found on the title-page of Michelspacher's *Pinax Microcosmographicus* (fig. 39). This depicts two nudes displaying the veins and arteries of the body. They are generalised copies of Vesalian illustrations. They are similar to an image found in Fludd's *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623), namely, his "Tabula Sexta" of the circulatory system of the blood, also copied from a Vesalian prototype (fig. 36). Fludd's dissected figure is a far more accurate and sophisticated depiction of the arterial system than are Michelspacher's clumsy and flaccid nudes. Fludd has opened the chest and abdominal cavities so as to reveal the map of the arteries in relation to the heart, lungs and stomach. Michelspacher, in contrast, merely tattoos the veins and arteries across the surface of the skin.

¹² Paracelsus, "Philosophia ad Athenienses" in Sudhoff, *Paracelsus. Sämtliche Werke*, 1, 13, 389–423 and also "der Grossen Wunderarznei" in Sudhoff, *Paracelsus. Sämtliche Werke*, 1, 7–487.

¹³ From his speech against Galen, Avicenna and Hippocrates in Basle on 5 June, 1527, see Sudhoff, *Paracelsus. Sämtliche Werke* (1931) vol. 4, 3–4.

¹⁴ Pagel, "Paracelsus als "Naturmystiker" (1979), 57–58, 61, 70, 89–99.

His real intention is revealed by other details of the title-page, in the geometrical equipment lying on the ground below the nudes. Its very presence initiates a contrasting dialogue between Platonic philosophy, the science of God, and practical science. (The immortal Ideas in the Mind of God had been given a geometrical form by Plato in the *Timaeus* 33 ff.) At the top of Michelspacher's title-page there stands a skeleton which is modelled on the picture in Vesalius *Fabrica* 2.2. It stands above an unidentified coat of arms (sinister: fleur de lys above two diagonal bars; dexter: wild man with staff). To the left of these, a naked boy is shown holding a lit taper, while on the right a naked boy lies dead, his taper extinguished. Below the living boy are the words: "Ingrediemur vitam nudi" and beneath the dead one: "Egrediemur eandem nudi." At the foot of the page is shown a crowned snake, coiled in the manner of the sign for infinity. A text is appended from the tenth chapter of the Old Testament book of *Ecclesiastes*: "Cum morietur Homo haereditabit serpentes et Bestias et Vermes."

Michelspacher's title-page is not, in fact, a monument to empirical learning, but takes the form of a "memento mori." Far from applauding the new Renaissance humanism, on the contrary, he employs the science of anatomy as a metaphor to demonstrate the futility of rational knowledge in the face of death and decay.¹⁵ The prospect of immortality is available only to those who seek an intuitive Gnosis, a divine epiphany concerning God's work in Nature.

The earliest writings on anatomy are found in the unillustrated *Corpus hippocraticum* (ca. 400 BC), which incorporated five texts, three of which were grouped together in the middle ages as *De animalibus*.¹⁶ In the third century the Alexandrians had undertaken investigations into the human body, passing on their research to Galen (ca. 130 AD). Their physiology as a system of knowledge was centred on the concept of the "pneuma" (breath or spirit). Veins were believed to carry blood to the heart where it combined with the "pneuma" to become the vital spirit, distributed by means of arteries to the body.¹⁷

¹⁵ The full text on the title-page reads: "In omnium utilitatem et jucunditatem divulgata. Viro generis nobilitate, autoritatis splendore, digna virtutem laude, praestantique; artium aestimatione, clarissimo Dn. Philippo Heinhoferi Civi Augustano, Domino suo unice calendo, S. Calends. Febr. Anno 1615."

¹⁶ Schulz, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy* (1985), 2-7.

¹⁷ Schulz, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy* (1985), 8.

The only Galenic texts known to the medieval period were *De Musculorum motu* and *De usu partium* which became doctrinal handbooks in the universities, discouraging further research, although in the late thirteenth century dissection was reintroduced into medical studies at Bologna.¹⁸ An important new text on surgery was the *Anathomia* written in the fourteenth century by the Frenchman Henri de Mondeville, but it lacked illustrations. It was notable for the manner in which it adopted the grammatical terms of the university curriculum to describe the inter-relations of the parts of the human body.¹⁹ Niccolo da Reggio's early fourteenth century translation of Galen's *De usu partium* was a text significant for both anatomists and artists, since illustrations were provided for this text consisting of five anatomical figures in squatting postures. They displayed arteries, veins, bones, nerves and muscles. There existed also another type of diagram portraying the internal organs. The most significant medical work of the late fifteenth century was Johannes de Ketham's *Fasciculus medicinae* published in Venice in 1491. It was the first printed treatise to provide visual imagery in the form of six illustrations, including a picture of a dissection with a tutor directing a technician. The critical investigations began with Jacopo Berengario da Carpi, surgeon and anatomist at Bologna from 1502–1527, who published two treatises *Commentario super anatomia mundini* (1521) and *Isagogae breves* (1522) in which he initiated the multiple view of an anatomical part in single-point perspective, possibly under the influence of Leonardo da Vinci.²⁰

The most ubiquitous anatomical image of the late middle ages was the "Zodiac Man," used to advise barber-surgeons on the letting of blood. This figure exhibited the sympathy between human anatomy and that of the universe. The astrological figures of the Zodiac were drawn onto the bodily parts, according to the heavenly influences believed to affect them. Dissected, or at least decaying, corpses revealing their innards, were also on view in paintings influenced by the late thirteenth century poem *La Danse Macabre*, such as the *Dance of Death* and the *Triumph of Death* decorating the walls of graveyards. One of the most famous examples is the exceptional

¹⁸ Schulz, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy* (1985), 10.

¹⁹ See Marie-Christine Poucelle, *The body and surgery in the middle ages* (London: Polity Press, 1990), 28–36.

²⁰ Schulz, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy* (1985), 14–22.

series of frescoes in the fourteenth century Camposanto at Pisa cathedral that portray the story of three hunters unexpectedly encountering their dead counterparts. The cadavers were painted with dark stomachs and stretched skins, a common convention in the late medieval depiction of the dead.²¹

In the area of artistic practice, there was a historical connection between the study of the aesthetic proportions of the body in art and the medical study of anatomy. The Greek Polyclitus had drawn up his canon of proportions, the ideal of classical beauty, on the model of Galen's description of the body. The Florentine art-theorist Alberti in *De statua* (1464) recorded sixty-eight bodily measurements, using as his source a manuscript of Celsus' *De medicina* (published 1478). In turn, there were influences from classical sculpture on Vesalian illustration.²² In the second book of *De pictura* (1435), Alberti analyzed the composition of pictures according to the component parts of surfaces, based on the harmonious relations of limbs to bodies. His contemporary Florentine, the sculptor Lorenzo Ghiberti, had employed Avicenna as his own resource in the discussion of "historie" (picture-making) in his *Commentaries* (ca. 1440s). The classical prototype for the Florentine humanists was the text on architecture written by the Roman architect Vitruvius in the Augustan period. In the third book of *De architectura* (late first century AD) he had discussed the proportional relationship between the human body and ancient architectural forms. He argued that the human being and the cosmos were inter-connected, since it was possible to draw a circle and a square around a figure centred on his navel. Leonardo produced such a figure, with the pelvis as the centre of the geometrical construction, producing thereby an irresistible proto-type for Hermetic imagery of the Macrocosmic Man.

In the sixteenth century it was possible to understand the universe by means of anatomy. Plato in the *Timaeus* had stated that "the body of the Cosmos was harmonised by proportion and brought into existence." At its central point was man, consisting of body and soul, material and immaterial substance. The higher soul consisted of mind and reason, the former shared with the Divine Intellect, although

²¹ Schulz, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy* (1985), 18–19.

²² Harcourt, "Andreas Vesalius and the Anatomy of Ancient Sculpture" (1987), 28–61.

reason was a solely human privilege.²³ This Platonic physiology was the foundation of Pico della Mirandola's *Oration on Man* (1486) according to which a human being was responsible for his own progress, or regress, up and down the ladder of Being, depending on whether he employed his animal, human or divine faculties. Through the new science of anatomy, it was possible to understand the proportions of the cosmic order, as was maintained by Vincenzo Danti in *Trattato delle Perfette Proporzioni* (1567). It was necessary to undertake dissections, he stated, since the proportions of the body also govern the Nature, as well as aesthetics. Bernard Schulz has commented on the humanist view that:

a knowledge of anatomy [would] insure a correct understanding of the actuality of nature, "natura naturata," but also, in the perception of her intent, the artist sees into and partakes of "natura naturans," the creative force of nature.²⁴

In view of the Renaissance confluence of religion, science, magic and art, it is not surprising to find the combination of medical practitioner, anatomist, alchemist and artist in the person of Stefan Michelspacher. Of his three surviving publications, the last is a study of perspective drawing based on the harmonic proportions of the human form, *Lobliche Kunst der Geometriae sive inn der Perspectiv* (1616). The text, according to the author, was based on Vitruvius, Alberti, Dürer, and Laurentius Sirigatti, among others. He also mentions Wenzel Jamnitzer, the south German engraver. Michelspacher records that he collected texts from Thurn, Strassburg and Nuremberg: cities which, along with Augsburg and the Tyrol, provided a harbour during the sixteenth century for dissident Protestants of a Spiritualist tendency, including groups of Paracelsians. This work is the second of his books that he dedicated to Philipp Heinhofer, a distinguished patron of artists and intellectuals in Augsburg. He explains that God was the first geometer and that the arts of geometry and perspective came out of Paradise, citing their use in the building of the Solomon's Temple.

²³ Schulz, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy* (1985), 40–42.

²⁴ Schulz, *Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy* (1985), 44.

An excellent opportunity for artists to study the anatomical construction of the body under severe stress was in the depiction of the passion of Christ: his flagellation, crucifixion and entombment, as in the innovatory abject view of the *Dead Christ* by Hans Holbein (Basle Museum, 1521). In an alchemical context, the most notable example of the use of the same themes was in *Das Buch von der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* where there appear images of tortured, nude male bodies; some hanging on the gallows; one exposed on a gibbet; yet others being beheaded. Christ (identified as “Saturn”) is depicted on the cross which hangs on a gallows. As Man of Sorrows, with downcast eyes and a crown of thorns, his form has become a heraldic emblem that incorporates a double-headed black eagle on a shield.²⁵

Alchemists often depicted the partition of the body, for example, in the seventeenth century MS London, British Library Sloane 1316 where Mercury is castrated and his body taken-apart which signifies the martyrdom of the prime materials. He stands over a fire while his testicles lie on the ground on either side, having taken the form of distillary flasks. On his head is an elaborate head-piece, consisting of the crescent moon, on which stands the globe of the sun, then a double-headed eagle, out of whose neck there grow three flowers. They are identified with the sun, moon and Mercury by further pictures above them. Mercury also carries flasks in each hand, out of which grow four flowers on either side, each of which is labelled with a number (either “2” or “3”). A note on the right explains that the wise will know how to calculate [the quantity of chemicals after they have been reduced to ashes]. An alchemist is seated at the right side using his fingers as an abacus (fig. 40).²⁶ The image is concerned with the quantification of the elements and it is an adaptation of a picture of a hand-abacus that originally appeared in MS Florence Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana 1166, folio 14r (ca. 1470).²⁷

The Hellenistic text written by the alchemist Zosimos, *Of Virtue* (ca. late third to early fourth century AD), is full of the most savage imagery of bodily dismemberment.²⁸ This text has been the subject

²⁵ Illustrated in Hartlaub, “Signa Hermetis” (1937), 110–12, figs. 7, 9, 10.

²⁶ MS London British Library Sloane 1316, folio 2r.

²⁷ MS Florence Biblioteca Laurenziana 1166, folio 14r.

²⁸ For an assessment of the work of Zosimos, see Albert de Jong, “Zosimos of Panapolis” [in:] Hanegraaff (ed.), *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism* (2005), 2, 1183–86. For the original Greek text of this account see Michèle Mertens (ed.), *Zosime de Panopolis mémoires authentiques* (Paris, 1995), 36–39.

of a well-known discussion by the anthropologist Mircea Eliade, who associated such alchemical allegories with the fertility practices of ancient metal-smiths, as well as with shamanistic, drug-induced dreams.²⁹ In the tenth chapter of his treatise Zosimos provides a narrative in three “lessons” in which a sacrificing priest, Ion, claims to have suffered “intolerable violence” in an allegory of the chemical process of “maceration”:

For one came headlong in the morning, dismembering me with a sword, and tearing me asunder according to the rigour of harmony. And flaying my head with the sword which he held fast, he mingled my bones with my flesh and burned them in the fire of the treatment, until I learned by the transformation of the body to become a spirit.³⁰

This is merely the beginning of far more torments that make for very heavy reading. Sherwood-Taylor comments:

The process here symbolised is probably . . . the chemical reaction between metals and a chemical reagent and the subsequent restoration to a metallic condition . . . As the artist can see in the landscape graciousness, solemnity, terror, so Zosimos sees the rigour of death and pains of purgation in the turbid seething of the alchemical vessel.³¹

The early sixteenth century Venetian *Splendor Solis* is based on the account of Zosimos. Written by the otherwise unknown Salomon Trismosin, it exists in several illuminated manuscript copies, as well as a printed edition published in Rorschach (1598).³² All the copies are German, one of the most gorgeous and celebrated versions being MS London British Library Harley 3469. On folio 21v there is a picture of the boiling-alive of the old King Saturn in the manner of Zosimos who had described the broiling of living-bodies in a bowl of bubbling white and yellow water, a fearful process called “embalming”.³³ In the Harley manuscript, prior to this act a dark-haired knight of fiery countenance has dismembered the king’s body (folio 20v) (fig. 41). The *Splendor Solis* was one of the most influential sources for alchemical imagery in the sixteenth and seventeenth century and

²⁹ Mircea Eliade, *Forgerons et Alchimistes* (Paris: Editions Flammarion, 1977).

³⁰ Sherwood-Taylor, *Alchemists* (1976), 57–60; quote from p. 57.

³¹ Sherwood-Taylor, *Alchemists* (1976), 60.

³² The Rorschach publication has been translated and analyzed by Adam McLean (ed.), *Salomon Trismosin. Splendor Solis* (Phanes Press, 1991).

³³ Sherwood-Taylor, *Alchemists* (1976), 58.

the same story re-appears in Maier's *Atalanta Fugiens* in Emblem XIX (fig. 24), where it is Belinus who is killed by Saturn and cut apart.³⁴ Maier declares that to kill and revive the elements is a knowledge granted only by God himself.³⁵

A parallel account is encountered in the late sixteenth engravings illustrating the treatise of Petrus Bonus of Ferrara, *Pretiosa Margarita Novella*. The six sons of the King (imperfect metals) pray to their Father for their inheritance.³⁶ On his refusal a male warrior appears (not identified by the text) who kills him. (Is this one of his sons, or a henchman, or his alter ego?) The two of them, slayer and slain, are shut-away in the tomb (or alchemical vessel, or furnace) by a figure that probably represents the alchemist. Like the usual alchemical male and female principle, these two masculine principles putrefy together. Totally dissolved, only their bones remain, jumbled and confused. It is the task of the alchemist to correctly reconstitute the bones and an image shows him carefully laying them out and separating the two bodies from each other (fig. 42). The two eventually receive a new soul from heaven and the resurrected King and his six crowned sons are depicted in the last illustration.

The psycho-analyst Julia Kristeva has examined the notion of "sacredness," basing her ideas on those of the cultural theorist Emile Durkheim concerning primitive religious practices and the concept of sacrifice.³⁷ Kristeva identified "the sacred" with an initiating act of sacrifice that was the foundation of the social and symbolic spheres of human life, in Freud's interpretation that of the killing of the father by his sons. It was this act that violated the established social order and inaugurated its replacement. Kristeva argued that the role of the sacred was to mediate between known and unknown worlds and to make law. It was through the notion of the "sacred," that leaders of established religion could define and control social space and culture. This concept provided a defence for established values and it legislated what could be represented within the symbolic sphere

³⁴ De Jong, Michael Maier's "Atalanta Fugiens" (1969), 161.

³⁵ De Jong, Michael Maier's "Atalanta Fugiens" (1969), 162.

³⁶ Petrus Bonus Ferrarensis, *Pretiosa Margarita Novella* (Venice: Janus Lacinius, 1546), there is no pagination for the illustrations.

³⁷ Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (London: George Allen Unwin Ltd, second ed. 1976), 326–50. See also Ivan Strenski, "Durkheim's bourgeois theory of sacrifice" [in:] N. J. Allen, W. S. F. Pickering and W. Watts Miller (eds.), *On Durkheim's Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (London: Routledge, 1998), 116 ff.

of social and political engagement.³⁸ Kristeva's analysis is particularly applicable to the interpretation of alchemical scenes of patricide, such as those in the *Pretiosa Margarita Novella*. In the course of two thousand years of development, alchemical theory had accumulated many archaic elements, concepts and taboos that had originated in the earliest periods of religious history.

³⁸ Julia Kristeva, "Logics of the Sacred and Revolt" in John Lechte and Mary Zournasi, *After the Revolution* (Sydney: Artspace, 1998).

CHAPTER FIVE

SPIRITUAL DISSENTERS AND RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

Dissenters from the established Protestant Churches were important precursors of a secular society, tolerant of religious divisions, in which Church and state were separated. In characterising these dissidents, Séguenny has adopted a concept from the philosopher Leszek Kolakowski, that of “religion without a Church”.¹ I would add that a little known aspect of the history of secularism is the role of Paracelsian theosophy in creating a heterogeneous society supporting noncompliant religious views. Gilly has examined the disruptive effects on the Lutheran Church in Germany of Paracelsians, but has alluded only generally to the issue of secularism.²

An interesting instance of the effects of German theosophy on the promotion of liberalising social tendencies can be witnessed in seventeenth century England in the formation of dissenting religious communities known as Behmenists. These, in turn, had an influence on George Fox’s institution of the Society of Friends (Quakers), who in the eighteenth century were in the forefront of social and political reforms and of a free-thinking society. Fox himself was associated with Yorkshire landed gentry who practiced a Behmenist type of spiritual alchemy at Appleby House on the east coast of England near Hull.³ This area nowadays constitutes the counties of Humberside and West Yorkshire which had always been influenced by radical German theology and alchemical theory entering England through Hull from the Hook of Holland. North-east England since the thirteenth century had been a refuge for alchemists who produced English translations of the German texts of Albertus Magnus and others. In the fifteenth century, Canon Sir George Ripley developed the first authentically English school of alchemy at the Augustinian abbey in

¹ Séguenny, *Les Spirituels* (2000), 278.

² Gilly, ‘Theophrastia Sancta’ (1998), 151–185.

³ Hugh Ormsby Lennon, review of Lyndy Abraham, *Marvell and Alchemy* (Aldershot and Brookfield: The Scolar Press, 1990) [in:] *Cauda Pavonis*, ns. Vol. 12, nos 1 and 2 (1993), 13–15.

Bridlington.⁴ At this date, important centres of alchemical activity were Skipton Castle, owned by the Clifford family,⁵ and Wakefield Castle.⁶ In the early sixteenth century the same area was often visited by no less a magus than John Dee who was then working at Manchester College but who came over to West Yorkshire, specifically to Wakefield according to his diary, in order to deal with the financial investments of the College in the wool-trade.⁷

Historians such as Frances Yates in her investigation of the “Rosicrucian Enlightenment,”⁸ as well as Joscelyn Godwin in his analysis of the “Theosophical Enlightenment” have established the integral relation between esotericism and proto-democratic views.⁹ They have demonstrated the manner in which the Rosicrucians, or the eighteenth century “Illuminati,” characterised themselves as forerunners of enlightened thinking in their development of the intellectual traditions of classical humanism. In Protestant Germany the radical Spirituals acknowledged Erasmus’ rational critique and his linguistic analysis of Scripture and its traditional modes of interpretation.

Such religious dissidents saw themselves as being the spiritual leaders in the emerging Protestant city-states of sixteenth century Germany. They were proud of their self-adopted role as the moral conscience of economically and politically powerful cities, such as Nuremberg and Augsburg. In a period of eschatological expectations triggered by the forces of the Reformation, these cities were regarded as being harbingers of the New Jerusalem at the Second Coming. To express such visions new types of Lutheran iconography had been developed by Cranach the Elder in Dresden. These paintings frequently portrayed

⁴ N. L. Brann, “George Ripley and the Abbot Trithemius,” *Ambix*, 26 (1979), 212–19. See also Stanton J. Linden, “The Ripley Scrolls and The Compound of Alchemy,” *Glasgow Emblem Studies*, 3 (1998), 73–94.

⁵ Among important collections of alchemical manuscripts in Yorkshire are the Clifford family papers held by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society in Leeds, as well as the Birkbeck Collection of religious and esoteric documents at Leeds University, which had been accumulated by Yorkshire Quakers.

⁶ Lawrence Butler, *Sandal Castle Wakefield. The History and Archaeology of a Medieval Castle* (Wakefield: Wakefield Historical Publications, 1991), 57–60.

⁷ See his account in John Dee, *The Diaries of John Dee* (Charlbury, Oxon: Day Books, 1998), 265 ff. Edited by Edward Fenton. Also Peter French, *John Dee. The World of an Elisabethan Magus* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, reprint 1987), 7, 9, 10 n. 3.

⁸ Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (1972).

⁹ Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (State University of New York, 1994).

didactic narratives from the New Testament, but were set in realistic descriptions of Lutheran cities. Similarly, Michael Maier in the *Atalanta Fugiens* (1617; 1618) located the most bizarre alchemical scenes within an idealised cityscape, while his scenic views recall cities such as Magdeburg.

The role of the German Reformation in the development of secularism has been obscured by political historians paying insufficient attention to the dissatisfaction of splinter-groups within the reformist ranks. In the 1930s the sociologist Max Weber had related the phenomenon of the Reformation to the rise of banking and urbanisation, Protestantism being a component of the ideological superstructure supporting early capitalism.¹⁰ More recently, other historians have questioned this conventional view, putting forward the alternative suggestion that northern Germany had never been catholicised by the Roman Church to the same extent as southern and western Europe. The resulting psychological emptiness led to the rejection of a half-absorbed Catholicism and also to an apocalyptic mentality expressed by Luther himself in self-doubt and terror of soul.¹¹

Religious toleration was not, in fact, the automatic consequence of Protestant reformism, as many historians have assumed. Lutheranism and Calvinism, as state-supported religions, not only persecuted the Roman Catholics, but also other Protestants. Examples of such intolerance are the attacks of the Saxon dukes against the Calvinists from the 1590s,¹² or that of John Calvin in Basle who arranged the judicial burning of Michael Servetus on account of his neo-Arian views.¹³ All of the established religions persecuted the Anabaptists for their rejection of religious hierarchy. Poland was notable in the late sixteenth century for her tolerant attitude towards religious difference, but this was an exceptional historical example, especially in the official tolerance of the anti-Trinitarians at Raków, beliefs that were bloodily repressed elsewhere.¹⁴

¹⁰ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London, 1930).

¹¹ Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis* (1988), 2 ff. See also the discussion in Szulakowska, "The Apocalyptic Eucharist" (2003), 200–23.

¹² For an outline of anti-Calvinist policies in Saxony, Silesia and Lusatia and their effects on Spiritual pietism see Andrew Weeks, *Boheme. An Intellectual Biography of the Seventeenth-Century Philosopher and Mystic* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), 23–26.

¹³ For Servetus, see Cunningham, *Anatomical Renaissance* (1997), 247–53.

¹⁴ Adam Zamoyski, *The Polish Way* (London: John Murray, reprint 1993), 146–47, 148. See also Stanislaw Kot, *Socialism in Poland* (Boston, 1957).

In neighbouring Saxony, Khunrath departed from the state in the late 1580s at a time when the Electors August I and subsequently Christian II were supporting an increasingly rigid Lutheran hierarchy against dissenters. He moved to the court of Rudolf II in Prague with its humanistic and theurgist interests and by the late 1590s his alchemical publications were exhibiting the influence of the German Spirituals, specifically in the first version of the *Amphitheatrum* (1595). Khunrath's theosophical beliefs led to his political persecution. The antagonism against Khunrath is witnessed by the chaotic history of his thwarted attempts to publish the second version of the *Amphitheatrum*. The first version (published in Hamburg in 1595) is extremely rare,¹⁵ while the second version was due to appear in 1602, then again in 1604, but was finally only issued posthumously in 1609.¹⁶ Khunrath often refers bitterly to the attacks of his enemies, though he never named them which fact suggests that they were too dangerous to engage in a direct confrontation.¹⁷ His departure from the Imperial court in 1591 may have been caused by the Emperor's active collusion from that year with the Saxon authorities in enforcing the Book of Concord (1580). This was a strict statement of Lutheran doctrine, embedding the earlier Formula of Concord within the state legislature in order to eliminate dissenting views, particularly those concerning the sacraments of Baptism, Confession and Communion. The Electors of Saxony were strong supporters of the Imperialist party in German politics, since they had their eye on gaining Magdeburg and Lusatia as a reward for their loyalty. In December 1591, Khunrath joined the court of Count Rosemberk at Trebona with its Hermetic interests. He then left for Hamburg, then on to Magdeburg, an independent bishopric with a token, but lax, Wettin ruler, where more of his work appeared.

¹⁵ There is a copy of the Hamburg *Amphitheatrum* (1595) in the Department of Special Collections at the library of the University of Wisconsin. It may be viewed on-line at <http://www.library.wisc.edu/libraries/SpecialCollections/khunrath/hermdis.html>.

¹⁶ This bedeviled history is analysed in Szulakowska, *Alchemy of Light* (2000), 139–65.

¹⁷ Two of his known defenders were Andreas Riccius of Saxony (Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), folio 4r) and Joannes Seussius of Dresden (Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum* (1609), folio 4v), whose poetry appears in the 1609 version. Riccius was a "Sachsischer schul-rector" and Seussius was "Secretarius in Thursachsichen Ober-Consistorio zu Dresden" (see Gottfried Arnold, *Kirchen und Ketzler Historie von Anfang des Neuen Testaments biss auff das Jahr Christi 1688* (Frankfurt an Main: Thomas Fritsch, 1700, 12). This argues for a degree of establishment support for Khunrath on the part of respected and influential figures in the Lutheran hierarchy.

Even prior to the Reformation a variety of heretical ideas had been promoted by lay preachers and later by the printed press. Alchemical literature and popular prophecy emerged from the same sources and were implicated in the same texts.¹⁸ Shoemakers and weavers, in particular, were prominent in these heretical movements, as were miners in Saxony's silver mines and in the salt, silver and copper mines of Bohemia that had produced the Hussites. These wandering prophets were notoriously difficult to police since, strictly speaking, their prognostications could not be defined as sermons and discussion of theology in public places was not forbidden. The message of the preachers was that in the Last Days of the world the whole of society, not just the Church, should be reformed on the model of the Gospel. Luther had always set the laity apart as a separate corporation within the structure of the Church, ranking them lower than the clergy, but not permitting their total subjection to the clergy. Lay education was required for integrating laymen into the Church, although Luther never provided any clear definition of their future role within it. He decided that the new Church should continue to be governed by clergy, while insisting that all men were priests. For the sake of civil order, however, he rejected a lay preaching-ministry, demanding a religious vocation for a priestly role.¹⁹ Eventually, he produced a "two Churches" doctrine, making a distinction between the visible and the invisible Church. In the invisible Church all were priests and could share the same power, but in the visible Church hierarchy was indispensable.²⁰

In spite of the general religious prejudice in both Protestant and Catholic states, many of the educated laity, as well as some clerics, began to call for religious toleration. These protestors were heterogeneous in character: anti-Trinitarian separatists, practising alchemists, Lutheran pastors such as Valentin Weigel at Chemnitz. In addition, there were leaders of society, a significant number of who were Silesian nobility, most distinctively Casper Schwenckfeld and Abraham von Franckenberg.

¹⁸ Russell, *Lay Theology in the Reformation* (1986), 1–20, 53 ff and Ozment, *Reformation in the Cities* (1975). See also Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

¹⁹ Russell, *Lay Theology in the Reformation* (1986), 54–64.

²⁰ Russell, *Lay Theology in the Reformation* (1986), 71–73.

How far were these developments related to rise of the city-state and what effect did they have on art? Albrecht Dürer in Nuremberg is the most famous example in his self-portrait as Christ, once said to be an assertion of the status of the artist, although contemporary historians generally agree that this is no more than the traditional “Imitatio Christi” as in Thomas à Kempis’ meditations.²¹ In Nuremberg the influence of Melanchthon’s inquiring humanism were dominant. The city-councillors were better educated and politically more powerful than in any other municipal government in the German empire and were noted for their social and religious tolerance. The city-council had maintained contact with the Bohemian Hussites in 1421–31, as well as with the Waldensians. Unfortunately, later in the sixteenth century the city’s economic stability diminished and the city council was pressurised by Imperial authority to institute an inquisition led by the orthodox Lutheran, Osiander. Artists were the first to be accused, poor journeymen painters who had been reduced to poverty by the rejection of the cult of the saints, although the printing industry with its demand for illustrated engravings had offered some economic redress.²²

The degree of toleration in the German city-state was inversely related to the degree of influence exerted by the local bishop. Another decisive factor in the control of heresy was the question of who had the right of control over local monasteries and appointment of major clergy within the city. In the case of Nuremberg, a free city under the direct control of the Holy Roman Emperor, the council controlled the appointments of provosts to the two major parish Churches, St. Lawrence and St. Sebald. The city-councils of Nuremberg, Strassburg, Magdeburg, Frankfurt and Augsburg were prepared to tolerate some amount of religious heresy, since they all had the political edge over the local bishop, as well as over dukes and princes in the area. Yet another factor was the extent of political oligarchy. In Nuremberg wealth was not totally concentrated in the hands of a few oligarchs, but was shared by the more prosperous artisans and this factor alone encouraged more tolerant religious policies. The final element was the degree of social and political unrest within the city. In Nuremberg

²¹ See Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture* (1993).

²² Elisabeth Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change: communications and cultural transformations in early-modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

there was a long history of civic support for the poor who were thus less disposed to revolt. As in Augsburg, there was none of the artisan unrest of the early sixteenth century that was experienced elsewhere in the German-speaking lands, hence the city-council felt able to tolerate a limited amount of dissent.²³

Nonetheless, it was not Nuremberg, but Augsburg, along with Frankfurt and Strassburg, that developed the rich visual iconography associated with Paracelsian theosophy, since Augsburg managed to maintain a balanced attitude towards unorthodox religious beliefs. The city council did not accommodate the demands of its bishop and the resulting religious tension allowed the printing-houses to publish controversial literature. Augsburg had been the centre of the evangelical Augsburg Confession which was accepted by the Holy Roman Emperor in 1555. The tolerant atmosphere was established by the "Parität" (1555–1618) which provided strict equality for both Protestants and Roman Catholics, until it was suppressed by Ferdinand II in 1633. Above all the city maintained a policy of neutrality between the Protestant Union and the Catholic League. This unusual degree of religious freedom, the result of considerable civic security, was facilitated by economic growth in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century when Augsburg became the most important economic centre in the Holy Roman Empire. It outstripped Nuremberg due to the city-council's encouragement of technological innovation and of the immigration of skilled tradesmen. These included religious dissenters with technical skills, such as Tyrolean metallurgists with their long tradition of Waldensian heresy. It accepted immigrants, in fact, from all parts of Europe: Bohemians, Poles and Spaniards at a time when depression gripped other areas that lacked Augsburg's technological sophistication. There was a similar policy in Frankfurt and Strassburg which, like the Dutch cities, harboured Protestant refugees including religious extremists and Paracelsians, since they brought with them invaluable commercial and craft expertise. In addition, Augsburg was located on the axis of north-west trade routes, leading to the expansion of merchant families like the Fuggers and Welsers. The city had the largest banking houses in south-west Germany. Its connection with Italian banking houses and manufacturing

²³ Russell, *Lay Theology in the Reformation* (1986), 54–73.

brought in a proto-capitalistic style of banking alien to the rest of Germany.²⁴

The evolution of Paracelsian alchemy was facilitated by the massive development of printing as a profitable industry in the course of the sixteenth century, producing literature, lay and religious, orthodox and heretical, for an exceptionally literate, urban public in Germany. This included many skilled and some semi-skilled artisans, most especially those in the cloth and metal industries such as weavers, dyers, miners, metallurgists and other small tradesmen. The illustrated alchemical books, though expensive, were produced in large print runs, evidencing the insatiable public taste for such esoteric texts and imagery. Not all of the books were written in Latin. Khunrath and Fludd provided versions of their works in the vernacular for a non-university educated group of readers. Probably to lessen the expense, it seems that Khunrath's elaborate illustrations, containing substantial amounts of text, could be purchased separately from the lengthy books.

The rejection of institutionalised religion by the Paracelsians led them to condemn the sectarian wars between Protestant and Catholic. For example, Boehme's leading advocate, Abraham von Franckenberg, in his *Warning against the deceit of setting up Man's Reason as Judge in Spiritual Matters* (1646) forcefully rejected the doctrinal controversy of his times. Stephen Crisp (1628–92) produced an English translation of this text which was published in 1677.²⁵ Crisp was born in Colchester and in 1648 he joined the Baptists, resulting in a gaol sentence for his dissension. In 1655 he joined the Quakers which resulted in further imprisonment in 1656. Finally, in 1663 he escaped to the Low Countries. Yet another arrest followed on his return to England, but during his confinement he learned Dutch and German, returning in 1667 to Holland and Germany where he mostly remained.²⁶

In his *Warning* Franckenberg argued that disputes with the Papists had led to the corruption of reason. Splitting hairs had led Lutherans away from the inner truth and since the Protestants were themselves

²⁴ For the history of Augsburg, refer to Gunther Gottlieb et al. (eds.), *Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg: 2000 Jahre von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1985).

²⁵ Stephen Crisp (ed.), *Abraham von Franckenberg A Warning against the deceit of setting up Man's Reason as Judge in Spiritual Matters Latin 1646. Trans to Low German and printed in Rotterdam 1674* (English translation: London, 1677).

²⁶ *Dictionary of National Biography*, 13 (1888), 98–99.

in error, he argued, they should stop trying to convert the Catholics. His comments make startling reading in the apparent modernity of their claims for religious equality and freedom. Thus, he castigates the Protestants:

You say, you have called People to Liberty, but to this very day you are speaking against Liberty²⁷

What have you brought forth that you have stirred so many Zealots, and now have made them worse than yourselves and fitter for the Damnation of Hell?²⁸

That is not the one thing needful to know how to resist an Adversary, whose Principles perhaps, if rightly understood, may be better than yours, but the only thing needful is, to know the New Man, the New Creature; for if any Man be in Christ, he is a New Creature²⁹

The Protestants believe in the power of earthly reason in interpreting the scriptures. They are a sect, thunders Franckenberg, and are not “in Christ,” since Christ is not recognised within themselves and they do not heed him inwardly.³⁰

Men have rejected the true, living, and inward knowledge of God, and his Anointed; and also of his Holy Spirit . . . but have placed their Reason in the midst of the Temple of God, in place or stead of GOD, and his Divine Light³¹

Like other Lutheran Spirituals such as Arndt, Franckenberg speaks in Pauline terms of the “old natural and carnal man,” who must be put off and crucified. Antichrist is “the Reason of the Old Blind Fleshly Birth.”³² The theological arguments aimed against the Roman Catholics are based on reason and on individual interpretations of the Scriptures. Their exponents have to be awakened to the guidance of the spirit, “the Mind of Christ” and to “Christ himself within you.”

Shall our Reason judge of the Divine Oracles which the Holy Ghost hath brought forth through the Mouth of the Saints, when as Men of God spoke them not in their own Wills, but as they were led by the Spirit . . . the Holy Ghost . . . the only worker of Regeneration³³

²⁷ Franckenberg, *Warning*, 1674. Crisp trans. (1677), 24.

²⁸ Franckenberg, *Warning*, 1674. Crisp trans. (1677), 20.

²⁹ Franckenberg, *Warning*, 1674. Crisp trans. (1677), 20.

³⁰ Franckenberg, *Warning*, 1674. Crisp trans. (1677), 29–30.

³¹ Franckenberg, *Warning*, 1674. Crisp trans. (1677), A4.

³² Franckenberg, *Warning*, 1674. Crisp trans. (1677), 3.

³³ Franckenberg, *Warning*, 1674. Crisp trans. (1677), 8–9.

The assertion that an individual human being guided by a purely inner grace could transform their own nature into that of Christ led to a second consequence, namely that the Church, whether Roman or Lutheran, became irrelevant to the work of spiritual salvation. In the organisation of dissident religious groups it was the laity who supplanted the ecclesiastical hierarchy as directors of the inner conscience. They were validating their efforts for independence of Church control by the sayings of Christ concerning the role of the Holy Spirit after his death. This was an inner guide:

But the Comforter which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you (John 14: 26)

The text of John 14: 17 speaks of the divine indwelling, “menein,” in the believer. The text of John 16: 12–15 was a particular spur to the Spirituals in encouraging them to disregard the authority of the state Churches, for John implied that their teachings were only the partial truth. It was the Spirit that would reveal the totality. Christ had stated that there were yet more mysteries to be revealed, but his disciples could not tolerate more teachings in their present condition. He himself had affirmed that when the Spirit of Truth came, he would lead them to the whole truth. The Spirit would take knowledge from Christ and would reveal it to his followers. Paul had been very specific about the result of acknowledging the presence of the Spirit of the Lord within and following his teaching. The result would be the total elimination of the former person: “I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me (Galatians 2: 20).” In addition, the text of Romans 8: 9–17 was particularly important to the dissidents in its promise of eternal life as the gift of the indwelling Spirit alone:

But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the Spirit is life because of righteousness. But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you . . . if so be that we suffer with him, that we be also glorified together.

Historians of Renaissance philosophy, such as Kristeller, have demonstrated that Renaissance Hermeticism also contributed to the emergence

of a more individualistic faith.³⁴ It had been Cosimo de Medici who had requested Marsilio Ficino in 1463 to translate into Latin the newly recovered *Corpus Hermeticum*. He completed only the first fourteen tractates³⁵ and it was Lodovico Lazzarelli who translated the rest (tractates XVI–XVIII), publishing them as *Diffinitiones Asclepii* in Champier's edition of 1507.³⁶ This hermetic corpus mostly consisted of second century religious texts written by a variety of pagan groups in the late Hellenistic period. Some of them had been influenced by early Christianity, while others had been inspired by Middle Eastern beliefs. In the early Christian era they had been grouped under the pseudonymous authorship of "Hermes Trismegistus." As a syncretic merger of diverse Hellenistic theosophical beliefs and practices, Hermetism had appeared in pre-Christian Egypt in the second century. Its sources included the Chaldean oracles, Orphism, the Sibylline prophecies, theogonies that united the Greek pantheon to those of Middle Eastern nations conquered by Alexander, initiatory rites and magical papyri originating in the proliferating cults of the Hellenistic Egypt, some of which had been influenced by concepts drawn from Christian soteriology.³⁷ Hermetism was, thus, historically distinct from neo-platonism which was a theosophical discourse claiming direct descent from classical Platonic thought.³⁸ In fact, the diversity of religious ideas in the late Roman Empire had stimulated Plotinus to evolve his own account of a triple-layered cosmology with an accompanying ontology inclined towards mystical experience. Plotinus had

³⁴ Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

³⁵ See facsimile of the "editio princeps:" Marsilio Ficino, *Mercurii Trismegisti liber de potestate et sapientia dei/Pimander* (Treviso: Geraert van der Leye, 1471) (Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte s.a.s., 1989).

³⁶ See the modern edition, Lodovico Lazzarelli, *Diffinitiones Asclepij Hermetis Trismegisti discipuli ad Ammonem regem* (C. Vasoli ed.) [in:] E. Castelli (ed.), *Umanesimo e esoterismo* (Padua: CEDAM, 1960), pp. 251–59.

³⁷ Antoine Faivre, "Hermes Trismegistus" [in:] Hanegraaff (ed.), *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism* (2005), 1, 474–86. See also Roelof Van den Broek, "Hermetic Literature" [in:] Hanegraaff (ed.), *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism* (2005), 1, 487–99.

³⁸ In recent studies, a distinction has been made between "Hermetism" and "Hermeticism," see Roelof Van den Broek, "Hermetism" [in:] Hanegraaff (ed.), *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism* (2005), 1, 559–70 and Nicholas Goodrich-Clarke, "Hermeticism" [in:] *Ibid.*, 1, 550–52.

no interest whatsoever in magical ritual, but was intent on spiritual illumination for himself and his disciples.³⁹

Incorporating all types of Greek philosophy and theosophy within their own thinking and religious outlook, Renaissance philosophers, such as Ficino, developed a syncretic vision of an ancient “*prisca theologia*” that had anticipated the Christian religion. As a result, in the third book of his *De Vita Libri Tres* (Florence, 1489) Ficino promoted the use of antique astral rituals based on horoscopy for medical purposes.⁴⁰ Most controversially, his magical procedures included the summoning of daemons from the stars.⁴¹ In the same cultural context, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola subsequently added kabbalah to Hermeticist concepts in his *Nine Hundred Theses* (1486).⁴² Ficino’s translations of the *Corpus Hermeticum* were published in 1471, going through sixteen editions by the end of the sixteenth century.⁴³ These Hermetic texts roused passionate interest among neo-platonic philosophers, despite the scorn of humanist scholars such as Thomas More.

Through Paracelsus both the theological and the magical aspects of the *Hermetica* entered alchemical theory. He united the Pauline teachings on the inner Holy Spirit of Christ with the concept of “*Physis*” taught by Trismegistus:

it is Nature that teaches all things, and what she herself cannot teach, she receives of the Holy Ghost who instructs her. For the Holy Ghost and Nature are one, that is to say: each day Nature shines as a light from the Holy Ghost and learns from him, and thus this light reaches man, as in a dream.⁴⁴

³⁹ Plotinus, *Enneads* (fourth edition, London: Faber and Faber, 1962). Translated and edited by Stephen McKenna.

⁴⁰ Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life: A Critical Edition and Translation with Introduction and Notes* (Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clarke, eds.) (Binghampton, New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1989), 249–405.

⁴¹ Ficino, *Three Books on Life* (1989 ed.), 341–43, 373–77, 399.

⁴² For the work of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, see S. A. Farmer, *Syncretism in the West: Pico’s 900 Theses (1486.) The Evolution of Traditional Religious and Philosophical Systems. With Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Tempe: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998), 63–73, 344–63, 516–53.

⁴³ For a discussion of early Renaissance translations of the *Corpus Hermeticum* and the work undertaken independently by Lodovico Lazzarelli, see the authoritative edition of Wouter J. Hanegraaff and Ruud Bouhoorn, *Lodovico Lazzarelli (1447–1500): The Hermetic Writings and Related Documents* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005).

⁴⁴ The translation is that of Jacobi (ed.), *Paracelsus Selected Writings* (1951), 255–56.

The processes of alchemy, Paracelsus believed, were the means whereby it was possible to release the spiritual might of nature.⁴⁵ It is not clear what Paracelsus' religious views may have been, although he died a Catholic, according to his biographers. A contemporary critic, Oporinus, claimed that he never prayed and that he held Catholicism in contempt. Most of his treatises were published after his death, the greatest number appearing in the 1570s when the *Archidoxa* was issued in a number of editions (including spurious versions). The first full compendium of Paracelsus' texts was issued in Basle by Peter Barna in 1589–90 and another important collected edition was that of John Huser of Waldkrich in Cologne (1589–91; 1603; 1605).

On the model of the Paracelsian *Philosophia ad Athenienses*, Robert Fludd constructed a cosmology that was dependent on the Paracelsian concept of the divine Spirit in Nature. In his early *Tractatus Apologeticus* (1617) he stated that he venerated Paracelsus above all others and held him to be the inspirational source for the Rosicrucian Manifestoes. There has been much partisan discussion concerning the role of Paracelsian alchemists such as Dee, Khunrath, Maier and Fludd in the Rosicrucian movement. Most historians now concur that, although no such Brotherhood existed, as a result of the publicity there came into being a large circle of sympathisers in mutual communication with each other. Recent research, such as that of Dickson and Tilton, has ascertained that the Manifestoes originated in the circles of Johann Valentin Andreae at the University of Tübingen in the 1590s.⁴⁶ The *Fama Fraternitatis* was published in 1614 and the *Confessio* in 1615 at Kassel where Duke Moritz of Hesse encouraged alchemy and other esoteric studies.⁴⁷ Even before they had appeared in print, a response was written by Adam Haslmayr in 1612. Based in Heiligen Kreutz in the Tyrol, he claimed that he had already viewed the *Fama Fraternitatis* in manuscript in 1610.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Rudolf Hartmuth, "Theophrast von Hohenheim (Paracelsus); Physician and Apostle of the New Creation" in Hans-Jurgen Goertz (ed.), *Profiles of Radical Reformers* (Ontario: Herald Press, 1982), 255–68, quote from page 265. See also Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus* (second rev. ed., Basel, 1982), 40–44.

⁴⁶ Dickson, *The Tessera of Antilia* (1998), 32–36 and Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix* (2003), 113–80.

⁴⁷ Bruce T. Moran, *The Alchemical World of the German Court. Esoteric Philosophy and Chemical Medicine in the Circle of Moritz of Hesse* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991).

⁴⁸ Gilly, *Adam Haslmayr* (1994), 93–105.

A thriving network of Paracelsian alchemists had existed in the Tyrol during the early seventeenth century, in spite of the repressions of the Counter Reformation which had led some Paracelsians to flee to Augsburg.⁴⁹ In the early 1550s the Counter-Reformation had been introduced by Peter Canisius who had founded a college at Vienna, along with Jesuit houses at Graz, Innsbruck, Olomouc and others. When the Emperor Maximilian II died in 1576, he was succeeded by Rudolf II, who had been brought up in Spain by Jesuits and had close relations with the Roman Catholic court of Bavaria. His nephew Ferdinand (Holy Roman Emperor, 1619–37) was also Jesuit-trained and in 1598–1601 he expelled Protestant preachers, teachers and scribes from all territories of Inner Austria. The Protestant faith was maintained in the mountain valleys of the Tyrol, with books being smuggled in from Germany.⁵⁰ Gilly has identified Haslmayr as a central figure among the Tyrolean Paracelsians. His profession was that of a teacher and a musical composer and his work was published in Augsburg in 1592. His downfall was due to his polemical engagement with the Jesuits in his publicising of the Rosicrucians as an alternative Protestant religious order. Haslmayr's eschatology in his *Propheceyung vom Lowen auss Mitternacht* was modelled on Paracelsian prophecy. From 1603, like other Tyrolean Paracelsians, he was persecuted by the Archduke Maximilian of Austria and the Jesuit Anthon Klesl (Hofprediger). In 1605, he moved among alchemical circles in Tyrol⁵¹ and also communicated with the German Paracelsians, Benedictus Figulus, Carl Widemann in Augsburg and Joachim Morsius.⁵² Gilly notes that Tyrolean and Augsburg alchemists corresponded with each other in this period, Paracelsian activity in Augsburg being centred on the Collegium Medicorum. In 1618, the Jesuits accused Haslmayr of heresy and Duke Maximilian sent him to the galleys in 1623, but on being released he made his way to Augsburg.⁵³

⁴⁹ Gilly has discussed some of this history in Gilly, 'Theophrastia Sancta' (1998).

⁵⁰ See Evans, Rudolf II (1973), 84–115 and R. J. W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550–1700: an interpretation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 346–449.

⁵¹ Gilly, *Adam Haslmayr* (1994), 33 ff.

⁵² Gilly, *Adam Haslmayr* (1994), 106–17.

⁵³ Gilly, *Adam Haslmayr* (1994), 22.

As has been discussed earlier, this history⁵⁴ may have led Stefan Michelspacher to remove himself from the oppressive climate of the Tyrol to the more tolerant atmosphere of Augsburg. There was a great plague in the Tyrol in 1611 and it is possible that he may have left for Augsburg at this time, commencing his publishing career in 1615. Little is known about this author, to whose name the texts append his place of origins, "Tyrolensis." Some general evidence contributing to his biography may be gathered from his surname. The name "Pacher" originates in south Tyrol and is still commonly encountered in the Alto Adige of the present day, although it does not originate historically in any one particular family, being a generic name for a wayfaring pack-bearer. By the fifteenth century, numerous unrelated families of this name had moved to Brunico from the surrounding valleys. It is intriguing in the present context to note that the famous painter Friedrich Pacher (ca. 1435–1508) and the sculptor Michael Pacher (ca. 1437–1498), both of Tyrolean origins though unrelated, had introduced the Italian single-point perspective system into Austrian art—an aesthetic and mathematical interest which their namesake Michelspacher continued into the early seventeenth century in his own work on optics. In 1467 Michael Pacher was working as a citizen of Bruneck (Brunico), though Rasmo considers that his family probably came from one of the neighbouring valleys, such as the German valley of Vila (Wielenbach) whence a Pacher family of jewellers settled in Brunico. Friedrich Pacher came from Novacella.⁵⁵ Neither Friedrich's nor Michael Pacher's coat of arms is related to the one depicted on the title-page of Michelspacher's *Pinax Microcosmicus*. It is even possible that he adopted the surname "Pacher" as a pseudonym, for Klossowski de Rola mentions a rare first edition of the *Cabala* printed in 1615 in which the surname appears as "Müschelspachen;" even though no Austrian families of that name have been located.⁵⁶ The coat-of-arms that is found in the first engraving of the *Cabala* refers only to the alchemical principles and is not a personal bearing.

⁵⁴ See Jurgen Bücking, *Kultur und Gesellschaft in Tirol um 1600: des Hippolytus Guarinonius' Grewel der Verwüstung menschlichen Geschlechts (1610) als kulturgeschichtliche Quelle des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts (Historische Studien, 401)* (Lübeck: Matthiesen, 1968).

⁵⁵ Cornelia Plieger, "Friedrich Pacher," *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin, 1998), 19, 746–48 and also Nicolo Rasmo, *Michael Pacher* (London: Phaidon 1971), 15 ff, 245–46.

⁵⁶ Klossowski de Rola, *The Golden Game* (1988), 52.

Some additional clues concerning his political and religious allegiances may be gained from the *Pinax Microcosmographicus* (Augsburg 1615). The title-page displays a maxim “Nosce te ipsum,” which was the motto of the ancient Greek mystery religions (fig. 39). It was frequently used by Erasmus⁵⁷ and was subsequently adopted by Spirituals, such as Franck, Weigel and Boehme.

This work is dedicated to, “Philipp Heinhofer [sic] of the city of Augsburg.”⁵⁸ Hainhofer (Ainhofer) (1578–1647) was a political envoy, as well as an art-agent for many of the major European courts. Born in Augsburg to a family of cloth merchants and drapers, who traded in Florence, his great-grandfather Hans Ainhofer (1460–1528), an Augsburg merchant, had also dealt in furs as well as cloth. In 1584, Hainhofer’s mother, on the death of her husband, moved the family to Ulm until 1591 in protest at the changes in the calendar adopted by the city council on the model of papal adjustments. Hainhofer had studied at the Ulm gymnasium till 1594 and then, together with his brother Hieronymous, he attended the universities of Padua, Bologna and Siena, reading jurisprudence. As a result of his employment by Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria till 1645 as an art-buyer, he managed to establish contacts with King Henry IV of France, the Margrave of Baden and Duke Philipp II of Pomerania and his brother in law August von Braunschweig-Lüneberg. From 1617–25 he was Braunschweig’s advisor and his correspondence with the duke is recorded in seventeen volumes in the Wolfenbüttel Bibliothek und Staatsarchiv, while in the Augsburger Stadtarchiv are located his diaries from April 1632 to October 1635.⁵⁹

Due to his obliging nature and knowledge of languages, he had friends and patrons everywhere who provided him with many

⁵⁷ Séguenny, *Les Spirituels* (2000), 41.

⁵⁸ The gist of the text reads: “Haud temporis effluxit adhinc multum, Nobilissime Praestantissimeque Vir, dum maxima mea obsecratione a[b] Doctore quodam Philosophico-medicum tractatum . . . Merito igitur Nobilitatem tuam ut vultu sereno decantati huius operis, ne re tam fructuosa, libera ingenia diutius defraudentur, oblationem suscipere, praestantioribus viris commendare, contra serpentinos Momorum morsus, beluinosque Zoilorum insultus, descendere, & Dominus ac Fautis tuae Nobilitatis gratiis, Opusculum anatomicum. Illius nominis claritate illustrius redditum” The dedication to Hainhofer reads: “In omnium utilitatem et jucunditatem divulgata. Viro generis nobilitate, autoritatis splendore, digna virtutem laude, praestantique; artium aestimatione, clarissimo Dn. Philippo Heinhofero Civi Augustano, Domino suo unice calendo, S. Calends. Febr. Anno 1615.”

⁵⁹ Friedrich Blendinger, “Hainhofer, Philipp,” *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 7, 524–25.

commissions for his native goldsmiths, clock-makers and scientific instrument-makers. He was also a member of the city council. In view of the number of commissions that he obtained on behalf of Augsburg artists, Hainhofer earned himself the title of the "Father of Augsburg artists."⁶⁰ According to Gilly, Hainhofer had been a friend of Johann Valentin Andreae on the evidence of a letter written to him by Andreae in 1640.⁶¹ This is evidence for Hainhofer's interest in religious reform and esotericism.

The other known connection of Michelspacher in Augsburg was his publisher David Francke, a printer who belonged to the second generation of a successful family of Augsburg publishers. His father was Matthaus Francke (active 1559–1568), also known as Francus, who had married Barbara Hofer, a card-maker and letter-writer. Matthaus' printing house stood in the Krughaus of the Steuerbezirk, "vom Newen Thor." His partner Michael Manger (1570–1603) from Opferbaum near Würzburg, married Matthaus' widow in 1569 and inherited his printing works, but ended his life in financial difficulties. Later, between 1594 and 1619, a collective of Augsburg printers was in operation working under the sign "Ad insigne Pinus" and in 1603 this included Matthaus' son David Francke and his co-worker, Christoph Mang. (Michael Manger had himself been involved in this enterprise in 1598.) This co-operative issued books in Greek and

⁶⁰ In 1617, under Hainhofer's direction, was created the renowned Pomeranian art-cabinet for Herzog Philipp II of Pommern-Stettin (given in 1632 to King Gustavus Adolphus). (There exists a painting of the presentation of this object to Herzog Philipp in which the artists and craftsmen are recorded.) The concept was Hainhofer's, the design was by Rottenhammer, Kager and Christoph Lencker and the joinery was the work of the cabinet-maker Ulrich Baumgarten. More than two hundred objects comprised the fittings, created by twenty-five Augsburg masters: painters, engravers, sculptors, goldsmiths, clock-makers, cabinet-makers, instrument makers, bookbinders and more. As a miniature "kunstkammer," it had an automatic clock, toilette-articles, an apothecary, different kinds of astronomical and mathematical instruments, games, ink-stands, amulets and table-ware. See T. Hausmann, "Der Pommersche Kunstschränk, Das Problem der inneren Aufbaues," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, (1959), vol. 22, 337–52. Also Bruno Bushart, 'Kunst und Stadtbild' [.] in Gottlieb, *Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg* (1985), 382 ff. However, his glorious career had a sad ending. In 1632, the Swedes occupied Augsburg and, on their expulsion in May 1633, the imperial *Restitutionsedikt* ("Edict of Restitution") of 1629 imposed the rule of the Roman Catholic Church, commanding all who held Protestant beliefs to depart from Augsburg. Hainhofer was removed from his office in 1635 and became so impoverished that Herzog August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1579–1666), had to buy his collection for his library in Wolfenbüttel.

⁶¹ Gilly, *Adam Haslmayr* (1994), 60.

Latin and was regarded as a prestigious asset of Augsburg that increased its cultural reputation internationally. The patrons of this publishing group included the Stadtpfleger, Marcus Welser, rector of St. Anne's gymnasium and the librarian, David Hochsel. On the death of his stepfather Michael Manger in 1603, David Francke (1604–1625) continued the family business. Christoph Mang had worked with Manger in 1603–1624 and probably continued to work for Francke.⁶²

Stefan Michelspacher's *Cabala: Spiegel der Kunst und Natur, in Alchymia* first appeared in 1615 in a rarely-encountered German-language edition at the press of David Francke, with plates engraved by Raphael Custos, or Custodis. This edition did not include the dedication to the Rosicrucians which was added to the 1616 print. Klossowski da Rola also mentions a manuscript translation found in MS British Library Sloane 3676, ff. 1–36.⁶³ Three further Latin translations entitled *Cabala, Speculum Artis et Naturae, in Alchymia*, were published in Augsburg in 1654, 1667 and 1704. The four large engravings are loosely related to a brief alchemical account, structured in the form of a description of three mirrors displaying four different visions "through the power of a radiating celestial fire." The first mirror is a fiery sapphire and it shows the philosophical Mercury and the "Sal sapientum," while the second one reveals the philosophical Sulphur. The third mirror is of a heavenly rosy colour, all aflame, in the midst of which there appears a very great "Arcanum," which is the philosophical fire through which all things come to maturation. Putting together the three mirrors, he makes a fourth, the "thesaurus thesaurorum," in which he sees God perfectly.⁶⁴

⁶² Jozef Benzing, *Buchdruckerlexikon des 16. Jhrs (Deutsche Sprachgebeit)* (Frankfurt-am-Main, Vittorio Klostermann, 1952), 17, 18, 19, 20, 52.

⁶³ Klossowski de Rola, *The Golden Game* (1988), 52–58.

⁶⁴ Michelspacher, *Cabala* (Augsburg, 1654), folio B1v: "Primum enim Speculum jucundo Saphyre colore, ignea proprietatis, plurimo albo compersum inveni, cujus gratia vidi Mercurium et Sal sapientum tam manifesto, ac si in mea manu essens. Hinc aliud Speculum vi et virtute puri chalybis adeptus fui, in quo vidi sulphur Sophorum instar floris chelidonium dicti, tam divitis salis naturae vegetabilis quasi crescendo et augendo, ut florum ibidem ad sufficientiam decerpere non potuerim, tam fructuosum hoc speculi mihi comparuit. Tertium Speculum ex hisce duobus speculis perfecte prosiluit, ignea plane rubedinis et instar ignis, parum per enim agitatum statim incalescebat et uti purus ignis inflammebatur, ita ut sine timore illud manu prehendere non debueram, quia quo dedico vidi divinam potentiam maximque arcanum intus latitare. Nam Sapientum ignem ibidem inveni, cujus beneficio omnia in omnibus maturantur, mediante visibili elementalī igne, qui ignis plurimis quaesitus,

The *Optica* (1616) was the next short treatise published by Michelspacher and it was illustrated by Raphael Baltens. It is related thematically to the contemporary mania for magic mirrors which, if correctly aligned with astral forces, it was believed could reveal spirits, angels and demons. The most notorious of these mirrors in the early seventeenth century, thanks to the slanderous biography of Meric Casaubon, belonged to John Dee, its visions being transmitted to him by Edward Kelley since he himself lacked the power to use it.⁶⁵ In this period there were great advances made in the investigation of the properties of light, including the reflection of light by mirrors and its refraction by lenses, as in the catoptrical experiments conducted by Giambattista della Porta (ca. 1535–1615).⁶⁶ Michelspacher's own interest in single-point perspective in his *Optica* originated in a multi-layered contemporary discourse, based on metaphysical concepts of light derived from scientific experiments with lenses and the operation of the human eye. The system of single-point perspective had been invented by Leone Battista Alberti in his treatise on painting, *De Pictura* (Florence, 1435).⁶⁷ Alberti had imagined rays of light being projected by the eye in the form of a pyramid. He then constructed their mirror-image on the canvas in the form of a reversed pyramid with its apex located in the middle of the painting, which was the "vanishing point" absorbing all the orthogonal lines of the drawing.⁶⁸

This graphic perspective system was transposed into a magical context by John Dee who believed that pictures drawn according to the single-point perspective system could become a type of magical mirror. Dee produced his own treatise on perspective which is found

paucis vero inventus erat. Tria nunc haec specula sedula diligentia, Artis spagyricae ope, uni coniunctim speculo conclusi, in quo et Deum et omnia cum pauperum gazis perfectissime quando libet video; unde nuncupari thesaurus thesaurorum recte meretur. Illud sollicito me furto mihi auferretur, aut cum eo aliis noxia inferretur apud me custodio."

⁶⁵ French, *John Dee* (1987), 11–13, 113–17.

⁶⁶ Giambattista della Porta, *Magiae Naturalis Libri Viginti* (Naples: Horatius Salvanus, 1589), 179–99, 182–83. See also Book XVII, 259–86: "De catoptrici imaginibus." Della Porta's optical theory is discussed in Vasco Ronchi, *The Nature of Light* (London: Heinemann, 1970), 78–87.

⁶⁷ See Cecil Grayson (ed.), *Leone Battista Alberti. On Painting and on Sculpture* (London: Phaidon, 1972).

⁶⁸ These ideas are explained in James S. Ackermann, "Alberti's Light" [in:] Irving Lavin and John Plummer (editors), *Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in Honour of Millard Meiss* (New York: New York University, 1978), 1–27.

in MS London, British Library Cotton Vitellius C. VII and he mentions Dürer as his main exemplar.⁶⁹ In his *Mathematicall Preface* (1570) he commended Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia* which depicted the human body as a model of the Pythagorean cosmic order.⁷⁰ Dee's term for perspective geometry was "Zographie," distinguishing it from common drawing and painting which was only a mechanical art-form.⁷¹ The "zographer" drew the abstract forms of the eternal Ideas in the mind of God, rather than their natural copies. Dee included the single-point perspective system within the conceptual scope of "zographie".

Zographie, is an Arte Mathematicall, which teacheth and demonstrateth, how, the Intersection of all visuall Pyramides, made by any playne assigned, (the Centre, distance, and lightes, beyng determined) may be, by lynes, and due propre colours, represented⁷²

He seems to have believed that a painting whose spatial system was organized in accordance with Pythagorean geometrical ratios would magically attract the corresponding planetary influences. In other words, a painting could become a magical talisman, or a catoptrical mirror, registering and enhancing the celestial virtues.

Szónyi in a recent study of Dee's magical practices has commented on his self-image as an "illuminatus" that

all enthusiasts thought of themselves as elect, thus they did not need either sources or proofs for illumination. The truth was revealed to them in a direct way. Dee seemingly developed such a conviction . . . He wanted to become a prophet, an important herald of the great and general reformation in the context of which denominational differences appeared petty and insignificant.⁷³

Michelspacher's four mirrors in the *Cabala* (1615–16) may have originated in Dee's optical magic in the *Prophaedumata Aphoristica* (1558). He employs these ideas in a polemical manner to defend Paracelsians against Roman Catholics and Lutherans. The essence of Michelspacher's political position is displayed in the fourth engraving of the *Cabala*,

⁶⁹ London, British Library MS Cotton Vitellius C. VII, folio 16r.

⁷⁰ John Dee, *The Mathematicall Preface to the Elements of Geometrie of Euclid of Megara, 1570* (New York: Science History Publications, 1975). Edited by Allen G. Debus.

⁷¹ John Dee, *The Mathematicall Preface* (Debus ed.) (1975), folio diijv.

⁷² John Dee, *The Mathematicall Preface*. Debus ed. (1975), folio diijv.

⁷³ Szónyi, *John Dee's Esotericism* (2005), 238.

depicting Christ as the philosopher's stone seated in a baptismal font (fig. 1).⁷⁴ This is decorated with an elaborate centre-piece, consisting of three tiers of water-basins, in the topmost of which stands alchemical Mercury. Below him is Saturn (holding a baby) and Diana (holding a stag's head) and below these there appear Mars and Venus. Above Mercury there are the cryptic initials "V. W. I. W. V" (displayed also in the second engraving). At the top left of the engraving is the Tetragrammaton, the Hebrew Name of God, shining in an aureole of light. Flying towards the sacred Name from the Mystic Wine Press is the dove of the Holy Spirit, who thence descends to the font. The bird's trajectory, along with that of a stream of blood emanating from the wine press, inscribe the shape of an equilateral triangle, whose apex lies in the Tetragrammaton, while the font and wine press form its basal corners. The scene is set within the semi-circle of a rainbow, while the font is enclosed by a square vineyard. The geometrical structure created thereby is that of the squared circle. This geometry is conceptually related to two other geometrical diagrams appearing in the first engraving of the *Cabala* that display the same configuration of circle, square and triangle. In the first engraving, the diagram is stated to be an image of the Paracelsian "Azoth," equated with Christ in Khunrath's *Amphiteatrum* in 1595 (fig. 43).⁷⁵

The second engraving of the *Cabala* depicts a beast wearing a papal crown that symbolises the alchemical prime matter, its form being drawn from engravings of the Antichrist based on Luther's iconography (fig. 44).⁷⁶ Michelspacher's Beast is a composite of four characters from Revelation: the Beast from the Sea and the Beast from the Earth, plus the dragon who pursues the Apocalyptic Virgin and the Whore of Babylon. This unhappy creature has dragon's feet and tail, cow's udders and horns and a female face belching hell-fire. The Beast lashes with his tail at six stars that represent the

⁷⁴ The motif of Christ in the Fountain of life is examined in Vloberg, *L'Eucharistie dans l'Art* (1946), 172–83.

⁷⁵ See the discussion of Khunrath's theosophy in Szulakowska, *The Alchemy of Light* (2000), 79–137. Christ, the Ruah-Elohim, became the Paracelsian "azoth." See Heinrich Khunrath, *Vom Hylealischen das ist pri-materialischen oder algemeinen natürlichen Chaos* (Magdeburg: J. Schmeidt for Johann Francken, 1616), 75, 86–88. Christ is also identified with the Paracelsian "Salt," the prime matter of creation.

⁷⁶ John Huss and Savonarola had identified the Pope with Antichrist for moral reasons, rather than on the basis of historical evidence. See Peter Martin, *Martin Luther und die Bilder zur Apokalypse, Die Ikonographie der Illustrationen zur Offenbarung des Johannes in der Lutherbibel 1522 bis 1546* (Hamburg: Wittig 1983), 100–8.

lower metals. At the top of the picture is the five-pointed star of the quintessence. A comparable image appears on the frontispiece to Paracelsus' commentary on the "Nuremberg Figures" published in 1569 in Basle. (These were apocalyptic images dating from the early sixteenth century that prophesied political chaos and the downfall of the papacy and other princes.)⁷⁷ In addition, the design of the seven stars in Michelspacher's engraving of the Beast is similar to a scene of the seven planets on the frontispiece of Paracelsus' *Practica . . . gemacht auf Europaen* (Nuremberg 1529), a popular compendium of his eschatological predictions.⁷⁸ Michelspacher's own image illustrates the first chapter of Revelation in which the dragon is described as sweeping away the stars with his tail.⁷⁹ The text of Revelation 1: 20 explained that "the seven stars are angels of the seven Churches," referring to the early Christian communities threatened by the forces of Rome. In his contemporary context Michelspacher could have been alluding to communities of Spiritual dissidents threatened by the Counter-Reformation in his native Tyrol. The images of miners within mountain caves in the first engraving (fig. 43) could be a reference to the same political issues. Silver miners from Saxony had settled in Austria where they had proved to be a particularly receptive audience for radical lay preachers.

There is a subtle eschatological text embedded within the first engraving of the *Cabala* which displays two geometrical diagrams, set within a large rectangle. The circle on the left is labelled "azoth" (Christ), while the Lullian-style circle on the right records alchemical substances and their relation to the liberal arts (fig. 43). It is the obscure lettering, half-hidden in the dark background around the edges of the rectangle, which is the most significant element in these figures. At the four corners, the capital letters form the word "GOTT," while additional letters in the middle of the rectangle form an "A" within an "O." Below this anagram of God appears Michelspacher's personal monogram in the form of the entwined letters "M, L, P, S," equivalent to "M[iche]L SP[acher]." The "A O" is a reference to Revelation 1: 8

⁷⁷ These pictures may be found in Sudhoff, *Paracelsus. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 12, xi–xiii; fig. 2.

⁷⁸ Sudhoff, *Paracelsus. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 7, 40 ff; figs. 12, 12a, 13.

⁷⁹ G. K. Beale, *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 105 ff on the dragon and the "seven lampstands" (Churches.) Lampstands and stars are equated in Revelation 1: 20.

"I am the Alpha and the Omega," saith the Lord, "which, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty."⁸⁰

"AO" is a Latinisation of the name of God "YHWH."⁸¹

The third engraving of the *Cabala* is an illustration of the alchemical conjunction (fig. 45). It shows the seven planets standing on a mountain at whose heart is concealed a phoenix, a symbol of resurrection, perched on the roof of a summer-house. Within this dwelling sit a naked king and queen. Outside, at the foot of the mountain, a blind man stands helpless, while a sighted man catches rabbits. There is a kabbalistic content within this image consisting of the circle of the Zodiac around the mountain-top. The constellations, however, do not appear in their natural order of procession, being instead grouped in pairs to represent the conjunction of opposing elements, such as earth and air (Taurus next to Libra at the lower left of the circle, for instance). The figure of Mercury at the summit signifies his perfection as the quintessential stone. In fact, he is stands in exactly the same position in the fourth engraving (fig. 1). In Revelation 21: 10 John recounts how he was taken to the top of a great mountain and shown the New Jerusalem which has descended from heaven onto a great mountain. The engraving could also be an allusion to the cosmic mountain where heaven and earth meet as described in Ezekiel 40: 2, 28: 14.

There is another cryptogram hidden within the second and third engravings of the *Cabala* (figs. 44, 45) which inter-relates them with the fourth emblem of Christ in the fountain (fig. 1). At the top of these images there appear the initials "VWIVV" standing for "Unser Wasser ist Wasser Unser." This is an ancient alchemical axiom that alludes to the tincture, or elixir. Here it has been Christianised and made to bear the connotations of John 4: 14:

Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst: but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life.

The baptismal font in the fourth engraving is labelled "Der Brun des Lebens," but the image is probably a reference to a personal transformation, rather than to the institutional ritual.

⁸⁰ See also Revelation 1: 17, 22: 13.

⁸¹ See the explanation in Richard Bauckham, *The climax of prophecy: studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1993), 27 ff.

When read within an apocalyptic context, the fourth engraving of the *Cabala* becomes an alarming prediction concerning the dire fate of Michelspacher's political and religious enemies (fig. 1). Initially, the picture suggests an appealing image, that of the feast celebrating the wedding of the Messiah to the New Jerusalem at the Parousia, to which the elect are invited (Revelation 19: 7–9). Who, specifically, are the elect in Michelspacher's theosophy? As has been previously remarked, the image of the vine-yard in the Scriptures has a very dark aspect, expressed in Revelation 14: 17–20 that concerns the gathering and pressing of the grapes on the Last Day. One of Christ's earlier parables had dealt with the same theme in Matthew 21: 33–43 where the master of the vine-yard sends his son to oversee his servants in the vineyard, but is murdered by them. This was interpreted by his followers as being a prediction of Christ's death on the cross and of God's punishment on his murderers. In Revelation 14: 17–20, the wine-press signifies the punishment that will be inflicted on the unjust and unfaithful.⁸² Michelspacher's image of the enclosure in which Christ sits also recalls a passage from Isaiah 5: 1–7 where the lord of the vineyard casts the vines that have born wild grapes into the eternal fire.

My wellbeloved hath a vineyard in a very fruitful hill: And he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and also made a vine-press therein: and he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes. "... And now go to; I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard: I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be eaten up; and break down the wall thereof, and it shall be trodden down: And I will lay it waste: it shall not be pruned, nor digged; but there shall come up briers and thorns: I will also command the clouds that they rain no rain upon it."

Those who are justified on the Day of Doom will be welcomed by the banquet which the Eucharist anticipates, a covenant proclaimed at the time of the Last Supper, as in Luke 22: 20, "This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you." In the engraving, another symbol of the sacramental covenant is the rainbow around the throne, an citation of God's promise to Noah in Genesis 9: 13, reiterated in Revelation 4: 3 where John sees around the throne of the Lamb a rainbow like an emerald in appearance.

⁸² Bauckham, *Theology of the Book of Revelation* (1993), 96–98.

A study of the motif of the couple kneeling before Christ in the engraving brings to mind other apocalyptic themes. For example, there are the joyous connotations of the Marriage Feast of Cana, another pre-figuration of the Last Supper (John 2: 1–10). Lying on the ground between the couple are three crowns symbolising the three principles of Salt, Mercury and Sulphur, but also evoking the scene in Revelation 4: 10 in which the twenty-four elders cast-down their crowns before the throne of God. The male and female figures are also related to the two witnesses in Revelation 11: 3–13 who are martyred, then resurrected and, after three and a half days, they enter heaven. This narrative accords with the alchemical process in which the prime materials are considered to be “tortured,” cast into Purgatory and resurrected. In Michelspacher’s image, the sun and moon are the chosen elect among metals. The other five, like the Foolish Virgins in Christ’s parable of the Parousia, are rejected and remain below in Purgatory. They wait, heads bent, pleading for the purifying fire of the Holy Spirit and offering the alchemical bellows to Christ. He does not acknowledge their presence. In this image, Christ is the Logos whose sacraments are an inner enlightenment reserved for an elite group.

This visual image is quoted on the title-page of the *Musaeum Hermeticum* (Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis, 1625) (fig. 46). In an underground cave are seated the god Apollo and the six Muses. On the earth above, there is a well or a fountain, as in Michelspacher’s prototype, with three figures: one female, one male and a third figure in their midst who carries a six-pointed star, signifying their union (similar to the star in the *Cabala’s* second illustration). Above them, appear the sun, five stars and the moon representing the seven metals (as in the *Cabala*), with the four elements located around them.

Michelspacher’s alchemical apocalypse should be located within the huge revival of astrological interest in the mid-sixteenth century. From the outset even Luther had to accept astrology to some extent since, according to Luke 21: 25, Christ had stated that the first signs of the end would appear in the sun, moon and stars.⁸³ The quintessential star in the *Cabala’s* second engraving could be a reference to the star of 1604, regarded as a harbinger of Christ’s Second

⁸³ Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis* (1988), 216–19.

Advent (fig. 44).⁸⁴ In this picture the astral constellations are arranged in an unusual manner, for the water signs seem to be governed by Capricorn (an earth-sign), the water signs by Leo (a fire-sign), while the air signs are ruled by Taurus (earth). They are joined together by a triangle in whose corners are the signs for sulphur, mercury and “materia.” The reference is to the circulation of the elements, in the course of which they are transmuted into their diametrical opposites. However, there is also an apocalyptic significance in this geometry, for the inverted triangle of the elemental stars cuts into the body of the papal Beast. In astrology such trigonal alignments heralded doom for the established order. In Michelspacher’s picture, the large star of the quintessence has the form of an (albeit irregular) geographical compass. If north is at the top, then the star showers a fiery south wind onto the alchemical flask and through the constellations onto the Beast.⁸⁵ There had been one such trigonal governed by the fiery constellations and planets in 1584 and it had caused enormous excitement.

In both Roman and Lutheran dogma the sacraments of Baptism and of Communion were integrally related, the water of life being the blood of Christ. The Eucharist in particular was considered to be an instance of election through the grace of the Holy Spirit. Michelspacher had further narrowed down the criteria for the elect by demanding from them a personal knowledge of the Holy Spirit experienced as the regeneration of both body and soul. Hence, the theme of the fourth engraving of the *Cabala* is not only salvation and transformation, but also judgement on the rejected among both the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics. Michelspacher’s *Cabala* seems to be a polemical treatise responding adversely to the persecution of Paracelsians and other religious dissidents by the three established Churches. recompense for their sufferings would be awarded to the Spirituals on the Day of Doom.

⁸⁴ Paul Nagel of Leipzig in *Himmels Zeichen. Grosse Conjunctiones Planetarum superiorum, und neuer Wunderstern, so Anno 1604* (Hall in Sachsen, 1605) and *Catoptromantia Physica* (Leipzig, 1610) stated that in order to read the heavens correctly, it was necessary to know mathematics, medicine, scripture, Biblical prophets such as Isaiah, Daniel, Ezekiel and Enoch, as well as the book of Revelation. Moreover, only the elect who understood apocalyptic astronomy would be saved at the eschaton.

⁸⁵ In the *Aurora Consurgens* the south wind is fiery, like the alchemical fire, and so is the Holy Spirit; see von Franz, *Aurora Consurgens* (1966), 386.

CHAPTER SIX

ROBERT FLUDD'S SACRAMENTAL MEDICINE

In his medical practice Fludd aimed to employ the same miraculous healing-power that had originally been given to Christ's disciples in the Gospels. He also tried to appropriate the sacrament of Communion for his own medical purpose. Fludd's rationale was not unrelated to the darker arts of the followers of Peter of Abano and other necromancers, not least Cornelius Agrippa, who had been concerned, not with the salvation of immortal souls, but with the exploitation of the powers of Nature for their own benefit. The sheer volume of his published writings suggests that, like Boehme, Fludd wrote in a white heat of inspiration, dictated by an intuition that was the result of an epiphany. Godwin has commented on the visionary quality of Fludd's theosophy.¹ Like his magician predecessors, Dee most particularly, he saw himself as a man set-apart by Providence, a prophet of the impending Millenium.² In his early *Tractatus Theologo-Philosophicus* (1617) he located his ideas within the endemic eschatological discourse of Protestant Europe. The title-page of this tract describes the narratives in Genesis and in Revelation, the beginning and end of creation and at the foot of the page is a scene of the Last Resurrection in which naked muscular bodies rise fully-fleshed out of their graves (fig. 47).³ In this work Fludd wrote primarily as a theologian and only indirectly referred to his esoteric concerns, restricting his use of Paracelsian terminology.

In the early sixteenth century Reuchlin and Paracelsus had found in kabbalah a new justification for the practice of philosophy. Reuchlin had specifically sought to provide the Renaissance magus with an elite role in society through the practice of kabbalah.⁴ As a sign of

¹ Godwin, *Robert Fludd* (reprint 1991), 19.

² French, *John Dee* (reprint 1987), 22–32.

³ Fludd, *Tractatus Theologo-Philosophicus* (Oppenheim: J. T. de Bry, 1617), 89–126 (resurrection of the body).

⁴ Discussed in Zika, "Reuchlin's" "De Verbo Mirifico" (1976): 104–38 and Charles Zika, "Reuchlin and Erasmus," *Journal of Religious History* (1977): 223–46. For the psychology of the magus see Frick, *Die Erleuchteten* (1973), 53–56, 89–111.

his calling, Fludd publicised his virgin state, refusing to marry and remaining unpolluted by earthly concerns like an anointed priest.⁵ The direct source for his kabbalism was Agrippa in the *Occulta Philosophia*, as well as Reuchlin's account of the kabbalistic Name of Jesus. In addition, Fludd seems to have had some knowledge of the original Hebrew corpus of texts. Specifically, he often refers to the *Sefer Yetzirah* in his analysis of the role of the Hebrew letter "Vau" in the structure of the Name of Jesus.⁶ Elsewhere, he mentions the *Sefer Bahir* in his allusions to the writings of one "Rabbi Bahir."⁷

In Fludd's medical meteorology, the divine Spirit, the "anima mundi," was identified with the kabbalistic Christ, or the Messianic Angel Metatron. His resting-place was the tabernacle of the sun, guarded by the archangel Michael, a form of Metatron. From the sun, the sacred Spirit was emitted in the solar rays to the earth where it pervaded and animated nature.⁸ Fludd stated that one should study this Spirit in man and then the manner in which it is absorbed into the lungs and blood.⁹

For all his theological and philosophical learning, Fludd as a medical writer is a disappointment, since, as Joscelyn Godwin complains: "he wrote little of treatment: a few recipes and rules of life, and a great many prayers, are all the sufferer will find in his books."¹⁰

⁵ Godwin, *Robert Fludd* (reprint 1991), 6.

⁶ Ithamar Gruenwald, "A Preliminary Critical Edition of *Sefer Yezira*," *Israel Oriental Studies*, 1 (1971), 132–77 and Guillaume Postel (ed. and comm.), *Sefer Jēzirah* (Paris, 1552) (1994), 89–90, 92–100, 110–11.

⁷ Fludd, *Philosophia Sacra* (1626), 66: "Rabbi Bahir dixit, Quod nihil sit principium nisi sapientia." For a discussion of Hebrew sources, see Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1973), 69, 84, 156–243.

⁸ Fludd, "Microcosm," *U. C. H.*, 2, Part 2 (1621), 8–9. For Fludd's direct sources, see Johannes Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico* (1494) (Stuttgart: Friedrich Frommann Verlag, 1964, facs. of 1494 ed.), 95–103 and Johannes Reuchlin, *De Arte Kabbalistica* (1517) (Stuttgart: Friedrich Frommann Verlag, 1964, facs. of 1517 ed.), 143–55.

⁹ Debus, *Philosophicall Key* (1663), folios 106v–108v.

¹⁰ Godwin, *Robert Fludd* (reprint 1991), 9. For examples of his invocatory prayers, see Robert Fludd, *Medicina Catholica* (1629), vol. 1, 164 ff: "Liber Secundus in Quo Orationis seu Deprecationis Mysterium;" 189 ff: "Liber Tertius qui Oratorium pro Sanitatis Conservatione Praxim pertractur;" 194: Eucharistic prayer: "Oratio Eucharistica pro Sanitatis conservatione et vitae prolongatio." Also on the healing powers of the name of Jesus: 57: "ei nomen IESUS attribuens respectu verbi vivifici, atque aeterni (de quo librum scripsit Reuchlinus);" [49 (59)]: "Hic ergo habetis Spiritualem Christum omnia implentem, ut testatur Apostolus: sic intelligitis verum Jesum mundi utriusque Soterem et Salvatorem unicum: cuius solius est cum animam, tam corpus infirmum curare, mentemque sanam in corpore sano stabilire;" 50: Moses worked everything through the name of God: "Alia vero eius nomina

Nonetheless, the few potent alchemical medicines that he did advocate reveal his unorthodox religious views. At the heart of Fludd's alchemy is the recipe for a red elixir which he described as being a "catholic," that is, a universal medicine. It was the quintessence of both Nature and of the human soul, being permeated by the Holy Spirit of the resurrected Christ.¹¹ It was said to be the alchemical equivalent of human blood, a tincture extracted from the red-oil of wheat.

Unparalleled in its crystalline purity, this liquid drew down from heaven the sacramental Spirit, in the same manner as the Christian liturgy of the Eucharist. The elixir was, effectively, the body and blood of Christ in alchemical form.¹² The sun played the central role in this process, transmitting the virtue of the heavens into the substance. Fludd, like other Paracelsian alchemists, most notably Boehme and before him Weigel, believed that the Communion miracle was enacted by means of astral influences, not solely by the grace of Christ's Spirit.¹³ Fludd thought that the spirit of the sun chased away the darkness of putrefaction in the alchemical "prima materia" by donating its own "ignis activus" to the material. This was the fire of the sun's own generating and vivifying powers: "haec est causa multiplicationis . . . spermatica eorum substantia augetur."¹⁴ In the manuscript of the *Philosophicall Key*, he recalls how the first substance produced in the course of distillation was a white liquid, which when placed in the open air turned red in the rays of the sun. Fludd claimed that due to the fiery nitre in the solar rays were transformed into the universal panacea.¹⁵ Its manufacture was first

Deum denotant ab operibus, et quatenus operatur omnia in omnibus, et in re omni existit. Atque hoc erat nomen Dei pretiosum quod ab Deo desiderabat Moses intelligere: ab quo fertur accepisse responsum . . . hoc est, nomen meum in aeternum."

¹¹ He described the production of this astonishing chemical in the "Tractatus de Tritico" ("Tractate on Wheat"), the first part of a longer work, the *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623). See Allen G. Debus, *Robert Fludd and the Philosophicall Key* (New York: Science History Publications, 1978).

¹² The full text of the original English version of the manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge may be found in Debus, *Robert Fludd and the Philosophicall Key* (1978) and also in C. H. Josten (ed.) Robert Fludd, "Robert Fludd's "Philosophicall Key" and his alchemical experiment on wheat," *Ambix* (1963): 1–23.

¹³ There is an interesting account of this view in Weeks, *Boehme* (1991), 46–48, 55, 88–89.

¹⁴ Fludd, *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623): 30–34.

¹⁵ This text was published in the Fludd's *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623), 31: "Quantum experimentum veram tam vegetabilium quam animaliam vegetandi atque

recorded in a manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge, and it reappeared in the *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623).¹⁶ He translated the text into English in the *Mosaicall Philosophy* (1659), a treatise originally published in Latin as the *Philosophia Moysaica* (Gouda: Petrus Rammazenus, 1638).

The French cleric and mathematician Marin Mersenne and the theologian Pierre Gassendi subjected Fludd's sacramental theology of the alchemical blood to stringent criticism. They reserved their most severe censure, however, for Fludd's demonology, as well as

multiplicandi rationem nobis aperit. Sumpto itaque hoc volatile spiritu, qui erat albus, et christalli instar perlucidus et clarus, radiisque tandem solis exposito, sympathiam illis mutuo tantam intercedere sensi, ut materialis iste spiritus magnetica quadam attrahendi virtute, formalem quandam tincturam ab orbe illo lucido sibi eliciret, quae illum a christillina sua albedine in rubram rubineam, hocque paucarum horarum spatio transmutatum observavi, imo vero quo diutius aspectu solarii obiiceretur, eo excellentiorem eius tincturam evadere animadverti. Hoc ergo experimento perfectam multiplicationis rationem tam in vegetabili quam animali ergo collegi; nam sicut mulier . . . sine auxilio seu copulatione viri . . . concipere vel multiplicare nequit, sic neque spiritus hic incrementum aut multiplicationem ullam habere potest nisi actus lucis cum ea coniungatur; natura enim passiva et se ipsa pati nequit, atque idcirco impressiones naturalis alicuius agentes a Natura bene prius ad hoc praeparati atque elaborati expectat.

¹⁶ Fludd, *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623), 7–32; 9, on the subtle nature of the Spirit in bread that distinguishes it from all others in the vegetable kingdom: “quia internam hominis anatomiam via Alchimiae vulgaris facere inutile et impossibile fovet, quippe cuius natura est tam ignea et subtilis, ut partes in eo latentes et magis spirituales ignis vulgaris arte revelare et sensibus subiicere aut difficillimum esset aut plane impossibile, utpote cuius spiritus ignei tanta est subtilitas . . . et quod in hoc Sole terrestri spiritus disciplinae sanctus posuerit tabernaculum suum, non aliter quam in sole caelesti, quatenus hic spiritus implet orbem terrarum, et iuxta illud Augustini, quantum aliquid lucis in se habet, tantum sibi Dei vindicare videtur; nihilominus quoniam iuxta sapientissimorum philosophorum sententiam, facilius erit aurum construere quam illud destruere, et consequenter elementa eiusdem ab invicem segregare, unus erit ex laboribus Herculeis; Ideo subiectum hoc intermedium, hoc est inter dispositione mineralem et animale consistentem, utpote quae de aqua maxime participat, ad opus hoc nostrum eligimus, quippe cuius species cum sit vegetabile, facillime ignis vulgaris videstruui et corrumpi potest, elementaque eius interna ab invicem distingui, sic enim occulta eius quodammodo manifestavimus, quoniam in vehiculo eius aqueo elementa melius apparet post eius corruptionem, quam aut in animalia in vehiculo suo aereo, propter caliditatem suam intensam, et humiditatem nimis volatilem, aut in minerali propter extremam sum sicitatem ab terrestri sua fixatione aut congelitione ortam. . . . [31] Quantum experimentum veram tam vegetabilium quam animalium vegetandi atque multiplicandi rationem nobis aperit. Sumpto itaque hoc volatili spiritu, qui erat albus, et christalli instar perlucidus et clarus, radiisque; tandem solis exposito, sympathiam iste spiritus magnetica quadam attrahendi virtute, formalem quandam tincturam ab orbe illo lucido sibi eliciret, quae illum ab christallina sua albedine in rubram rubineam, hocque paucarum horarum spatio transmutatum observari, imo vero diutius aspectui solari obiiceretur, ex excellentiorem eius tincturam evadere animadverti.”

for his concept of Christ as the Universal Spirit of the universe. Fludd attempted to avert their attacks in his *Clavis Philosophiae* (1633).¹⁷ He addressed their objection to his concept of the precipitate of the philosopher's stone as being the equivalent of the blood of Christ. They had attacked his theosophy in which the alchemical process was a powerful source of spiritual salvation comparable to Christ's historical sacrifice. Against the vehemence of his opponents' onslaughts, Fludd tried to defend his position by claiming that he intended his original statements to be treated parabolically as a metaphor, rather than taken literally.¹⁸ In contradiction to these protests, the fervent intensity of his description of the distilling of the red oil and the precipitation of the stone belies these excuses.

In his "Microcosm," 2 (1619) Fludd discussed his kabbalistic medicine which was dependent not on herbs and medicines, but on the actions of the Messiah Christ and his Spirit, specifically through the use of the Hebrew Name of God, the Tetragrammaton. This sacramental medicine could raise men from the dead and restore pristine health.¹⁹

In Fludd's system, the first emanation of God, the Word, lived in the middle heaven in the sphere of equality and balance. His name was Metatron ("Mitatron") the angel who descended to earth to become the Messiah Christ.²⁰ The sun was his instrument for

¹⁷ Robert Fludd, "Membrum Tertium In quo erronea illa detectio Principiorum Philosophiae Roberti Fluddi a Petro Gassendo facta corrigitur, et aequalioribus iustitiae trutinis ponderatur" in Robert Fludd, *Clavis Philosophiae et Alchymiae Fluddanae sive Roberti Fluddi Armigeri* (Frankfurt: William Fitzer, 1633), 25, 28, 37–39, 46–47. See also Fludd, "Membrum Quartum" in *Clavis Philosophiae* (1633), 50, 52, 59, 74. Mersenne's criticisms are found in *F. Marini Mersenni Ordinis Minimorum . . . Quaestiones Celeberrime in Genesim* (Paris: Sebastian Cramoisy, 1623), cols. 710, 716, 1743–1744.

¹⁸ Fludd, "Membrum Quartum" in Fludd, *Clavis Philosophiae* (1633), 74: "Particula 3. Mersennum . . . Hanc petram esse praecipuam partem lapidis Philosophici. Quae cum addensata rubesceat, exinde dicatur esse sanguis Christi, quo emundati, et redempti sumus." Fludd answers that: "illum parabolice seu metaphorice loqui."

¹⁹ Fludd, "Microcosm," U. C. H., 2 (1619), 21: "Unde scriptum est; Venit hominis filius salvare, quod perierat Matth. 18. Quod quidem de Messia exaudiendum est, non quoad ejus corpus, sed respectu virtutis spiritus benignitatis pleni; qui est emanatio essentialis et primaria a Jehovah: Hinc Christus, non herbis nec medicamentis Pharamacopaeorum, sed mirifica Tetragrammati virtute non modo per solum contactum, verumetjam et Spiritus sui divini afflatu, ac vocis solius prolatione omnia morborum genera sanavit, hoc est benigna Jehovah virtute et divino misericordiae afflatu, quo abundabat; imo vero et hominis emortuos in vitam, ac pristinum integritatis et sanitatis statum ineffabili suavi et virtute revocavit ac restituit, uti in novo testamento passim ejus rei documenta et testimonia extant."

²⁰ Fludd, *Medicina Catholica*, 1, 67: "Hunc, cabalistae Mitatron dictitarunt, et

protecting the world, but he himself was the sole source of health and happiness, the ultimate divine medicine. Fludd compared Christ-Metatron to the god Apollo, the healer.²¹ The Name of Jesus was itself the most powerful healer and he presented a full-page illustration of his notion of the precession of the Hebrew letters from “Kether” to “Jod.”²² Fludd acknowledged Reuchlin as the source for his use of the letter “Shin” which, when inserted into the heart of the Hebrew name of God “JHVH” produced the name Jesus in the form of “JHSVH.”²³ Christ as the Word “Vau” (the third letter of the Tetragrammaton) created the world according to the geometrical forms of the triangle, square and cube.²⁴

The doctrine of Christ as the Messiah, the universal healer of both soul and body, was the fundamental principle of Fludd’s medicine,²⁵ as he explains: “hominis interni per Christum regeneratio.” From Paracelsus, he borrowed the idea of the vivifying powers of nature, but the principle of regeneration itself came from God through the form of the sun. Fludd stated: “Sol sit vitae sedes.”²⁶

omnia corpora coelestia accipiant lumen et vitam a Sole, tanquam Planetarum rege in omnibus coelis sceptrum et imperium tenente: . . . gubernare mundum per angelum Michealem, vel, ut Cabalistae volunt, Metatron²⁷

He went on to explain that the governance of medicine had been placed in the hands of the archangel Raphael. It had been the fall of Adam that had been the cause of disease and of all evil, since this had led to man absenting himself from God’s virtue.

Denique causam morbi seu meteori morborum finalem exprimit ista definitio esse flagellum Dei pro peccatis hominum, ita ut si non esset

principium facierum: cuius est animos producere coram faciem Dei. Et alij eum pro Messia ponunt, seu benedicto Christi Angelo omnia implente; unde Christus in multis Paginae sanctae locis pro Angelo habetur. Et vocatur nomen eius (inquit Propheta) magni consilii Angelus . . . Alij sumunt eum pro angelo illo, in quo dixit Jehova nomen suum fuisse inscriptum: hoc est, ipsam Sapientiam: quare ipsum administratorum Spirituum principem fecerunt.”

²¹ Fludd, “Microcosm,” *U. C. H.*, 2 (1619), 24–27.

²² Fludd, “Microcosm,” *U. C. H.*, 2 (1619), 42.

²³ Fludd, “Microcosm,” *U. C. H.*, 2 (1619), 46.

²⁴ Fludd, “Microcosm,” *U. C. H.*, 2 (1619), 250–51.

²⁵ Fludd, “Microcosm,” *U. C. H.*, 2 (1619), 31.

²⁶ Fludd, “Microcosm,” *U. C. H.*, 2 (1619), 53 ff.

²⁷ Fludd, “Microcosm,” *U. C. H.*, 2 (1619), 52; 53.

in homine peccatum, impossibile foret ut ab Deo morbo aut morte puniretur, tam iustus et clemens est ipse.²⁸

Nonetheless, there still existed the possibility of a return to Paradise.²⁹ On the model of medieval Christian exegesis, Fludd posited an opposition between the Law of Moses [in the Old Testament] and the Law of God [as expressed in the form of Christ in the New Testament]. He turned to eschatological discourse in comparing the beginning and the end of creation through images of the earthly Paradise [from which Adam was expelled] versus the eternal Paradise [which would be created by Christ at his Second Coming].³⁰ From the Book of Revelation he drew the idea that God was all things, a concept of divinity that he interpreted in a kabbalistic sense as the "Aleph magnum" and the "Aleph parvum," the beginning and the end of everything.

DEUM esse omne quod est, utpote a quo omnia primordialiter procedunt, et inquem omnia finaliter revertuntur. Hinc ergo oritur huiusmodi virorum mysticorum axiomata, Unum est omnia, et omnia sunt unum, quod Cabalistae per Aleph magnum et Aleph parvum significare voluerunt, et Iohannes in Apocal. per α et ω .³¹

In the *Medicina Catholica* (1629–31) Fludd explained his therapeutic processes that relied on the healing power of the sacrament of Communion. His paradigm of a Christian healing process was not mere lip-service to the concept of Divine Providence and its hidden ways, for his sacramental alchemy transgressed the accepted boundaries of established religion. In answer to earlier doubts concerning his religious beliefs, Fludd had written the *Declaratio Brevis* addressed to King James I in 1618–20.³² The alchemistic appropriation of the Christian sacraments of Baptism and Communion was not welcomed by the ruling Churches. None of them could accept a chemistry that claimed to produce substances equivalent to the body and blood of Christ, administering the same grace of spiritual and physical healing. The miracle of the bread and wine in the mass or Communion service was unique and could never be emulated by chemical means,

²⁸ Fludd, *Medicina Catholica*, 1 (1619), 72–73.

²⁹ Fludd, "Microcosm," *U. C. H.*, 2 (1619), 53–73.

³⁰ Fludd, "Microcosm," *U. C. H.*, 2 (1619), 69.

³¹ Fludd, *Philosophia Sacra* (1626), 56.

³² Debus, *Philosophicall Key* (1978), 23.

no matter how devout and prayerful. Moreover, none of the Churches permitted unauthorised laity to perform the sacramental rite which was the prerogative of priests that had been formally appointed by a bishop through a direct apostolic transmission from Christ. Furthermore, if, like Fludd, they introduced kabbalistic angels (chiefly, Metatron) into the alchemical version of the rite, he was considered to be practising the most outrageous demonic magic, as Mersenne asserted.³³ Good or bad purpose was irrelevant: the issue here concerned the question of who should control this powerful miracle.

In his *De Occulta Philosophia* (1533) Agrippa had borrowed magical ideas and rituals from the late medieval Italian magician, Peter of Abano, in particular, those involving magical sigils and their associated rites. Agrippa published a report of a ceremony that employed the form of what he termed the “pentacle,” but which was illustrated in the form of a six-sided star composed of two inter-locking, equilateral triangles (commonly known as the Seal of Solomon).³⁴ This emblem was lavishly decorated with crosses at the points and the rituals were inaugurated by having a mass said over the sigil. According to Agrippa’s account, Peter of Abano (“Petrus Apponus (de Ebano)”) took frequent recourse to the name of Christ and other pious Christian terms,³⁵ but he also used signs associated with the magical text of the Arabic *Picatrix*.³⁶ In such actions, the liturgy became a way of forcing the Deity to send down its favours.

Towering above all his other sources was Paracelsus who provided Fludd with the account of the origins of the material and spiritual universe from within God’s own Being.³⁷ In the *Philosophia ad Athenienses* he had explained how God had originally separated the elements from each other in the manner of an alchemist.³⁸ Out of insubstantial prime matter there had emerged the four proto-elements:

³³ Fludd’s answer to Mersenne is found in Robert Fludd, *Sophiae Cum Moria Certamen, In quo . . . Marino Mersenn o . . . figmenta accurate examinat* (Frankfurt: Johann Theodore de Bry, 1629).

³⁴ See Schouten, *Pentagram as a Medical Symbol* (1968).

³⁵ Agrippa, *Occulta Philosophia*, 1, 1600 (1970), 567–68.

³⁶ Perrone Compagni (ed.), *Agrippa* (1992), 491. See also Vittoria Perrone Compagni, *Picatrix latinus* (Padua: Antenore, 1975) and Vittoria Perrone Compagni, “La magia cerimoniale del “Picatrix” nel Rinascimento,” *Atti dell’ Accademia di Scienze Morali e Politiche*, 88 (1977): 279–330.

³⁷ Sudhoff, *Paracelsus. Sämtliche Werke*, part I; vol. 13, 389–423: “Philosophia ad Athenienses.”

³⁸ Sudhoff, *Paracelsus*, 1; 13, 393.

fieriness, airiness, wateriness and earthiness which had created the secondary material elements of fire, water, earth and air.³⁹ The chemical processes of separation and coagulation produced a mixture of the four secondary elements which Paracelsus termed the "Ilyaster," containing all the objects of material creation.⁴⁰ In addition to these elements, the cosmic order rested on three other principles, Mercury, Sulphur and Salt.⁴¹ One of Fludd's most elaborate images is a double-folio engraving in the *Philosophia Sacra*⁴² entitled "Catoptrum Meteorographicum." In this picture, a nude man lies prone at the foot of the page, while above him the different types of meteorological phenomena are depicted, such as comets, storms and falling stars and (fig. 51). The figure of the nude man is labelled: "Homo est perfectio et finis omni creaturarum in mundo" ("Man is the perfection and end of all the creatures in the world"). At the top of the engraving are the ten cosmic spheres, ruled by one of the hierarchies of angels and by a Name of God, such as the highest "Ehieh" who rules the order of seraphim in the "primum mobile." A table at the left explains the manner in which different couplings of the planets produce various types of weather conditions. In captions at lower left and right, under the headings of "Oriens" and "Occidens," are given explanations of the effects of meteorological forces, such as angelic motions, winds, rains, thunder and lightening. Later in the treatise, Fludd discusses the import of these heavenly events and their effect on human health.⁴³ He explains that man is composed of spirit and body, that is, of heaven and earth, in other words he is himself the world, the "Mundus Minor," as the philosophers would have it. He refers to Hermes Trismegistus as his authority recalling his "*Pimander*," [sic] 8, where he states that man is "imago mundi," and is also called the "filium mundi."⁴⁴

³⁹ Sudhoff, *Paracelsus*, 1; 13, 396–98. See also Debus, *Chemical Philosophy* (1977), 1, 51–61.

⁴⁰ Debus, *Chemical Philosophy* (1977), 1, 51–61. An important study of Paracelsianism is Walter Pagel and Marianne Winder, "The Higher Elements and Prime Matter in Renaissance Naturalism and in Paracelsus," *Ambix*, 21 (1974): 93 ff.

⁴¹ Sudhoff, *Paracelsus*, 1; 13, 7–123: "Philosophia de generationibus et fructibus quatuor elementorum." These ideas are discussed in Pagel, "Paracelsus als "Naturmystiker" (1979), 67–69.

⁴² Fludd, *Philosophia Sacra* (1626): the illustration appears opposite page 8.

⁴³ Fludd, *Philosophia Sacra* (1626), 28: "De causa materialiam meteororum in Homine."

⁴⁴ Fludd, *Philosophia Sacra* (1626), 28: "homo est imago mundi, quem et in alio

In these images Fludd retained the Gallenic account of the four human temperaments (despite Paracelsus' rejection of the theory), equating them with the Macrocosm and positioning them according to the time of day and the location of the sun. The respective qualities of the heavenly substances, of human beings, of disease and the kabbalah were tabulated under the aegis of the forces of light and dark, of the rising, or setting sun. He explained the origins within God of both positive and negative aspects of life; of light and darkness, health and disease, blessing and punishment.⁴⁵

Fludd's eschatological and Eucharistic references in the *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* are similar to those in Michelspacher's *Cabala* (1616) and also in Franckenberg's *Raphael* (Amsterdam, 1639). All of these authors had structured their kabbalistic theosophy on the basis of Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* in which Christ had been identified with the "Ruach-Elohim," (the "Spirit of the Lord") and with "Hochmah" ("Wisdom"). These were the creative principles. In the *Philosophia Sacra* (1626), Fludd explained that the "Ruach Elohim" was the "ventus domini" (the wind of the Lord). This was said by the kabbalists to be the "anima mundi," the Spirit of the world.⁴⁶ Khunrath's engraving of the radiant Christ-Anthropos in the *Amphitheatrum* (1595), standing in a circle of fire may have been the source of Fludd's identification of Christ with "Metatron" (fig. 3).⁴⁷ Fludd explains that the face of Metatron is composed of the rays of the sun, which identifies him with Michael, the archangel standing in the sun.

Deus in hunc mundum mediantibus creaturis Angelicis operetur tam ad Salutem, quam ad infirmitatem. Et quomodo omnes Angeli, seu tota natura Angelica, includatur in magno illo Angelo Mitatron, quem Scriptures dicunt Sapientiam⁴⁸

In the *Philosophia Sacra* (1626) Fludd's illustrated title-page presents the discursive components of the book, those of medicine and of eschatology (fig. 14). He describes the causes of disease as being a

loco vocavit filium mundi, ideo necesse est, ut eius corpus tenebrosus, ab illo mundi terra videlicet, ut et eius spiritus aereus ab mundi coelo derivetur, et quod ambo successione, mediantibus cibis terrestribus, et haustibus perpetuis poculi aerie sustinentur atque foveantur."

⁴⁵ Fludd, *Medicina Catholica*, 1 (1629), 4.

⁴⁶ Fludd, *Philosophia Sacra* (1626), 38–44.

⁴⁷ Fludd, "Microcosm," *U. C. H.*, 2 (1621), 2–5, 8–9.

⁴⁸ Fludd, *Medicina Catholica*, 1 (1629), 66.

punishment for human sin which was enacted by the ministering angels of God.⁴⁹ Christ on Judgement Day, having purified body and soul from all sin, would then definitively cure all ills, whether human or cosmic, spiritual or material. At the foot of the title-page lies a naked man as if he were a sacrificial offering, the ritual foundation of Fludd's visual cosmos. On the left is shown the archangel Michael battling the dragon of disease, while above him shine three suns, representing the alchemical principles of Sulphur-Mercury-Salt. On the right of the picture, there is a vision of the disasters prophesied in Revelation: a flood with comets and an angel pointing at the apocalyptic beasts, consisting of a three-headed, winged-lion, a three-headed hydra and a seven-horned creature. In the corners of the engraving are fires, an earthquake and a storm.

In the *Philosophia Sacra* (1626) subsequent engravings describe the castles of disease and health which are allegories of the human body under attack from the demons of illness (fig. 49).⁵⁰ The source of this image may have been late medieval drawings of alchemical furnaces in the form of castles. The scheme of angelic forces and their dominion over the earth was derived from the second book of Agrippa's *Occulta Philosophia* (1533) where a number of tables list the names of the kabbalistic angels and their correspondences with the parts of the Macrocosmic and Microcosmic bodies.⁵¹ The generic origin of the disease-bearing angels, according to Fludd, was a scene in Revelation 7: 2–4, 9–14 where John recounts how he saw an angel stepping out from the setting sun, bearing the seal of God. He called out to the four angels of the four directions to whom was given the power to injure the earth and the sea.⁵²

Prior to this, the servants of God were sealed, 144, 000 of them from all nations and generations. Before the throne of God and the Lamb, a great crowd stood, dressed in white with palms in their

⁴⁹ See Fludd, *Philosophia Sacra* (1626), 29: Quare syncere hoc idem est de causa horum meteororum efficiente interna dicendum, quod de illa meteororum mundi magni videlicet, quos causa primaria sit essentifica nominis DEI ineffabilis proprietates, vel ad clementiam, vel ad punitionem vergens, qua ea ordinantur, quae tum postea ut Angelicis suis ministris, verbum suum facientibus, executioni mandantur, mediante aere, quem in hanc velillam naturam et constitutionem, pro divini creatoris voluntate, mutant et convertunt, ubi alibi aperte magis atque copiosus demonstrare nobis propositum est."

⁵⁰ Fludd, *Philosophia Sacra* (1626), 267.

⁵¹ Perrone Compagni (ed.), Cornelius Agrippa (1992), 262, 266–68, 272, 282, 286, 289, 290.

hands, calling out: “Glory to God and the Lamb.” Those in white had undergone great ordeals and had cleansed their robes in the blood of the Lamb. In Fludd’s picture, the demons launch their attack from the cardinal points of the compass where the winds are held in check by angels. When the angels of the four directions release them, illness eventuates (fig. 50).⁵³ Fludd also presents tables and diagrams explaining the causes of disease and naming the angels involved by their kabbalistic designations, all of which are a name of God, such as “Elohim Kibbor,” “Iah” and “Elohim.” He explains how to use these names in the art of healing.⁵⁴ He provides an extensive description of the winds in his *Mosaicall Philosophy* (London: H. Moseley, 1659), defining their nature according to the Old Testament description in 2 Kings 22: 8:

The Wind is a certain Angelicall creature, being made and produced by JEHOVAH, of aire, as being his matter agitated, and Light being his internall and essentiall form, the which being derived or extracted out of his heavenly Treasury, is sent out this way or that way, either to plague and punish, or to solace and increate the creature.

The Winds are the Angels of the Lord, strong in power, which effect the Word of God, and listen unto his voice, and his flaming Ministers which accomplish his pleasure.⁵⁵

In the *Medicina Catholica* (1629–31) Fludd explained that the way to conserve or restore health was through a righteous, prayerful life. The highest level of spiritual health was attainable through penitence and humility, virtues that were sacramental and granted supercelestial health. The apostles had cured the sick and had even raised the dead in the Name of Christ because the Name contained in itself all other kabbalistic names of God: “Ehieh,” “Iah,” “Elohim,” “El,” “Sadai,” “Adonai.” “Jesus” is a personal name, but “Christ” is invoked

⁵² Fludd, *Philosophia Sacra* (1626), 267: “estque et angelus quidam universalis prima emanatio a claritate omnipotentes, sapientia ab Ecclesiastico dicta, Metatron a Cabalisticis, Messias et Soter seu Salvator a mysticis, in cuius potestate est qui ascendeat ab ortu Solis, habens sigillum DEI vivi, et clamans voce magna quatuor angelis, qui stabant super quatuor angelos terrae, tenentes quatuor ventos terrae, quibus datum est nocere terra, et dixit ne noceatis terrae et mari, et arboribus quousque obsignavimus servos DEI nostri in frontibus.”

⁵³ Fludd, *Medicina Catholica*, 1 (1629), 2.

⁵⁴ Fludd, *Philosophia Sacra* (1626), 207 ff.

⁵⁵ Robert Fludd, *Mosaicall Philosophy* (London: H. Moseley, 1659), 92.

communally and is a sacrament; not in itself, but in the context of the Eucharistic sacrifice when body is united with God.

Magnum ergo est et ineffabile hoc nomen JESUS: ab Judaeis et Gentibus Ephesi ita magnificarum: Nomen, quo non efficacius ullum . . . In Jesu Christi Nazareni nomine (inquiunt Petrus et Joannes) surge et ambula. In hoc nomine omnia sua miracula fecerunt Apostoli et haeredes ipsorum, quos ipsi Cacomagi imitantes, hoc quidem nomine aburebantur, ut in Actibus legitur . . . concludimus ergo, quod hoc sit nomen illud Catholicum et salutare quod Jehova agnovit fuisse in Angelo illo magno quem misit ante Israelitas in salutem eorum in itinere per desertum.⁵⁶

It is the Spirit of Christ that fills the heavens and earth through the power of his name and performs all acts of healing. His life is the light of the world. Through his Spirit the Resurrection will come about, when all things will be made new and the world will be rectified.⁵⁷

Fludd as a magus-chemist had a most un-Protestant interest in miracles, since both the Lutheran and Reformed Churches had denied their possibility, or relevance, in post-apostolic times.

What, then, is it possible to conclude about Fludd's "catholic" medicine? It is obvious that he drew his main inspiration from Paracelsus, adopting from him the idea that spiritual forces are cures for diseases, since these are themselves spiritual entities. The Holy Ghost, who is one with Nature, provides a knowledge that cannot be gained from books. He also subscribed to the Paracelsian "doctrine of signatures," signs indicating the hidden spiritual forces in matter that could be released by alchemy. Paracelsus had expounded the view that, in separating spiritual from material substance, the alchemist was assisting God in his task of cosmic salvation, purifying the world in preparation for the coming of the New Jerusalem at the Apocalypse. Fludd's medicine, like that of Paracelsus, is dependent on the alignment of the human form with astral, solar, aeolian and angelic forces. To the Paracelsian discourse, he adds the

⁵⁶ Fludd, *Medicina Catholica*, 1 (1619), 185–86.

⁵⁷ Fludd, *Medicina Catholica*, 1 (1619), 57–59 "ei nomen IESUS attribuens respectu verbi vivifici, atque aeterni (de quo librum scripsit Reuchlin) . . . per Spiritualem Iesum, qui est ille Spiritus Catholicus, qui vivificat universa in qua solummodo (et nominalis) est vita, et illa vita est lux mundi, a qua mundus et omnia in eos, radicaliter sunt facta, vivificate et in salutis statu . . . Porro etiam, assistente hoc Spiritu, Resurrectio facta erit in seculo futuro. Imo vero mediatione illius, omnia erunt nova facta: nam operate eo, coeli erunt renovati, atque ipsa terra rectificata."

kabbalistic incantation of the name “J. H. U. H” (the Fluddian version of Reuchlin’s “IHSVH.”)

Yet, unlike Paracelsus’ innovatory medical pharmacopoeia, Fludd prescribes very few physical remedies and the ones which he does use are uncanny, as in the case of his sacramental red oil of wheat. In this context, Fludd pondered extensively the mystery of common bread which was chosen to be the material of the miracle of transubstantiation. He traced all mentions of bread in the Old and New Testament, emphasising its physical and spiritual potency and its sacramental nature.

De duobus panis generibus, quorum alterum est terrestre et vulgare, alterum caeleste et immediate ab Deo procedens; Et de admiranda virtute in pane corporali reperta, simul atque de naturali vinculo et iunctura quam habet cum illo spirituale.⁵⁸

Fludd even mentioned the sacramental controversy over the Real Presence, instigated by Christ’s words: “This is my body.”⁵⁹ In his response to Mersenne in the *Clavis Philosophiae* (1633) Fludd claimed to be an adherent of the Anglican doctrine that Communion was a commemoration, rather than a physical incarnation of the body and blood of Christ. He also referred to the theological view that the presence of the body and blood of Christ within the Communion

⁵⁸ Fludd, *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623), 15 ff.

⁵⁹ Fludd, *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (1623), 9: “Et quamvis de pane vulgari hoc in loco tractare videat, tamen me sub eius velo seu umbra de pane mystico in regione seu subiecto sibi proprio abunde egisse, hoc est illum in typo panis communis luculenter satis demonstrasse vos ingenue cognoscatis velim . . . [10] . . . Ab illo (inquam) lapide angulari, solo mysteriorum fonte, scaturire assolet miraculorum ebendorum virtus, atque potentia: cui in factis scripturis, quia appropriatur panis (unde dixit verbum: Hoc est corpus meum, Et alibi, Non solo pane vivit homo, sed quolibet verbo prodeunte ad ore Dei) ideo dixerimus mysterium magnum esse in pane, seu potius per panem mysterium maximum videlicet verbum more hieroglyphico attestatur: Nec quidem ob hoc ab quopiam me iuste condemnari posse spero, cum in huiusmodi meo conatu Salvatoris sum imitator; sub secuta cuius alarum umbra dum haec scribam, ut ab Viperinis malevolorum linguis tutius evadem, me humiliter, centralibus cordis mei precibus praeceuntibus, recondam: Praecipua denique quae ad tractatum hunc mundo publicandum me induxit ratio est: quoniam in hoc comprehenduntur philosophiae meae tam macro quam Microcosmiae fundamenta veritatis fulchro stipata atque confirmata, quae omnia meum in praecedentibus voluminibus promissum me cogit . . . [15] . . . De tritico igitur ille panis terrestris supremi gradus conflatur, quem Salvator noster Christus ratione nobilitatis et excellentiae istius vegetabilis ad proprii sui corporis repraesentationem eligebat, quem panem alii reale Salvatoris nostri corpus consecratione praeceunte fecerunt, alii pro signo quodam passionis eius memoriali, benedictione praeceunte acceperunt, de quibus infra latius et magis luculenter verba faciemus.”

was only in their spiritual form.⁶⁰ In answer to Gassendi's objection that in his theosophical medical theories Fludd had confused human blood with the sacred blood of Christ, he explained that in his alchemical metaphors, he was referring to the internal presence of Christ within the Communion substances, rather than to any visible human blood.⁶¹ Mersenne had also expressed his disapprobation of Fludd's supposed indifference to sectarian differences between Catholics, Lutherans and others.⁶² Fludd denied this, but his subsequent answer, in fact, verifies Mersenne's objection in that he expounded a tolerant egalitarianism in his view that all religious sects aspired to the same Greatest Good when in the presence of the divine wisdom of God. In other words, the sectarian differences in belief and ritualistic practice related only to the lower levels of religious consciousness. In the presence of God himself no such distinctions existed.

Fludd held to a pantheistic belief that the breath of life in the human body was the equivalent of the Divine Spirit of Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, moving through nature. There is an interesting similarity between his account of the circulation of air between the heart and the lungs and that of Michael Servetus. All living creatures, Fludd explained, required air since this contained the aetherial spirit whose essence was the celestial light. It was breathed in by the lungs and carried to the heart, where it separated from the air and dispersed as the vital spirit throughout the body. Fludd was one of the first to support William Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood, since it validated his own theosophy of the Divine Spirit in Nature. However, a variant of the same idea had already been formulated by Servetus in a censored theological text. Like Fludd, he had also employed an empirical model to illustrate a subtle theological issue. Both of them believed that the soul existed in the blood and that it was the sanguineous spirit. Fludd stated that "animae sedes sit sanguis") as in the Old Testament books of Genesis 9, Leviticus 17 and Deuteronomy 12.⁶³ Blood was nothing but "tempered air" ("aer temperatus").⁶⁴ The breath in this Microcosmic body

⁶⁰ Fludd, "Membrum Tertium" in Fludd, *Clavis Philosophiae* (1633), p. 37.

⁶¹ Fludd, "Membrum Tertium" in Fludd, *Clavis Philosophiae* (1633), p. 47.

⁶² Fludd, "Membrum Quartum" in Fludd, *Clavis Philosophiae* (1633), p. 59.

⁶³ For Servetus, see Cunningham, *Anatomical Renaissance* (1997), 247–53.

⁶⁴ Fludd, *Philosophia Sacra* (1626): 29: "sanguis nihil aliud sit, quam aer temperatus, secundae mitionis, in massam illam sanguineam, tamquam meteoron naturale, inspissatione redactus."

emulated that of the Macrocosm: “ventis Microcosmicus, ad imitationem illorum Macrocosmi facta.”⁶⁵

Not all of Fludd’s medical remedies were imbibed, or eaten, or, for that matter, prayed. Indeed one of his medicines did not touch the human body at all, relying instead on the power of magnetic attraction, a topic that had gripped his imagination. He frequently emphasised the potency of the Paracelsian weapon-salve whose action depended on magnetic powers. In this oddest of all cures, it was the injurious weapon that was treated with healing salve, not the wound caused by it which was instead healed “magnetically.” There was a public controversy concerning this practice between Fludd and William Foster,⁶⁶ but Fludd could not abandon his theory since the existence of magnetism seemed to validate his medical theories. In addition, there was another magnetic substance that equally delighted him and which was awarded the highest accolades by his contemporaries. This was “mumia,” an expensive potion made from dried human flesh and believed to be magnetic. Paracelsus had advocated this cannibalistic remedy as sovereign and Fludd had learned about the weapon-salve and other magnetic medicines from Paracelsians in Switzerland in 1602.⁶⁷ William Maxwell reported that he had seen Fludd using desiccated human flesh as a salve. It had to be obtained from the warm body of a man who had died a violent death.⁶⁸ As if this was not enough, Fludd claimed in his *Mosaicall Philosophy* (1659) that it was possible to procure such a “magnet” from a living-body, but without explaining how on earth this could be done. One hopes that little more was involved than the collecting of oils, or fungi, from the skin. However, the obscurity darkens further in the *Mosaicall Philosophy* when Fludd announces that the Microcosmic body of man is so remarkable that it is itself a Loadstone. Not only that, it can even be compared to the Sacramental Body of Christ, for it is a

Templum Dei, the Temple of God; Corpus Christi, the Body of Christ; Habitaculum Spritus Sancti, the Habitable of the holy Ghost (as the Apostle hath taught us)

The human body, the Microcosm of Nature, the Son of the World, contained within itself the supreme secret:

⁶⁵ Fludd, *Philosophia Sacra* (1626), 29.

⁶⁶ Fludd, *Mosaicall Philosophy* (1659), 228: “Weapon Salve against Dr Foster.”

⁶⁷ Godwin, *Fludd* (reprint 1991), 7.

⁶⁸ Godwin, *Fludd* (reprint 1991), 9.

the perfect wisdom of this world consisteth in the knowledge of man's self, namely, to find out that secret mystery, which doth lurk within him. For man is said to be the centre of every living creature, and for that cause he is called Microcosmus, or the little world: centrum et miraculum mundi, The centre or miracle of the world, containing in himself the properties of all creatures, as well celestiall as terrestriall, and consequently of the Load-stone. He is Templum Dei, the Temple of God; Corpus Christi, the Body of Christ; Habitaculum Spiritus Sancti, the Habitable of the holy Ghost (as the Apostle hath taught us) . . . Seeing that Man is rightly regarded by Hermes to be the Son of the World, as the world is the Son of God, being that it is framed after the image of the Archetype . . . he is in like manner divided into a heaven and earth, as the great world was, and consequently containeth in itself not otherwise than his heavens, circles, poles, and stars, than the great world does. And also as we find, that the spirituall image of the heavens, with their circles and poles, are delineated also in the earth, and every particular thereof, (as it appeareth in the Loadstone and Iron) so the character of the inward man is deciphered and pourtrayed out in the outward man, no otherwise, than we may judge of the fashion of the sword by the scabbard, or the kernell by the shell⁶⁹

Consequently, Fludd attempted to prove that the world's poles are within man by allocating the directions of the compass to the body: one should face east to pray with one's posterior to the west. The left-hand is then North, while the right-hand is South. The human body then comes into harmony with the magnetic poles.

Thus therefore you see the opposite poles of the little world to concur in effect, and that in all respects, with that great world, counting the South pole from the Aequinoctiall. For if we divide the Load-stone in the middle, that part in the Aequinoctiall which is next the north pole will serve and stand in place of the South pole⁷⁰

As a result, Fludd claims, the "dead carcass of a man is indued with a magnetick power" [since it is an earthy mixture of elements like the globe of the earth].⁷¹

though that many bodies appear to be dead, yet shall the naturall Magician know, that in his flesh and bones there abideth admirable Spirits⁷²

⁶⁹ Fludd, *Mosaicall Philosophy* (1659), 200–20; quote from page 215.

⁷⁰ Fludd, *Mosaicall Philosophy* (1659), 216.

⁷¹ Fludd, *Mosaicall Philosophy* (1659), 216. On page 208, there is a diagram of the loadstone.

⁷² Fludd, *Mosaicall Philosophy* (1659), 219.

In fact, the magical and medicinal qualities of the Loadstone are like those of a human carcase,

for by applying it, I mean, the Ungea or masse, which groweth on the dead man's bones, unto the irruptions of blood or haemorrhoy in a living man, the warm blood . . . moved by an antipatheticall affection, returneth back again, and is denyed passage by the congealing and binding operation, of these northern effected excrescences . . . there may a Microcosmicall Magnesia or Loadstone, which may be selected and gathered out of the living man . . . and being composed of two substances different in kinde . . . an earthly Mercury, and cholerick sulphureous human spirits . . . in his manner of extraction of the spirituall Mummy and of the living man . . . and . . . by the transplantation of it, either to the animal or vegetable kinds, it worketh after a strange fashion, either sympathetically or antipathetically⁷³

He calls this substance the "Microcosmicall magnet" and culminates this most perplexing of all his medical accounts by instructing the reader on the method of growing new flesh.⁷⁴

To summarise then: Fludd's medical practice involved a small number of physical remedies dependent for their effect on a miraculous universe in which Christ's healing grace could be contacted through his all-pervasive Spirit. These medicines included the Eucharistic bread and wine, either as in the Christian liturgy of the body and blood of Christ, or in their alchemical equivalent as the red oil of wheat containing the virtue of the sun. The sun was the tabernacle of Christ in his form as Metatron (the Messiah, the Word). The physician with kabbalistic knowledge could bring about healing with the aid of the Name of Christ. Fludd also advocated the application of weapon salve or "mumia," magnetic virtue derived from the human body (dead or alive) which, in an even stranger twist, had the same qualities as the Eucharistic bread! He informed the reader that healing was possible only through faith in Christ's redemptive power and with due repentance for sin. He stated that the physician was able to heal due to the presence of the indwelling Christ who was the true healer. These are not the pious words of a devoted Anglican feigning a suitable Christian modesty since Fludd meant this literally. He modelled himself on the miracles of the early

⁷³ Fludd, *Mosaicall Philosophy* (1659), 220.

⁷⁴ Fludd, *Mosaicall Philosophy* (1659), 252.

apostles, as well as on Paracelsus' dictum of a Christian healing practice guided solely by the inner intuition of the physician.

One of Fludd's other sources may have been the theosophy of Jacob Boehme, an issue that has never been considered by scholars. He may have known a manuscript copy of Boehme's *Aurora: Morgenrothe in Aufgang*, written in 1612 and circulated against his wish in manuscript. After his death, the shorter writings were published in the late 1620s as *Der Weg zu Christo*, though an even shorter version of this work had been printed in Görlitz in 1623 during his lifetime.⁷⁵ Fludd had access to German since he had travelled in German-speaking lands.⁷⁶ For example, one of Fludd's eschatological references echoes an allegorical figure in Boehme's *Aurora*, that of Nature as a virgin. The chosen daughter of Physis, states Fludd, is the immaculate Psyche, bride of the bridegroom, described in his apocalyptic text, the *Tractatus Theologo-Philosophicus*, as:

this noble and most pure Virgin is decked with such divine light . . . this splendid Nature, this Psyche, minister of life to all creatures . . . the airy virtue of the admirable Father and Son, or the Holy Spirit of intelligence, has placed its tabernacle in her . . . this immaculate nymph desires assiduously the presence, society and assistance of her Deiform spouse⁷⁷

Boehme's Celestial Virgin of Divine Wisdom (Eve, Sophia) was the personification of the sephiroth Hochmah. She first appeared in his *Aurora* as a bride⁷⁸ and then later as Wisdom in the *Three Principles of God's Being* (*Beschreibung der Drey Principien Gottliches Wesen*) (1619). Admittedly, this text was not published in English until 1648 in Sparrow's translation.⁷⁹ According to Weeks, Boehme's Noble Virgin was based on the allegory of Wisdom in Proverbs 8: 22–24, 30–31, which could have Fludd's source. She was present in Christ and Nature, Boehme regarding her as a "Person" in the same sense as the three Persons of the Trinity and further identifying her with the alchemical "tincture."⁸⁰ Diversity, the opposite quality to that of the

⁷⁵ Weeks, *Boehme* (1991), 205–6.

⁷⁶ Weeks, *Boehme* (1991), 93 ff.

⁷⁷ Translation from Godwin, *Fludd* (reprint 1991), 15.

⁷⁸ Weeks, *Boehme* (1991), 83.

⁷⁹ Jacob Boehme, *Concerning the Three Principles of the Divine Essence*. Translated by John Sparrow (London, 1648; reissued London: John M. Watkins, 1910).

⁸⁰ Boehme, "Morgenröthe im Anfang" in Peuckert, *Boehme. Sämtliche Schriften*, 1 (1955), n.p.

Virgin, was produced by the spinning wheel of the essences, according to Boehme's *Threefold life of Man* (1620).⁸¹

As in the case of Fludd, Boehme's Christ was a metaphor for his own spiritual experiences and he employed alchemical terminology in order to describe these sacred moments of illumination. He regarded the purpose of life as being the effort to harmonise the oppositions within and without the human being, uniting them with God the Light.

⁸¹ Boehme, "De triplici vita hominis, oder vom Dreyfachen Leben des Menschen" in Peuckert, *Boehme. Sämtliche Schriften*, 3 (1960), 37–58, 78–106.

CHAPTER SEVEN

JACOB BOEHME AND ABRAHAM VON FRANCKENBERG

Jacob Boehme (1575–1624) was born of a peasant family near Görlitz in Lusatia. He worked at the skilled trade of shoe-making, achieving a degree of prosperity and public influence, but his internal-life was at variance with his public persona. At the age of twenty-five he had undergone a spontaneous illumination that had turned a barely educated man into a prolific writer of spiritual literature, marked by an intense and original visionary experience. He became yet another prophet in this age of ever-proliferating prophets, even so, his visions of creation and the destiny of humanity and of the world are unique. True, as Weeks has argued, his vocabulary and imagery is common to the esotericists and radical philosophers of his time.¹ Above all, his thinking displays the inheritance of Paracelsian theosophy, though his knowledge of other philosophical and theological ideas would have been limited due to his ignorance of Latin.² Even so, his associates were learned nobility, such as David of Schweidnitz.³ Weeks has discussed the varied influences that contributed to the discursive framework of Boehme's ideas, among whom must have been discussions with practicing alchemists and other esotericists.⁴ There was an indirect connection between Boehme and Schwenckfeld, although the latter, unlike Boehme, had refused to partake of the

¹ Weeks, *Boehme* (1991), 54–59. See also Ingrid Merkel, “Aurora; or, The Rising Sun of Allegory: Hermetic Imagery in the Work of Jacob Boehme” in Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus (eds.), *Hermeticism and the Renaissance* (1988), 302–10 and also Hugh Ormsby Lennon, “Rosicrucian Linguistics: Twilight of a Renaissance Tradition” in Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus (eds.), *Hermeticism and the Renaissance* (1988), 312–41. Authoritative earlier accounts of Boehme's theology are Alexandre Koyre, *La Philosophie de Jacob Boehme* (Paris: Vrin, 1979), 281 ff and Victor Weiss, *Die Gnosis Jakob Boehmes* (Zurich: Origo, 1955).

² *Abraham von Franckenberg, Memoirs of the Life, Death, Burial and Wonderful Writings of Jacob Behmen*. Translated by Frances Oakley trans. (London, 1780), 15.

³ Franckenberg, *Memoirs* (1780), 18.

⁴ Weeks, *Boehme* (1991), 49–51, 86 ff, 96–99.

Lutheran Communion and had been expelled by Luther from Silesia in 1540.⁵ Carl von Ender, one of Boehme's most powerful supporters was a scion of the Schwenckfeldian family in the Görlitz region.

The biography written in 1631 by Franckenberg includes recorded conversations with Boehme in his last years, 1623–24.⁶ He is said to have mentioned as his main sources Paracelsus and Leonard Thurneysser.⁷ Franckenberg relates that Boehme's manuscripts were in the custody of the senate of Görlitz for twenty-seven years, being finally released in November 1641 when they were sent to the Marshall of the House of the Elector of Dresden and thence to Amsterdam. It was here that they were first published.⁸ He mentions that the *Forty Questions Concerning the Soul* were tabulated by Dr. Balthazar Walter of Great Glogau in Silesia, who was a chemist and physician, as well as a specialist in kabbalah, magic and chymia. He had travelled in Europe, Africa and Asia, spending three months with Boehme in Neysbridge in Görlitz. The *Forty Questions* were translated into Latin by John Angelius Werdenhagen, a civilian and counsellor to the Principality of Lünenberg (published in Amsterdam as *Psychologia Vera* (1632)).⁹ Walter also published Boehme's works in Paris.¹⁰ Additional significant influences on Boehme were Nicholas of Cusa, Uldaricus Pindar, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Paul Scalichus, Giordano Bruno, Francesco Giorgio, the author of the *Natural Philosophy Restored*, John Kapnion, Menasseh Ben Israel, Francis Patricius, Archangelus de Burgenovo, Dionysius the Areopagite, Alvares, Thauler, Rusbroch (Rysbroek), Henry Harphius, Johann

⁵ Weeks, *Boehme* (1991), 22.

⁶ Franckenberg, *Memoirs* (1780), 1.

⁷ Franckenberg, *Memoirs* (1780), 3.

⁸ Franckenberg, *Memoirs* (1780), 10; see pages 11–13 for a list of Boehme's works; 122–23, 136–39, the life was finished in 1637 and sent to Amsterdam in 1638 to be translated. Boehme's books were translated into Dutch by William van Beyerland. Franckenberg, however, says that Boehme's books were available at Görlitz in 1624, before they were sent to Holland. Copies were made by Charles de Endern (sic). These got into the hands of John Rohte of Görlitz, were sold to another person in Leipzig, then were sent to Hamburg and then to Amsterdam to the translator Beyerland. He was keen to obtain the original autographs, especially the *Mysterium Magnum*, dedicated to Franckenberg. The manuscripts were plundered by soldiers and carried off to Dresden. The *Aurora*, *Signatura Rerum* and *Mysterium Magnum* were never translated from the German.

⁹ This is available as Boehme, "Psychologia Vera, oder Vierzig Fragen Von der Seelen (1620)" in Peuckert, *Boehme. Sämtliche Schriften*, 4 (1960), n.p.

¹⁰ Franckenberg, *Memoirs* (1780), 14.

Angelus Werdenhagen and Oculus Sydereus.¹¹ Boehme, apparently, approved of all of these as being “theodidacti,” or god-taught, as opposed to those who were “cosmodidacti,” or world-taught.

Franckenberg gave an account of the apocalyptic content of Boehme’s teachings, referring to his prediction of the impending “seventh Holy and Fiery-Day.”¹² He claims that Boehme was sent to the Germans in difficult times as a prophet of the last days calling everyone to repentance.¹³ The English translation of Franckenberg’s biography made by Frances Oakley in 1780 includes an appended account by Dr. Cornelius Weissner, written in February, 1651, “concerning the meekness, humility and friendliness of the late Jacob Boehme.”¹⁴ He had encountered Boehme at Luben when Weissner had been a tutor to Balthazar Tylken, a gentleman of quality living near Schweidnitz. Weissner provides the story of Pastor Richter’s attacks on Boehme at Görlitz and at Dresden, recounting that the Prince Elector had been pleased with his defence at the trial in Dresden and had returned him to Görlitz with honour.¹⁵ Doctors Messner and Gerhard, who participated in the investigating committee at Wittemberg, were also full of admiration for Boehme, saying that they could not judge what they could not understand.

Despite these dissident Spiritual and esoteric contacts Boehme remained, in his own mind at least, obstinately implanted within the Lutheran Church throughout his life, despite his harassment by local ministers, most especially Pastor Gregor Richter and the local Church council.¹⁶ Tobias Koeber has recorded the events surrounding Boehme’s death and funeral,¹⁷ providing eye-witness evidence of his reverence for the Eucharist and of his eagerness to partake of it on his death-bed. He had always participated in the sacrament of Communion,

¹¹ Franckenberg, *Memoirs* (1780), 36–7. Other influences mentioned include Daniel Friedric’s *Tract 32, Questions and Answers on this God-taught Wisdom* (1643), as well as Maximilian Sandeus’ *Clavis et Theologia Mystica* (1640), compiled from 120 authors writing on “the genuine spiritual birth,” such as Johann Tauler, Johann Rysbroek, Henry Harphius, Henry Suso, Thomas a Kempis, Jean Gerson, the “Germanic Theology,” Luther, Johann Arndt etc.

¹² Franckenberg, *Memoirs* (1780), 31.

¹³ Franckenberg, *Memoirs* (1780), 32.

¹⁴ Franckenberg, *Memoirs* (1780), 39 ff.

¹⁵ Franckenberg, *Memoirs* (1780), 47–49.

¹⁶ See Boehme, “Apologia contra Gregorium Richter, oder Schutz-Rede wieder Gregorium Richter (1624)” in Peuckert, *Boehme. Sämtliche Schriften*, 12 (1960), n.p.

¹⁷ In Franckenberg, *Memoirs* (1780), 50 ff.

whenever it was administered.¹⁸ Lutheran clergymen in the locality, such as Moller, resented the preaching of a layman that usurped their authority and they persecuted him incessantly as a heretic and political threat.¹⁹ Unlike earlier German Spiritualists of the mid-sixteenth century such as Denck, Hauck, Brandt or Schwenckfeld, Boehme sustained his belief in the necessity of the sacraments of Baptism and Communion.²⁰ In *De testamentis Christi, oder Von Christi Testamenten* (1623) he taught that Christ was present in the Eucharist in the same manner as the sun was in the vegetation by its warmth. The miracle was produced by the spiritual forces of Nature (in which Christ's Spirit was present) acting on the elemental construction of the Communion materials. Boehme compared the wine to the alchemical tincture.²¹ He had discussed the same issue in his *Forty Questions on the Soul* in which he had stated that the Sacraments are not spirit without body and that the external world is a likeness of the internal world.²² *Von Christi Testamenten* was translated into English by John Sparrow and printed in London in 1652.²³ Sparrow explained that Boehme's original text had been written in simple language at the request of Carl von Ender since it was intended for the use of simple people. In this work Boehme called for tolerance in the disputes over the Eucharist and expressed his hatred of the doctrinal strife.²⁴

Boehme in his prophetic function anticipated the Last Times, whose imminent arrival coloured all of his mystical enunciations and supplied their prevailing rationale. He focused his attention not on the Time of Tribulations followed immediately by the Second Coming and the Last Judgement, but, instead, on the older Joachimite concept of the Third Age of the Spirit. He believed that this last age was already in the process of replacing the Second Age of the Son in which the historical Christ had taken bodily form.²⁵ Boehme viewed

¹⁸ Franckenberg, *Memoirs* (1780), 64.

¹⁹ Franckenberg, *Memoirs* (1780), 81–98.

²⁰ Weeks, *Boehme* (1991), 46–48, 55, 88–89.

²¹ Boehme, “De testamentis Christi, oder Von Christ Testamenten (1623)” in Peuckert, *Boehme. Sämtliche Schriften*, 16 (1957), 34 ff.

²² Boehme, “Psychologia Vera (1620)” in Peuckert, *Boehme. Sämtliche Schriften*, 4 (1960), 89–90.

²³ *Jacob Boehme. Christ's Testament. Englished by John Sparrow* (London: M. Simons, 1652).

²⁴ Sparrow, *Jacob Boehme. Christ's Testament* (1652), 133.

²⁵ For example see Boehme, “De triplici vita hominis, oder vom Dreyfachen Leben des Menschen (1620)” in Peuckert, *Boehme. Sämtliche Schriften*, 3 (1960), 270 ff.

his own epoch as being a new Millenium of the Spirit, more in the manner of the Calvinists and, similarly, he placed less emphasis on the Second Coming of Christ. The eschatological imagery of Boehme's *Aurora Morgenröthe im Aufgang* (1612) was largely drawn from Ezekiel 1:16–24, such as his Wheel of Nature and Wheel of the Essences which were based on Ezekiel's cosmic wheels.²⁶ Boehme's ontology is not a conventionally Lutheran one. Moreover, his eschatology is strangely located within his overall vision of time and causation, since in his account of the causes of manifestation, he visualises an eternal cosmological struggle, without beginning or end. He has, in fact, two distinct cosmogonies: one derived from Lutheran eschatology, the other from his own personal vision of a sexualised cosmos, created out of insatiable desire and rage. These are the forces that drive the Wheels of Nature and the Essences.²⁷ Boehme's personal cosmogony is a-temporal. These passionate forces occur in some internal, psychic sphere, providing the creative energy that unendingly drives physical manifestation. He adapted alchemical motifs to express his individual experience. For him, the purpose of existence was expressed in Paracelsian alchemy in its aim to terminate the conflicting dualities of nature and to unite nature with God.

In Boehme's theosophy the figure of Christ became an image of the Pauline "new man" regenerated by the Spirit: "It is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me (Galatians, 2; 20)." He explained his sacramental beliefs in which participation in the bread and wine with faith,

thereby openeth the Lifes understanding of the Inward Divine Hearing . . . and is converted againe, and so entereth . . . Paradise . . . and renews his [the believer's] heart, thought and mind . . . through his inspeaking or inspiration, and continueth and dwelleth in him in his Faith, and generateth him to be a new Creature, which with its Spirit walketh in Heaven, and is an image of God, whereby the earthly fleshly will is daily killed, and the Newborne will dayly goeth to Heaven.²⁸

²⁶ Boehme, "Aurora. Morgenröthe im Aufgang (1612)" in Peuckert, *Boehme. Sämtliche Schriften*, 1 (1955), 177–79.

²⁷ For the specifics of his cosmic system see the commencing chapters of Boehme, "De triplici vita hominis, oder vom Dreyfachen Leben des Menschen (1620)" in Peuckert, *Boehme. Sämtliche Schriften*, 3 (1960), 1 ff.

²⁸ Sparrow, *Jacob Boehme. Christ's Testament* (1652), 5.

Boehme explains that “heaven” is the “Inward Ground of his Life” and that it is revealed in the Spirit of Christ. All should receive this Sacrament (Testament) in its material and spiritual forms and also in the form of the Word of God. However, outward bearing and reception will not suffice, for “it must be a right sincere Earnest with true working Repentance, so that God with the Key of his love unlocketh and Openeth the Hearing and the right Mouth, which shall receive this Testament.” It is not enough to confess and sin again, for “Christ must absolve thee in thy soule and his sufferings and Death, and Inspeake or Inspire his satisfaction into thee in thy souls, else it awaileth not.” There can be no outward forgiveness until the soul penetrates Christ’s blood and death, since it is not enough to know that he died for sinners and merely assent to the fact. The whole man has to give himself to Christ and must wish to die through Christ’s death to the evil natural will within him. The touchstone to knowledge is the cornerstone, Christ, followed by Scripture, then the human heart and soul wherein the book of the life of God is incorporated. It can be read by the children of God, for “then the true Minde hath its Touchstone in itselfe and can distinguish all things: If it be so that the Holy Ghost dwell in the Ground of the Minde, that Man hath Touchstone enough, That will leade him into all Truthe.”²⁹

Christ’s Testaments are a secret mystery and are proffered to the minds and thoughts that are departed from and come again to God. First they are fed with divine power and understanding.

the same afterwards kindle the Life, that it hungereth after God: to which afterwards is given Christ’s Flesh and Blood for a Pledge and Seale, and the Divine Essence and Substance will be imprinted therein: whence the Life is brought again into its Originall: vis: into God’s Power and Word.³⁰

When Reason considers how Jesus Christ can be present in the sacraments then it thinks in an “Image-like” manner.³¹ When the mind knows the miracle of the Real Presence is not enacted in an image-

²⁹ Sparrow, *Jacob Boehme. Christ’s Testament* (1652), 5.

³⁰ Sparrow, *Jacob Boehme. Christ’s Testament* (1652), 5.

³¹ For a discussion of Boehme’s guarded attitude towards the use of symbolic language which recalls Luther’s prejudice, see Howard H. Brinton, *The Mystic Will: Based on a Study of the Theology of Jacob Boehme* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), 85–91, 100–27.

like manner, reason then assumes that the Word of Scripture is greater than the sacrament. In fact, Boehme states, no great speculation is involved, one needs only humility and simplicity and he expresses his disapproval of contemporary sectarian dissension. He states that reason is useless. Human life with "self-speculation bringeth itselfe into Centres of its owne, and Strange Imaging, wherewith the Originall becometh darkened and strange."³² This gives rise to theological disputes. It is necessary, instead, to return to the original divine out-flowing. Then one will know God's will and acquire divine knowledge and understanding, knowing good and evil by a divine skill. Disputes arise from the images of the senses and thoughts without God. One should share spiritual gifts and knowledge without dispute.³³ Boehme explains that the Soul

when it broke off its desire from God's Essence, Love and Meeknesse . . . then it brought itselfe into its owne Desire: whereby it was shut up as a hard Stone, and lost all its Love and Meeknesse: and it was as a burning Brimstone and a spirit which could not be remedied, unlesse the Oyle of Divine Meeknesse and Love did flow into it again.³⁴

In order for this flow to take place there has to be a medium. In the Old Testament this had been circumcision, along with sacrifice, but in the New Testament it was Baptism and the Last Supper and the Word taught whereby divine love and meekness again flowed into faith. This was an anointing which consisted, in alchemical terms, of "Man [. . .] Tinctured again in Soule and Body," penetrated and healed up so that he was capable again of divine love. The issue is not that of forgiveness, since the Soul wants not only forgiveness, but newness.³⁵ The Soul's separation from God causes the properties of life to lose their temperature resulting in "burning and contrarieties" and darkness:

Men do not understand that heaven wherein Christ sitteth at the Right Hand of God, that he is in this world and that the world standeth in Heaven, and Heaven in the World, and are in one another, as Day and Night.³⁶

³² Sparrow, *Jacob Boehme. Christ's Testament* (1652), 1.

³³ Sparrow, *Jacob Boehme. Christ's Testament* (1652), 4.

³⁴ Sparrow, *Jacob Boehme. Christ's Testament* (1652), 9.

³⁵ Sparrow, *Jacob Boehme. Christ's Testament* (1652), 10.

³⁶ Sparrow, *Jacob Boehme. Christ's Testament* (1652), 11.

For the outward world was sprung out of the inward, spiritual world, that is, out of light and darkness.³⁷ Light/dark were the fabric that stands in the Eternal Creator's office. Like the sun, Christ penetrates everything in this world, giving himself wholly to every being and taking nothing in return. He rules in the inner spiritual world visibly and in the outer world invisibly.

Boehme's writings are full of the concept of divine ubiquity experienced by the inner eye of the soul. It was Luther who had posited the concept of the divine ubiquity of Christ, arguing that he could be physically present both at the right hand of God and in the sacraments. Just as human and divine natures were united in Christ, so too the material world contained a divine presence. It was Luther who had first used the analogy of the sun shining on nature to describe the all-pervasiveness of Christ's body and spirit. From the outset, Boehme was concerned to provide a justification for retaining the Eucharist by arguing in the *Aurora* against Calvin that the Sacraments were not merely signs but were the Divine Principle manifested in physical form,³⁸ a case repeated in *Dreyfachen Leben des Menschen* (1620) (*The Three Principles of Divine Being*).³⁹ Nearly every one of his treatises is preoccupied with the same issue. According to Weeks, however, Boehme in using Luther's doctrine had arrived at very different conclusions. Luther had argued for the omnipotence of the divine will, in comparison to the fallen condition of the human will. Boehme, in contrast, stated that the divine spirit revitalised the human will and illuminated human understanding.⁴⁰ Moreover, Boehme's theology of the "abendmahl" is not Christian, for in the *Aurora* it is the sidereal Spirit who is the universal power of the Eucharist. It is regarded as being a mediating cosmic force. It is through his sidereal body that Christ is able to be in two places, both at the right hand of God and in the Communion.⁴¹

³⁷ Sparrow, *Jacob Boehme. Christ's Testament* (1652), 7.

³⁸ Boehme, "Aurora. Morgenröthe im Aufgang (1612)" in Peuckert, *Boehme. Sämtliche Schriften*, 1 (1955), 294 ff.

³⁹ Boehme, "De triplici vita hominis, oder vom Dreyfachen Leben des Menschen (1620)" in Peuckert, *Boehme. Sämtliche Schriften*, 3 (1960), 251 ff.

⁴⁰ Weeks, *Boehme* (1991), 46–47.

⁴¹ Boehme, "Aurora. Morgenröthe im Aufgang (1612)" in Peuckert, *Boehme. Sämtliche Schriften*, 1 (1955), 110–11.

On Boehme's tombstone there was an elaborate motif designed by him with a powerful eschatological context. The monument was sent from Silesia and it consisted of a wooden cross with the name of "JHSUH" in Hebrew letters surrounded by twelve golden rays. Under the name, a child was depicted, reposing on its arm and supported by a death's head. In the middle, under the broad oval-field of the epitaph, there was a lamb wearing a bishop's mitre, a reference to the sacrificial Lamb of God in Revelation 5: 8–14. It witnesses the importance to Boehme of his personal interpretation of the sacraments. Franckenberg explains that the image of the Lamb was related to the twenty-ninth and thirty-second magical figures of Paracelsus. He is referring to Paracelsus' commentary on the Nuremberg Figures (Basle, 1569). Boehme's lamb stood under a palm tree near a fountain (a reference to the sacrament of Baptism), feeding among the flowers in a verdant meadow. It was labelled with the word "VENI." Franckenberg states that this word is a cryptogram to be interpreted as "In Mundum VENI! Sathanam descendere VIDI! Infernum Vici! VIVITE magnanimi!"⁴²

Franckenberg's letter of 21 October, 1641 (published in the Oakley edition of 1780) contains a discussion of the Second Coming and the signs associated with it. Boehme, he argues, was the prophet of Christ calling humanity to the "wedding of the bridegroom," meaning Christ's marriage to the New Jerusalem in the book of Revelation. He mentions the new star that had appeared in Cassiopeia and the Milky Way in 1572, two years before the birth of Boehme (a portent of the Last Prophet). He also refers to the new stars that had appeared in 1604–7. The greatest conjunction manifested in 1623 under the exit of the seventh Trigonal at which time Boehme was finishing his treatise, the *Mysterium Magnum* (his commentary on the Book of Genesis).⁴³ In another of his letters written in Danzig in 1643 Franckenberg condemned other claimants to the position of Prophet of the Last Days, in particular, one who had identified himself with the "angel of the everlasting gospel," since no true servant of god had ever identified himself with an angel. Franckenberg pronounced that eternal damnation was the result of the misuse of apocalyptic prophecy.⁴⁴

⁴² Franckenberg, *Memoirs* (1780), 25.

⁴³ Franckenberg, *Memoirs* (1780), 31 ff.

⁴⁴ *Franckenberg, A Warning, 1674* (Crisp trans. 1677), 128–33.

Abraham von Franckenberg (1593–1652) had inherited the title of lord of Ludwigsdorff in Silesia. He became Boehme's foremost disciple and the *Mysterium Magnum* (1623) had been dedicated to him.⁴⁵ Since the 1920s he has been neglected by scholarship, with only a very few recent studies in German and nothing at all in English.⁴⁶ It may be that he has been lost in the shadows of his master, although his thinking is by no means derivative.⁴⁷ His family is first recorded in Lower Silesia in 1297, having been given the village of Rosen, near Byczyny, as a gift. They were a noble family whose origins were in Franckenberg near Chemnitz in Pleissenland and in their new homeland they served the princes of Glogow. In the succeeding generations the original family divided into many different cadet branches that accumulated considerable amounts of land between them, making them one of the most important families in Lower Silesia by the late fourteenth century. They are recorded as contributing to the patronage of the arts and architecture in the following two centuries.⁴⁸

Franckenberg had been educated in the gymnasium in Brieg in Lower Silesia until 1611, having been an exceptional student.⁴⁹ Before he joined the university, he bequeathed his inheritance to his brother. This was as a result of a spiritual conversion resulting from reading the scriptures. According to his earliest biographer, the pietist Gottfried

⁴⁵ Franckenberg, *Memoirs* (1780), 139.

⁴⁶ For example, there exist the following studies in German, Theodorus Cornelis von Stockum, *Zwischen Jakob Bohme und Johann Scheffle: Abraham von Franckenberg (1593–1652) und Daniel Czepko von Reigersfeld (1605–1660)* (Amsterdam, 1967). This includes a bibliography. See also Will-Erich Peuckert, *Pansophie* (Stuttgart, 1936), 428–56.

⁴⁷ The main texts are Abraham von Franckenberg, “Copia Eines Christi-Eiferigen Klage-schreiben” in Jacob Boehme, (*Epistles*) *Theosophisches Sendschreiben* (1658) [London, British Library 853.a.21(1)]; Abraham von Franckenberg, *Gemma Magica oder Magisches Edelgestein, das ist eine kurze Erklärung des Buchs der Natur* (Amsterdam: H. Boetkio, 1688) [London, British Library 1033.c.17]; Abraham von Franckenberg, *Mir Nach. Das ist: eine ornstliche . . . Ermahnung an alle christliche Gemainden . . . zu . . . Wandel in . . . der Nahfloge Jesu Christi* (Amsterdam: H. Boetkio et Consorten, 1675) [London, British Library 4376. De. 7 (1)]; Abraham von Franckenberg, *Notae mysticae et mnemonicae ad Bechinas Olam* (1650; 1673 ed. and preface by H. Preche, Auistadt) [London, British Library Mic.A.8045 (6)]; Abraham von Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt Engel. Auff ehmaliges Ersuchen eines Gottliebenden Medici A. S. Aufgesetzt von A v F im Jahr 1639* (Amsterdam, 1676) [London, British Library 853.1.6].

⁴⁸ See biography in Tomasz Jurek, *Obce Rycerstwo na Slasku* (Poznan: Wydawnictwo Poznanskiego Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1998), 220–21.

⁴⁹ See Schimmelpfennig, “Franckenberg, Abraham” in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 243–44.

Arnold, in 1617 Franckenberg had experienced the “inner faith, the still sabbath.” He claimed that he had found Christ himself in place of dogma: “das Adam in uns streben und Christus in uns leben muss.” According to his letters, he had been studying the German mystics Johannes Tauler and Thomas à Kempis, as well as the Spirituals, Schwenckfeld and Weigel. Finally in 1612, he discovered Boehme’s *Aurora*. During the plague in Silesia in 1634, he had worked to cure the sick using Paracelsian medicine. In 1645, he travelled to Danzig in order to join his friend the natural philosopher, Johann Hevelius, from whom he learned astronomy and mathematics. He also corresponded with the Jesuit historian Athanasius Kircher in Rome, as well as with the lord of Schweidnitz and Claudio Salmasio. Initially he wrote under the pseudonym “Amadeus von Friedleben,” his writings appearing in public only after his death in Amsterdam.⁵⁰ His most distinguished and original work is the *Raphael oder Artzt Engel*, written in 1639 and published in Amsterdam in 1676.

Throughout his work, Franckenberg adheres to the structure of Boehme’s cosmogony, to which he adds many unusual elements of his own that display an astute visual and linguistic inventiveness. Especially in the *Raphael* marginal diagrams, notes and almost casual graffiti amplify the text in a playful manner. This work demonstrates that, above all, Franckenberg was a kabbalist of the type of Agrippa and John Dee. Like Dee, he enjoys playing visual and audial puns on the appearance of Latin or German words and their phonetic consonances and dissonances. In this he shows himself to be a member of the early Renaissance tradition of manipulative magic, as first described by Agrippa but whose arch-exemplar was Dee in the *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564). Dee’s emblematic magic had been quite different in visual appearance from Franckenberg’s later graphics, but the general idea is similar, that of taking a sign and dismantling its component parts, as well as playing with the linguistic structure.

Common to both was the idea that in manipulating the sign, the adept was working a magical ritual that would have an effect on the physical world. Accordingly, Dee had designed his *Monas Hieroglyphica* to be a cosmology, succinctly summarised in one

⁵⁰ The earliest known account of Franckenberg is in Gottfried Arnold, *Sortsetzung und Erläuterung oder Dritter und Vierter Theil der unpathetischen Kirchen- und Ketzer Historie* (with supplements and emendations on all 4 books) (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1729), 3, 89–94; 4, 1095 col. 2.

graphic symbol and its reformulations, by means of which a practical chemistry could be accomplished.⁵¹ Szónyi has argued for the direct influence of Paracelsus on Dee's angelic magic, comparing Paracelsus' definition of "Gamaaea," magical talismans with Dee's account in the *Propaedeumata Aphoristica* and the *Monas Hieroglyphica*.⁵² He has also related the triple-level magical cosmos of Paracelsus and Dee to that of Ficino in *De Triplici Vitae* and to that of Agrippa. In the *Monas Hieroglyphica*, Dee applied only the general concepts underlying kabbalah, specifically the manipulation of ciphers. He seems to have relied primarily on Reuchlin, Paracelsus and Postel for his knowledge of kabbalah. In addition, Dee's collection of Paracelsian texts included the theosophical and kabbalistic treatises and he also had a copy of Pico della Mirandola's *Conclusiones Nonogentae*. These are all likely sources for Franckenberg's visual and word play, as he is heavily dependent on kabbalah.

The emblem was a popular semiotic game in learned circles of the Renaissance, erroneously identified with "Egyptian hieroglyphics."⁵³ Renaissance emblems were intended to be personal insignia, eulogising a particular quality of their patron. These motifs appeared on Renaissance medals, coinage, portraits and in many printed emblematic compendia, one of the most popular being Andrea Alciatus' *Emblematum liber* (Milan, 1522). Renaissance emblems were intended to be a cryptic language, decipherable only by members of elite circles. The emblem's often bizarre components were an attempt to transpose a verbal phrase into its equivalent visual elements, since this was thought to be the authentic mode of the ancient Egyptians. Although Dee's and Franckenberg's emblems belong to this humanistic tradition, their own hieroglyphs have a different structure entirely and do not employ the figural devices and scenery of the conventional emblem books. Nor are they personalised in the same way. They are above all instrumental tools for the practice of practical magic, alchemy and medical healing.

⁵¹ Szulakowska, *Alchemy of Light* (2000), 55 ff.

⁵² Gyorgy Szónyi, *John Dee's Esotericism: Magical Exaltation through Powerful Signs* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2005), 169–74. See also Gyorgy Szónyi, "John Dee" [in:] Hanegraaff, *Dictionary of Esotericism and Western Esotericism* (2005), 1, 301–9.

⁵³ Alexander Turner Cory, *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo Nilous* (London: William Pickering, 1840).

The *Raphael* is dense with this type of visual cryptography that considerably amplifies the brief textual notes. For example, in his analysis of the word “ARTZNEI” (“Medicinal”) he produces assonances such as “HART,” “HERTZ,” including the name of the Roman goddess, “CERES” which is an allusion to wheat and hence to the Communion bread (fig. 52).⁵⁴ This is serious play, nevertheless, since Franckenberg does not allude to any other alchemists or magicians, only to biblical sources, a fact which suggests that there is a particularly sacred theme in the *Raphael* which sets it apart, namely, that of the healing tincture or elixir, identical with Christ’s blood.

In the usual manner of late Renaissance theosophy, Franckenberg’s medical alchemy and kabbalah is dependent upon the cosmic and Microcosmic operations of the “GEISTE GOTTES.” Likewise, his alchemical theory treats of esoteric waters (evil and good), white and red tinctures (“roht / und weise universal TinctUR des LAMMES”), sacred oils and balsams, such as a Balsam of Life taken from the Tree of Life (the cross of Christ), both of these springing from the Word of God. He refers to the “MUM IAH,” whose essence is “IAH,” the name of Christ’s healing Spirit that is filled with life. His “MUMIAH” may originate in the human skeleton, as did Fludd’s substance, since there is a picture of a skull in the nearby illustration (fig. 53).⁵⁵ Above all he is pre-occupied with the “Wasser des Lebens” (water of life), or the “Brunnen des Lebens” (spring of Life), both being synonymous with baptismal waters, as well as with the Communion wine. These are said to be the same as the River Jordan running through the midst of the New Jerusalem in Revelation 22: 1–2.

In his apocalyptic allusions, Franckenberg refers to the “glassy fiery sea,” an image that frequently occurs in Boehme’s work, as well as to a new “crystalline earth.”⁵⁶ Fludd’s work seems to be the most likely source for Franckenberg’s kabbalistic and Pythagorean numerology

⁵⁴ Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt Engel* (1676), 21.

⁵⁵ Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt Engel* (1676), 19.

⁵⁶ Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt Engel* (1676), 20: “Neuen Himmel and Neuen Aerden.. auss dem geheilgten und gereinigten EleMent/ und Paradeisischen Kraft Leibe JESU CHRISTI: als dem glassernen mit FeUR vermengten MEER der oberen himlischen Wasser und neuen durchscheinigen ChrySTALLINischen Aerden/des Neuen nach GOTT geschaffenen ADAMS und gesalbten Athems GOTTES... [21]... der da ist der ARTZT uns von GOTT gegeben/ und selber der einige HEIL-bronn der Gesundheit zum Leben.”

and sacred geometry. The last page of the *Raphael* depicts a cube emblazoned with the name of JEHOVAH, while a plant grows out of its top surface with a flower-head composed of three circles, or suns, the three Paracelsian principles. The Hebrew letters on the exterior of the cube spell out “Adam,” while the sign “Shin” on the cube is alluding to the fiery quintessence of alchemy and also to the “Shin” located in the midst of the Tetragrammaton, as in Reuchlin’s Name of Jesus, “IHSVH.” Franckenberg’s emblem is a pictorial discourse on Jesus as the new Adam whose grace saves humanity and the world, signified by the cube (the four elements). He transforms all of creation into his own divine substance and spirit (fig. 54).⁵⁷

There is a connection in Franckenberg’s alchemical theory with Michelspacher’s *Cabala* where there is a cryptogram in the second and third engravings consisting of the letters “VWIWV,” standing for “Unser Wasser ist Wasser Unser.” This old alchemical axiom is related to the text of John 4: 14: “Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst: but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life.” In the 1706 Amsterdam edition of Franckenberg’s *Raphael*, an anonymous author has appended a text to this effect, entitled, “De aqua – VW+VW sapientum.”

Unser Wasser ist Wasser Unser: ein himlisch Wasser/ ein Wasser des Lebens: ein Schlich Wasser/ welchem alle Geister lieben . . . Es kommet nur aus einem Einzigen Bronnen auf das Erden/ so da liegt an einem heimlichen Ort in Judea: und hat einen so grossen Ausfluss/ das sein Wasser uber die gantze Welt fleust/ und jederman behalt.⁵⁸

This text also displays three geometric symbols: circle, triangle, square.

Franckenberg’s introduction to the *Raphael* speaks of the “gift” of medicine, which is the transformation of the “bitter water,” or “evil water,” into the spring of Israel and the Light and Spirit of the Lord and his name “IeHoVaH.”⁵⁹ Like Fludd, he begins with the story

⁵⁷ Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt Engel* (1676), 44.

⁵⁸ Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt Engel* (1676), 45.

⁵⁹ Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt Engel* (1676), introduction: “den Bronn des HEILES/ und zur eroffnen die Quelle des Lebens: zu zeigen den wurdigen/ welches da sen der warhaftige ursprung aller Kranckheit: Und die wollkommene Gabe der Artzney: zu wiederbringung menschlicher Gefundheit. Zu vermeiden die frummen und finstern . . . zu den truben und bittern Wassern der henden unter sich: und zu bleiben bey den klaren und fussen Gefund Bronnen Israelis, auff den schlechten und rechten Wegen . . . Gelobet sey sein heiliger und alwesentlicher Nahme IeHoVaH.”

of the creation in Genesis by the Word, Christ, and the fall of man. He refers to the “Ruach Elohim,” the Spirit of the Lord, moving over the waters.⁶⁰ Illness was brought into the world through the disobedience of Adam in eating of the Tree of Knowledge and being expelled from the Garden. He recalls the *Aurora* (either the text by Paracelsus, or that of Boehme) and then refers to “Sophia” as the “Jungfrau” (Maiden) in the manner of Boehme.⁶¹ He also adopts from Boehme’s cosmology his triple division of the qualities of creation, which are those of the Spiritual/ Soul-like/ Mortal (“Geistlich Seelisch Leiblich”).⁶² Franckenberg analyses the resurrection of “Die Neue Creatur” (accompanied by a picture of a skull), the “new man” filled with the presence of Christ within his soul (fig. 53).⁶³ He has been saved from death and freed from his sins by the blood of Christ which forgives and washes away all diseases of life, soul and spirit. The earthly body, the flesh and blood of the old Adam, cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven. However, the blood of Jesus was spilt for us and He will come to live in the new heaven and the new earth, raising us through the light of knowledge and of nature to a whole new love and life. This “Neuen Gebuht” is the result of “Wortes Gottes.”⁶⁴

Health, he pronounces in flawless Lutheran tones, is the result of faith, which arises from hearing the Word, but by this statement he does not, in fact, refer to the Scriptures. The Word he interprets in an idiosyncratic sense as being the mind, heart and spirit of God, the “Ruach Elohim” who was pictured as a bird by the Chaldeans.

⁶⁰ Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt Engel* (1676), 3–12: “eine Materia oder Mutter der truben und bitteren Wasser: und ein Gefangniß der feurigen Informalischen Saltzen: darinnen das Caput Mortuum (der Tod in Topffen).”

⁶¹ Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt Engel* (1676), 15.

⁶² Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt Engel* (1676), 17.

⁶³ Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt Engel* (1676), 19.

⁶⁴ Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt Engel* (1676), 18: “Das Blut IESU CHRISTI des Sohnes Gottes fur uns vergossen/ waschet/ reiniget und HEIL et uns von allen unser Sunden/ Wunden und Kranckheiten/ und heilget und erhalt unsern Leib/ Seel und Geist/ganz und unverruckt zum Aewigen Leben. [19] Dan es ist Ihne das FEUR des Gerichtes und der Reinigung; und das WASSER des Lebens und des Trostes; und der GEIST der Gnaden und des Lichtes Gottes/ als die heiligste/ und allerheilsamste MUM IAH und roht/ und weise universal TinctUR des LAMMES, in welchen und auf welchem alleine stehet und ruhet das HEIL und der Trost unsers Lebens. IAH der Geist GOTTES und CHRISTI ists/ der da lebendig/ kraftig und thatig; vernunftig/ gesund und heilig: und in Summa gewaltig/ reich und selig machet; das alte Adamische verderhte Fleisch und Blut aber ist kein nutze:”

He is the Spirit moving over the waters which are the heavenly, fiery element associated with alchemical oil and sulphur.⁶⁵ Franckenberg may even be thinking of Fludd's famous illustration of the Word of God moving out from the Word "Fiat" over the face of the deep.⁶⁶ The kabbalah works because it is based on this Word of Faith which is the holy name "JESU JEHOV."⁶⁷ He encourages us to leave behind any arts that are not based on this Name, those heathenish ceremonies described by poets and magic books,⁶⁸ remembering instead the Magi who came to Christ and believed in him and took him as their example.⁶⁹

In his recapitulation Franckenberg enquires as to the nature of the medicine of the wise. Answering himself, he states that it is nothing other than water, powder, or plaster derived from nature, or found by human wit. This water springs from God's Spirit, the "Ruach Elohim" and operates through God's Word, the name of Jesus, to heal human illness.⁷⁰ It is also a balsam, or oil.

⁶⁵ Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt Engel* (1676), 23: "Das alle unsere Gesundheit/ Gerechtigkeit/ Weisheit und Seligkeit alleine auss dem Glauben/ der Glaube auss dem Gehore/ das Gehore auss dem Worte/ und das Wort auss dem Munde/ Herten und Geiste des verborgenen GOTTES/ Ursprunglichen herkomme und Urstande: und besonders alle Wunder- und Wohlthaten Gottes in den Meschen/ nach eines jeglichen Wesen und Weisen/ durg GEIST und WORT sich Offenbaren! [24] Diese Krafft GOTTES ist erstlich (Hebrew R. E) RUACH ELOCHIM der Einige GEIST des gedriten oder Drei Einigen GOTTES in Ternario Sancto . . . Den GOTT ist ein GEIST: und der Geist ist der HERR: und wo der Geist ist/da ist freyheit/Warheit und Leben; darinn schwebete auch eben dieser Geist RUACH AELOHIM."

⁶⁶ Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt Engel* (1676), 6. See, for example, Fludd, "Macrocosm," 1, *U. C. H.*, I (1617), 49.

⁶⁷ Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt Engel* (1676), 30.

⁶⁸ Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt Engel* (1676), 31 ff, 34.

⁶⁹ Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt Engel* (1676), 34.

⁷⁰ Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artzt Engel* (1676), 42: "Die Artzney der Weisen ist nicht allein schlecht Wasser/ Oele oder Pulver/ Kraut oder Pflaster van Natur erhohren/ oder durch menschlichen Witz erfunden: sonder ist das Wasser auss Gottes GEIST AOURSprungen/ und mit Gottes WORT beseligt und verbunden; zu heilen die krankheiten der Menschen/ welche sie wurdiglich gebrauchen. Diss Wasser ist ein gnaden-reich Wasser des Lebens/ und der Geist der Wiedergeburt und Erneuerung in den untern und obern krafft: zu schauen und zu vollbringen die Wunder der Gottlichen Geheimnussen/ in der Leibern der naturlichen Elementen. Wie kan aber Wasser solche grosse Dinge thun ? Schlecht Wasser thut es frenlich nicht/ sonder der verborgene GEIST und das WORT GOTTES/ so mit und bey diesem Wasser ist: und der Glaube/ so solchem Geiste und verborgenem Worte Gottes in diesem Wasser trauet: und solch Wasser oder OEle der hochsten Warmhertzigkeit in dem Nahmen JESUH (Nazareni) JEHOVAH gebrauchet/ machet die Krancken gefund. Dannohne den Geist und das WORT Gottes ist das Wasser

Franckenberg's other treatises published in the 1670s and 1680s by Henric Betkuis in Amsterdam included the *Gemma Magica* (1688), as well as *Mir Nach* 1675). These are less inventive linguistically and visually, being more conventional alchemical accounts, but they provide additional information concerning his sources. For example, in the *Gemma Magica* he underlines his reliance on Paracelsus and astrology,⁷¹ as well as using the books of Daniel and David and even mentioning Luther in passing.⁷² His alchemical mentors prove to be the conventional canon of medieval authorities, as well as the best of his contemporaries. He omits to mention Boehme, probably because he regarded him a prophet whose real place was in the sacred company of Scripture, not of magic. Instead, he cites Hermes, Geber, the *Turba Philosophorum*, Roger Bacon, Salomon Trisomosin, Morienus, Paracelsus, Basil Valentine, Michael Sendivogius, Michael Mayer (sic), the *Theatrum Chymicum* and, most importantly, the "Word of God."⁷³ Subsequently, he also refers to Agrippa's *Occulta Philosophia* by name, as well as Ficino.⁷⁴ Towards the end of the text, he describes some of the contents of Maier's *Atalanta Fugiens*, referring in detail to "flying Atalanta" and "Hippomenes." He also recalls Paracelsus *Aurora Philosophorum* and Basil Valentine's vitriol.⁷⁵

Paracelsian alchemists such as Fludd and Franckenberg were the spiritual descendants of the radical Spirituals of the 1540s–1560s who had placed more importance on the Christ-essence in the individual soul, than on the historical Christ. It was the Holy Spirit that had created the "new man" of St. Paul, through the gift of a state of

oder Pulver schlecht Wasser/ und keine Artzney: Uber mit und in dem Geiste und Worte Gottes ist es eine Artzney. Dis ist/ wie obgedacht/ ein Tugend-reich Wasser/ oder Thauender Quall-bronn des Gottlichen Nebels und ein heilsamer Kraft-Balsam des verborgenen Lebens zu der Werjungung im Geiste der oberen Gebuhr: Der am Anfang auffden Wasseren schwebete: und dieselbigen/ wie der Engel das Wasser im Teiche Bethesda ze Jerusalem, mit seiner lebendigen Bewegung/ als ein Balsamischer Odem/ Nebel oder Broden erwarmete oder tingirte . . . Summa. Auff dem Worte und Geiste GOTTES quillet das Wasser des langen Lebens: in welchem da lieget die unaufhorliche Tinctur des Lichtes/ als das Eiwige HEIL, und die gesegnete Krafft und Artzney deer Sehlen und des Leibes . . . Das Sigel des lebendigen GOTTES . . . RUACH ELOHIM."

⁷¹ Abraham von Franckenberg, *Gemma Magica oder Magisches Edelgestein* (Amsterdam, 1688), 22, 26, 34, 55, 60, 63.

⁷² Franckenberg, *Gemma Magica* (1688), 92, 113, 118, 148.

⁷³ Franckenberg, *Gemma Magica* (1688), 155.

⁷⁴ Franckenberg, *Gemma Magica* (1688), 157.

⁷⁵ Franckenberg, *Gemma Magica* (1688), 158.

grace that would lead to the total identification of a human being with Christ. Paracelsian alchemists intended that this individual epiphany should be extended to include Nature herself, so that the whole cosmos could recover its original being in God. In order to achieve this, Fludd and Franckenberg took recourse to the Communion liturgy of the established Church, replicating it in their laboratories. They were confident that they could produce a substance that would be the physical equivalent of Christ's own Spirit in some unfathomable way, whose properties would heal all diseases of both body and soul.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION: CHANGE AND STASIS

The primary concern of medieval Christian eschatology concerned the issue of individual subjectivity and its constituent components, body and soul. Christian eschatology, in a similar fashion to its preceding Iranian and Judaic sources, insisted that human identity was irrevocably embedded within its physical body. Hence, if humanity was to resurrect in its entirety, then it had to be accompanied by its original material form. A purely spiritual resurrection on the pagan Greek model would not fulfil Christ's promise that by his own death and resurrection he had saved the faithful from eternal death.

In contrast, alchemical eschatology does not concur with orthodox Christian views concerning the maintenance of singular identity. The alchemical metaphor of digestion and the allegory of the death of the seed of gold in prime matter suggest, in fact, that most alchemists held an unorthodox position with regard to Christian concerns over the maintenance of individual identity after death. (In the *Atalanta Fugiens* Maier had described himself as a cook at the "golden table.")¹ The remaining traces of dynamic Stoic ontology within alchemical theory lead to the characterisation of change and process as being a positive aspect of Nature, rather than a threat to human survival.²

In his study of a related issue involving the artificial products of both artists and alchemists, Newman has analysed the medieval and Renaissance scholastic debate concerning the rightful role of "art" vis-a-vis "nature." This had been defined by Aristotle (*Physics* II 1 192b8–14).³

¹ Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix* (2003), 142–43.

² For the Stoic inheritance see D. R. Olroyd, "Some Neo-platonic and Stoic influences in mineralogy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," *Ambix*, 21 (1974): 128 ff. An important paper in this context is also Walter Pagel and Marianne Winder, "The Higher Elements and Prime Matter in Renaissance Naturalism and in Paracelsus," *Ambix*, 21 (1974), 93 ff.

³ William R. Newman, *Promethean Ambitions. Alchemy and the Quest to Perfect Nature* (2004), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 73.

... Aristotle's conception [of art] ... insisted on the distinction between real material change and superficial *mimesis*. From an Aristotelian perspective, it is one thing to improve upon nature, and quite another to improve nature itself.⁴

... unlike architects, sculptors, and painters, who only effected superficial and illusory mutation, the alchemists insisted that their art could impart the Aristotelian principle of change and stasis to the deep structure of matter.⁵

According to Newman, the alchemists based their theory of transmutation on the model of Aristotelian physics, specifically on the fourth book of the *Metereology*, in which Aristotle had adopted culinary terms, such as “boiling” and “roasting” to describe natural phenomena. He had argued that, since art imitated nature, therefore it followed that art could perfect nature by transposing natural processes to an artificial situation.⁶ Aristotle had a positive regard for the changes resulting from growth and decay, since these acted to perfect material creation so that it could manifest the pure Form imprinted by the First Cause, or by its artisan imitator.

Thus the revival of Aristotelian natural philosophy at the universities of Padua, Bologna, Paris and Oxford⁷ in the thirteenth century encouraged the alchemists to conceive a dynamic vision of the universe. There are frequent allusions to Aristotle in alchemical manuscripts and a fine full-page “portrait” appears in the Paduan alchemical miscellany MS Florence Medicea-Laurenziana 1166 (folio 15v). In this manuscript he is standing opposite the figure of the dead Adam on the next folio (16r) (fig. 6) and he indicates the corpse with his finger, stating that it is the answer to all questions concerning alchemy. In other words, it is necessary to reduce the primal substance to its elemental components, as signified by the primordial figure of Adam who had been made from the first materials created by God. Once reduced to its most basic components, it was then possible to imprint a new Form onto prime matter, thereby changing its essential nature to that of a completely new identity. This was the secret of alchemy. The alchemist killed the

⁴ Newman, *Promethean Ambitions* (2004), 18.

⁵ Newman, *Promethean Ambitions* (2004), 113.

⁶ Newman, *Promethean Ambitions* (2004), 18–19.

⁷ Gordon Leff, *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New York: 1968). See also Nancy G. Siraisi, *Arts and Sciences in the Studium of Padua in the Thirteenth and first half of the Fourteenth Century* (Ann Arbor/New York, 1970).

“old man” and produced the “Filius philosophorum,” the miraculous stone from his dead remains. The resurrected form was not merely the “old man” made new, but rather it was a totally different body and soul.

In contrast to the Aristotelians, Platonists regarded change and process as corrupting forces. Consequently, Plato had distrusted the imitative aspect of art since this served to reinforce the false ontological status of matter which had no reality but was merely an imperfect reflection of pure Idea. Nature changed; Idea did not. In line with this position, Renaissance neo-platonists continued to insist on the pre-eminence of Idea over physicality. Ficino, for example, in his *Theologica Platonica de immortalitate animorum* (1482) argued that the soul always sought a condition of stasis. Nature being mobile was imperfect, since movement was the cause of corruption. The rational soul, on the other hand, was immobile in its substance, mobile in its operation and in its essential virtue was partly mobile and partly immobile. The human soul, thus, was a medium between higher Intellectual and lower animal realms.⁸

Against Plato, Aristotle had defended the products of nature in his insistence that natural objects have an innate principle of movement as an intentional and positive aspect of reality. In fact, Aristotle further reinforced his affirmation of change as an indispensable factor in the structure of creation by making a crucial distinction between natural and artificial products. He pointed out that only natural objects are able to propagate their own kind (*Physics* II 1 192b9–19). Artificial objects are bound in the condition of stasis and cannot reproduce themselves.⁹ They lack a principle of development and, thus, of self-improvement. This argument, at first, seems to deny the perfective aim of alchemical transmutation. Newman, however, argues that Aristotle’s division between artificial and natural was less absolute, for he proceeded to make another distinction between the arts that imitate nature without altering it (such as the arts of dyeing materials in various colours) and those arts that use natural processes to complete and perfect nature (such as alchemy).¹⁰

⁸ Marsilio Ficino, *Platonic Theology* (Michael J. B. Allen transl.; James Hankins, ed.), The I Tatti Renaissance Library/Harvard University Press: Cambridge Mass./London, 2005, Book 1; Ch. 4, 55–59.

⁹ Newman, *Promethean Ambitions* (2004), 16.

¹⁰ Newman, *Promethean Ambitions* (2004), 17.

Extending their thinking far beyond the scholastic principles of medieval alchemy, the Paracelsians developed a radical theology concerning the process of alchemical transmutation. In the resurrected philosopher's stone they perceived more than purified Aristotelian Form, for they came to regard the alchemical processes of fertility, death and resurrection in Christian terms, resulting in the production of a type of spiritualised matter, a "body glorious." Paracelsians considered the philosopher's stone to be the soul materialised in a super-rarefied substance in the same manner as Christ had materialised himself in the human body.

Late sixteenth-century alchemy retained at its core the Catholic dogma of the Eucharist, despite its rejection by Protestant reformers. The rite of Communion was regarded as a sacrifice, the same as Christ's original sacrifice, but one transposed out of historical time into the sacred space of eternity. The Paracelsian alchemist regarded himself as performing the same rituals in his laboratory work, thereby purifying matter in a simulation of the torments of Christ and of the souls in Purgatory in preparation for the day of Judgement. The only action that could ever make the flesh worthy of entering heaven, according to Catholic doctrine, was the eating of God. Through the act of Holy Communion, Christ and humanity became one substance, a pre-figuration of the body made divine at the Resurrection of the Dead. Christ's torment in the sacrificial rite was the means whereby the human body could be liberated from its corruption. On the model of Christ, the bodies of his followers became objects of martyrdom, a purgative process in the course of which physical substance became Christ-like, capable of eternal life. The body was not worthless, though torture was an essential precondition of its salvation.

In the early Christian era the earliest resurrection narrative had been created by Paul in his account of the seed which must die in the earth so that a new plant could arise. His view was never popular since it implied that the resurrected entity was different from that which had died. This theory was abandoned in favour of the notion of physical reconstitution. The issue was bitterly disputed throughout the Middle Ages, emerging as a distinctive theological doctrine in the mid-sixteenth century in Schwenckfeld's Pauline-based analysis of Christ's two physical bodies, that into which he had incarnated and that of the risen body in which he had ascended into heaven. The alchemists, like Schwenckfeld, continued to use Paul's

metaphor of the seed against the current of the accepted theological discourse of their day.

Alchemical allegory was composed of images involving the death of two beings, male and female, that were purged of their impurities and eventually raised again to life in the form of a totally different singularity, a miraculous entity that was the Microcosmic Christ, both material and spiritual in their essence. The philosopher's stone transcended death and brought heaven itself down to earth. It was the alchemical equivalent of the New Jerusalem, a talisman against the disease and corruption of a dark and uncertain world.

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2. Robert Vaughan, "Christ in Glory" in Elias Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (London: G. Grismond, 1652). With the permission of the British Library, London.



3. Christ in Glory, Heinrich Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (Hamburg, 1595; Hanau, 1609). With the permission of the British Library, London.



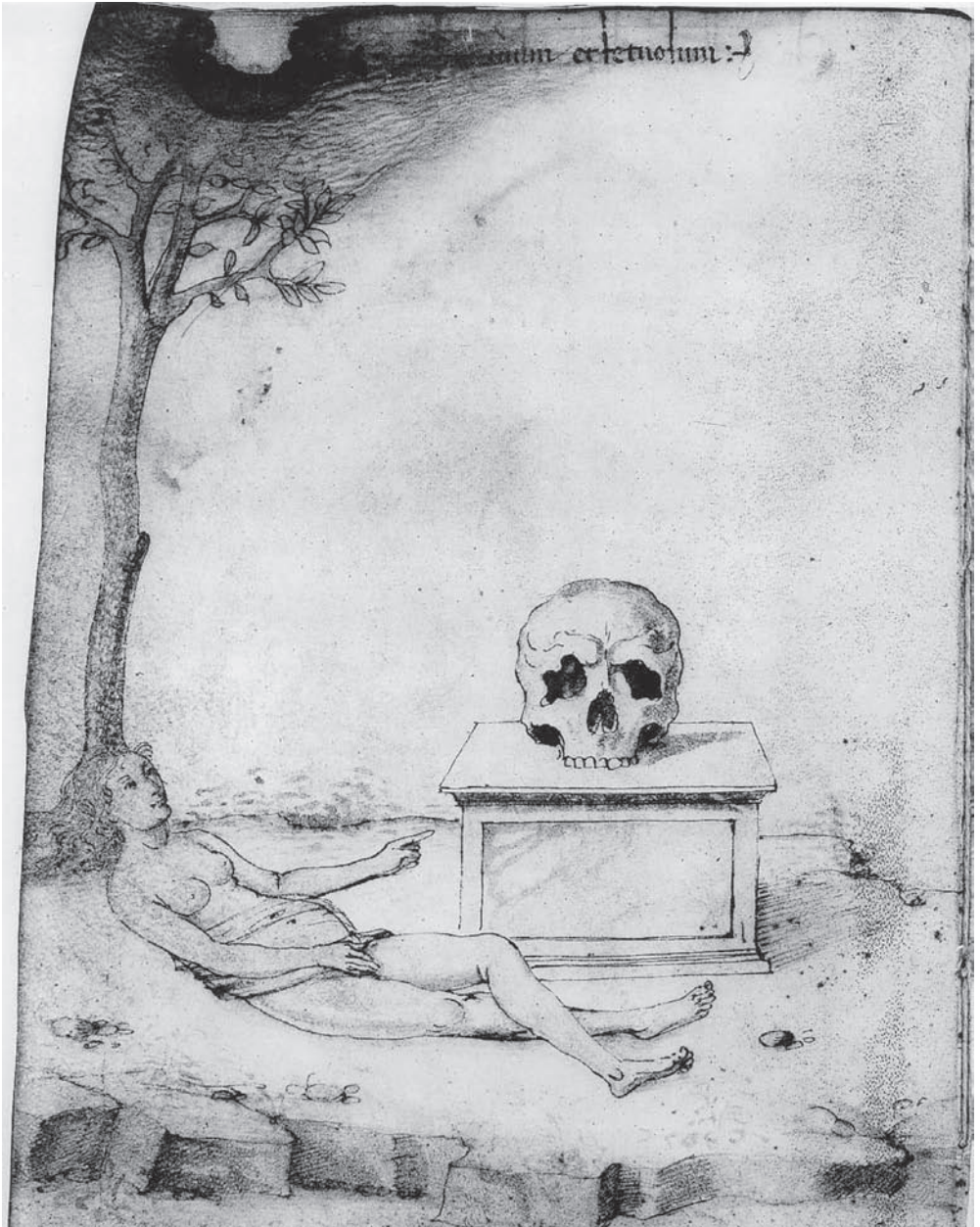
4. Christ as the philosopher's stone, "Rosarium Philosophotum" in *De Alchimia Opuscula* (Frankfurt, 1550), reprinted in *Artis Auriferae* (Basel, 1593). Another copy in *Theatrum chemicum*, 5 (Strassburg: Heredium Eberhard Zetzner, 1622), 191. With the permission of the British Library, London.



5. Pan as the philosopher's stone, MS Florence Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana 1166, *Miscellanea d'Alchimia* (folio 18r) (ca. 1470). With the permission of the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana.



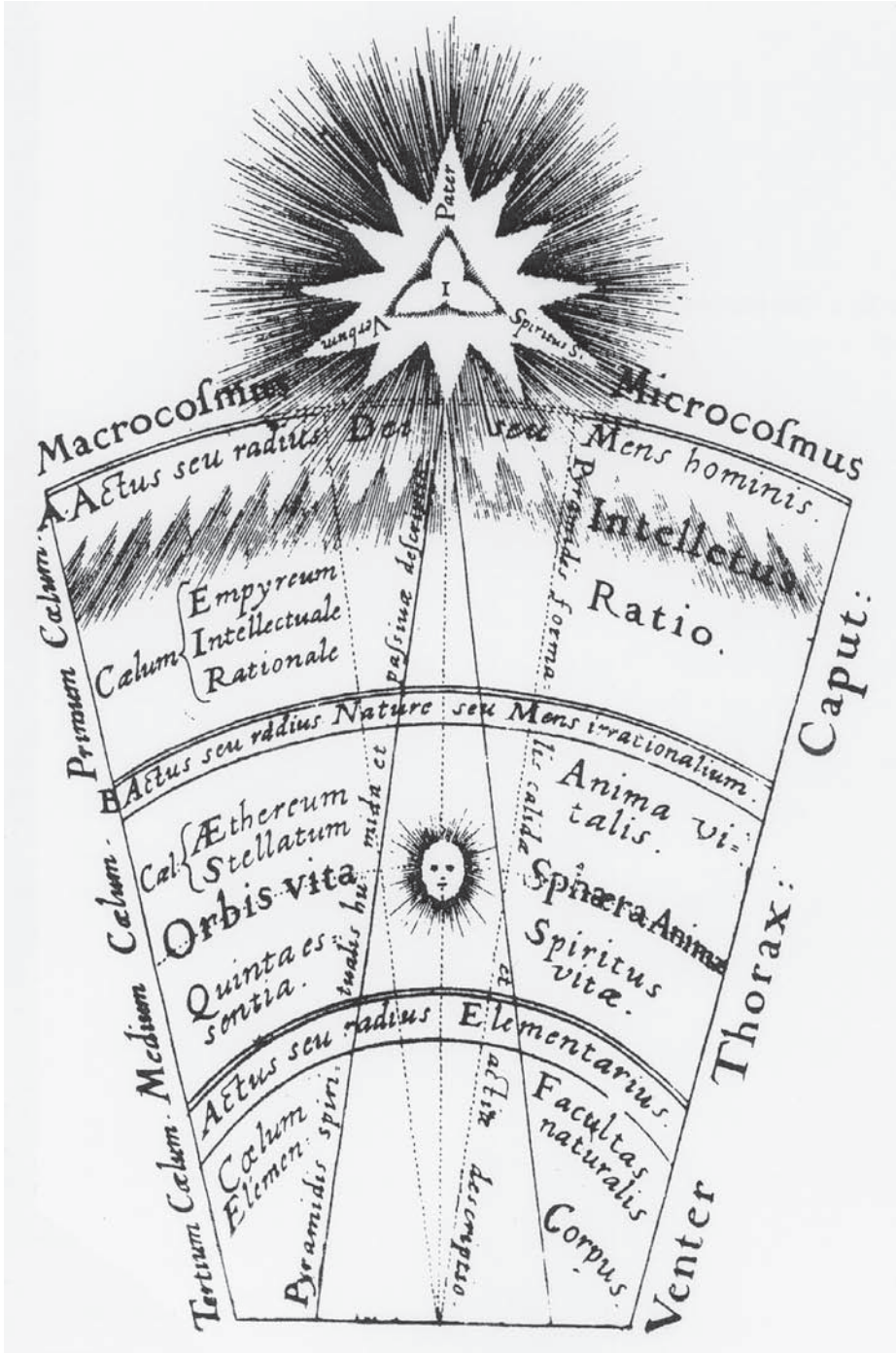
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7. Dying woman ("Eve") and skull, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana 1166, *Miscellanea d'Alchimia* (folio 17v) (ca. 1470). With the permission of the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana.



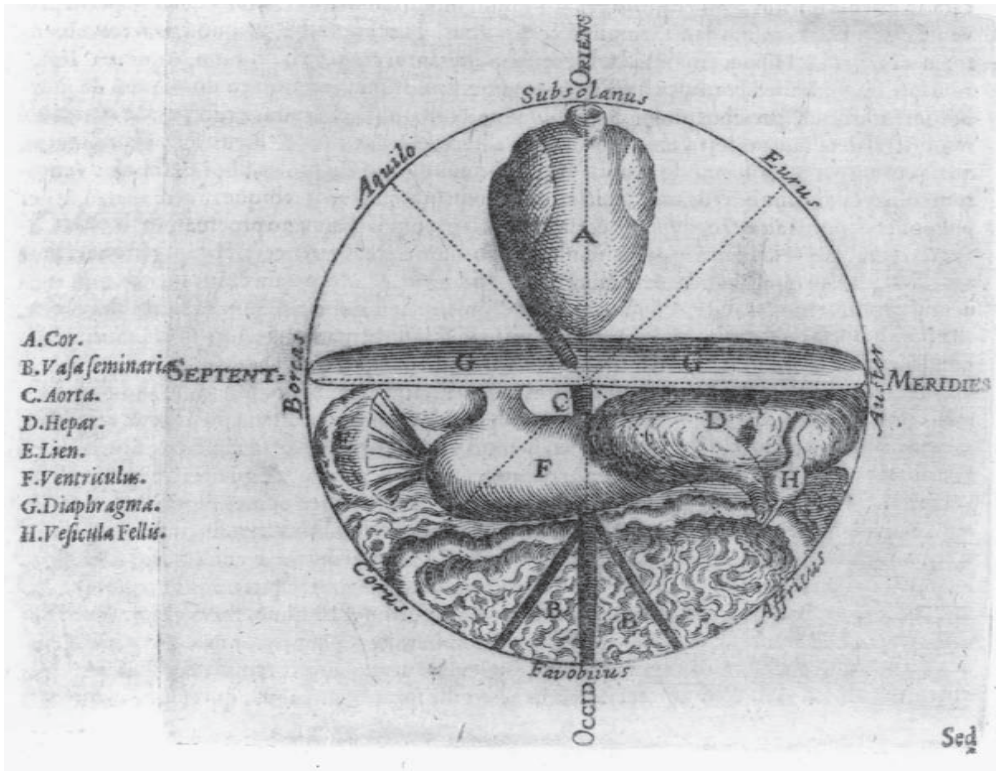
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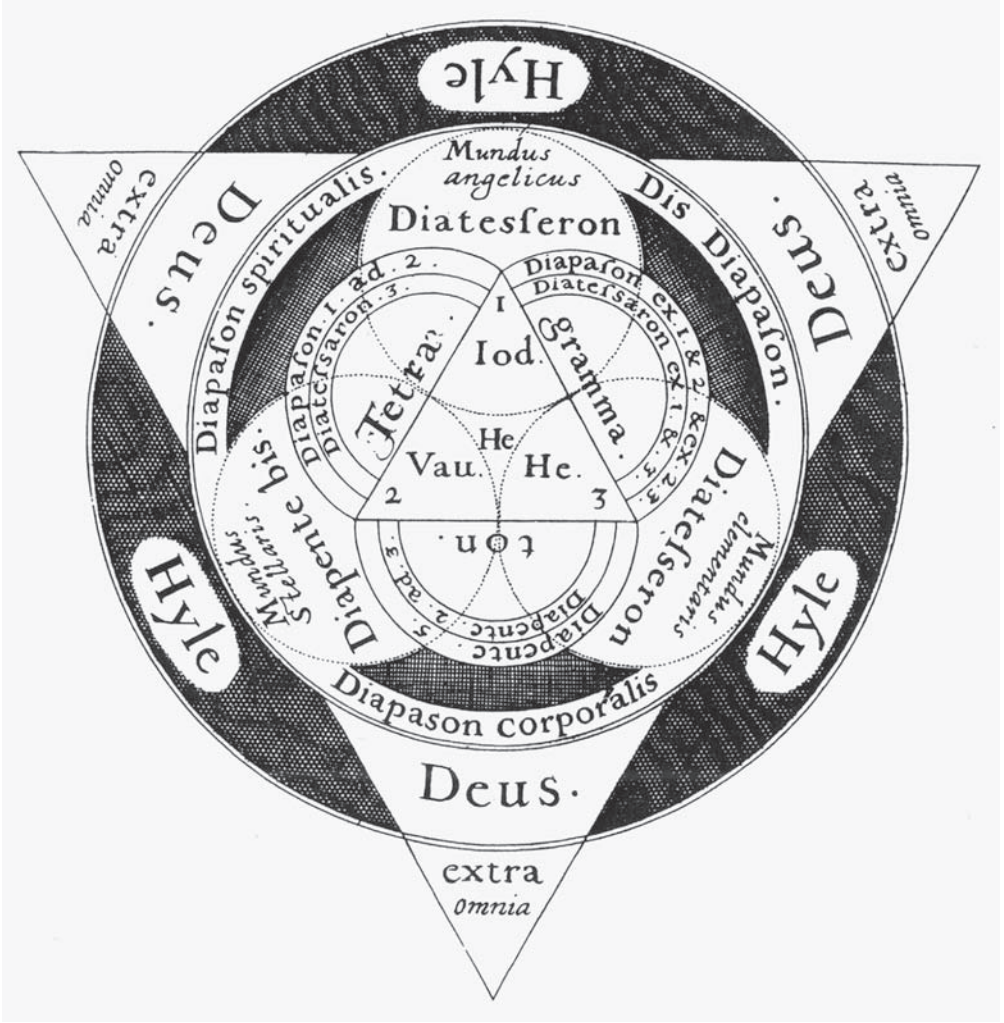
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10. Diagram of the Divine, Cosmic and Human Minds, "Macrocosm," *Utriusque Cosmi Historia* (Oppenheim: J. T. de Bry, 1617), 217. With the permission of the British Library, London.



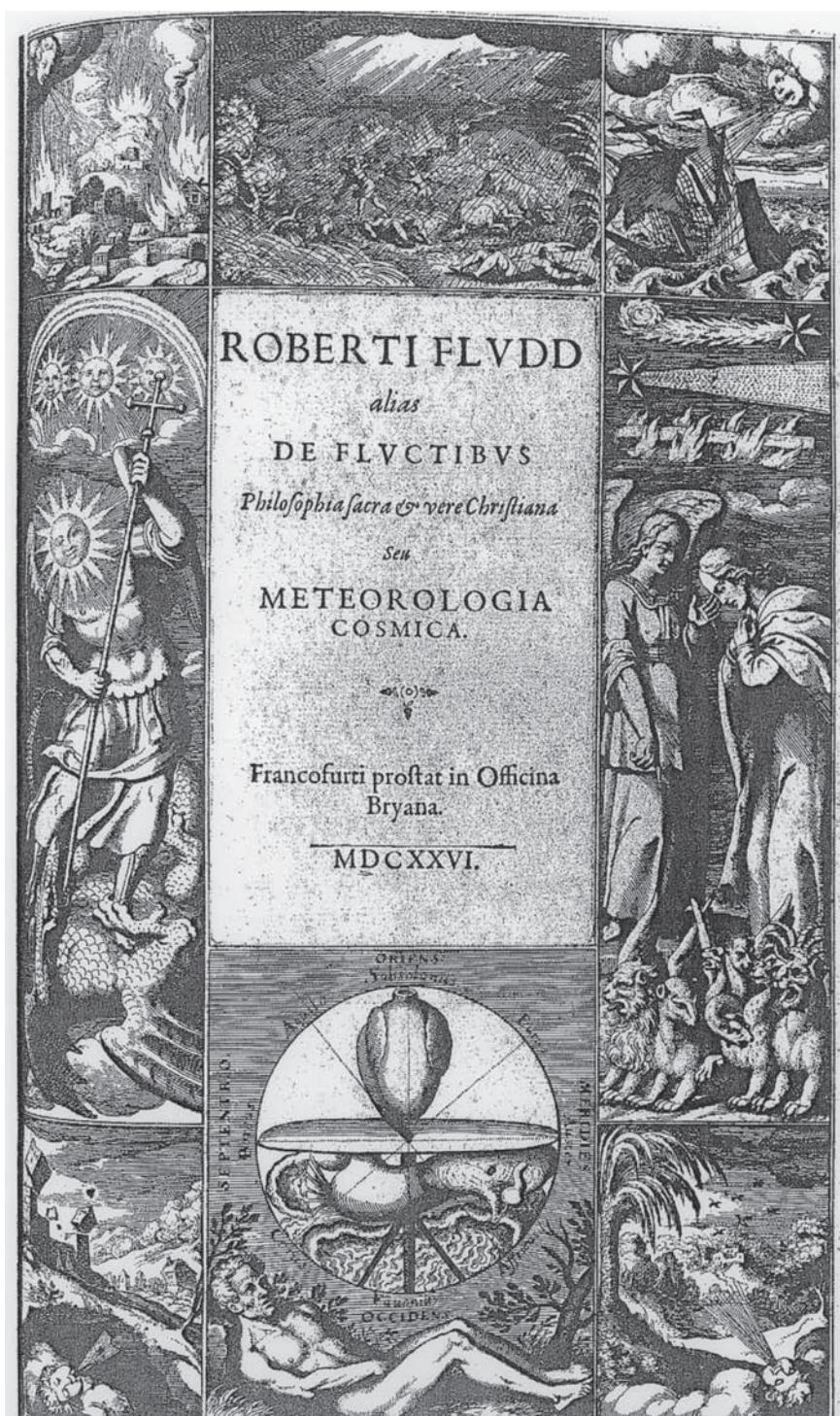
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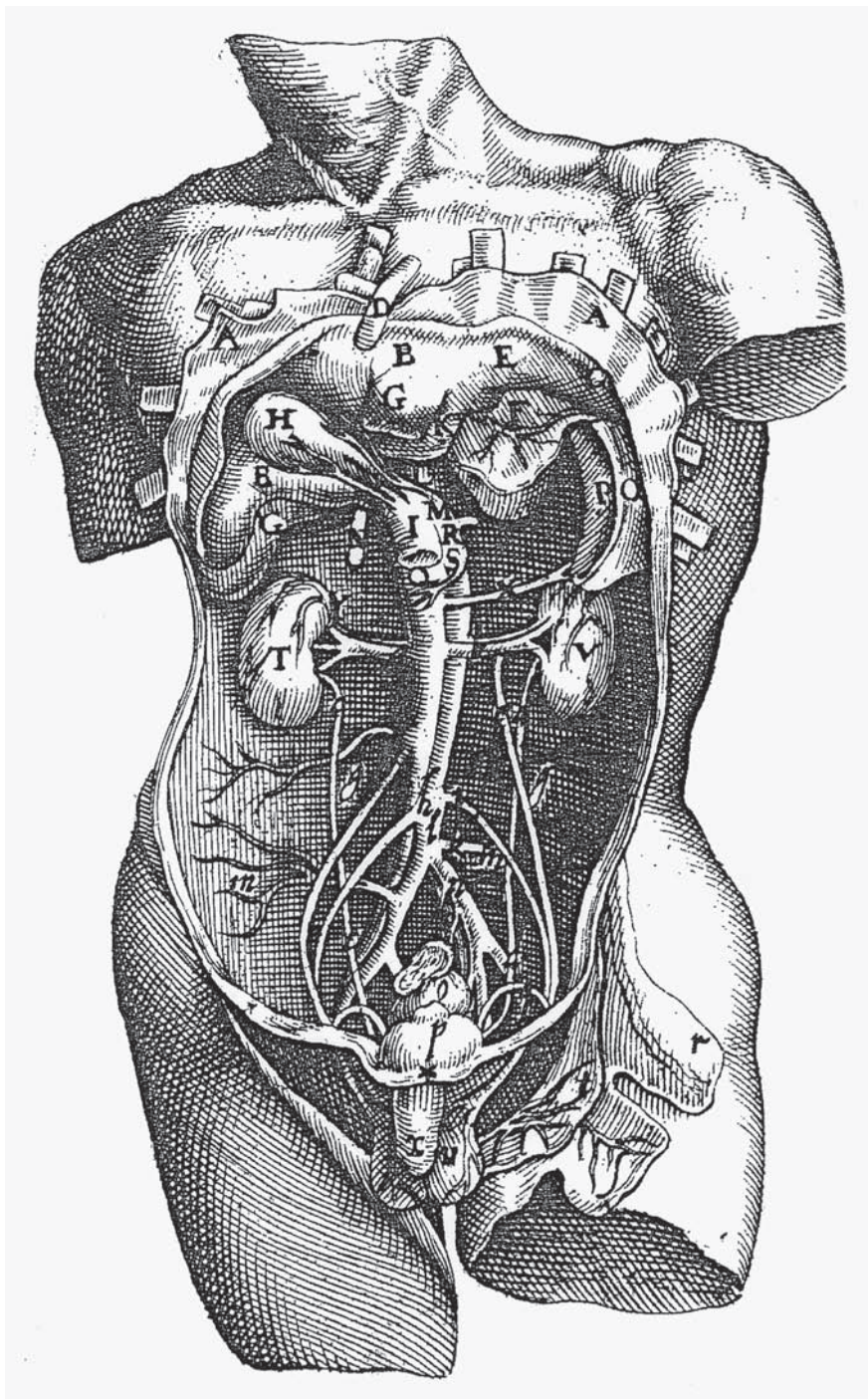
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13. Title-page, Robert Fludd, "Microcosm," 1, *Utriusque Cosmi... Historia* (Oppenheim: J. T. de Bry, 1619). With the permission of the British Library, London.



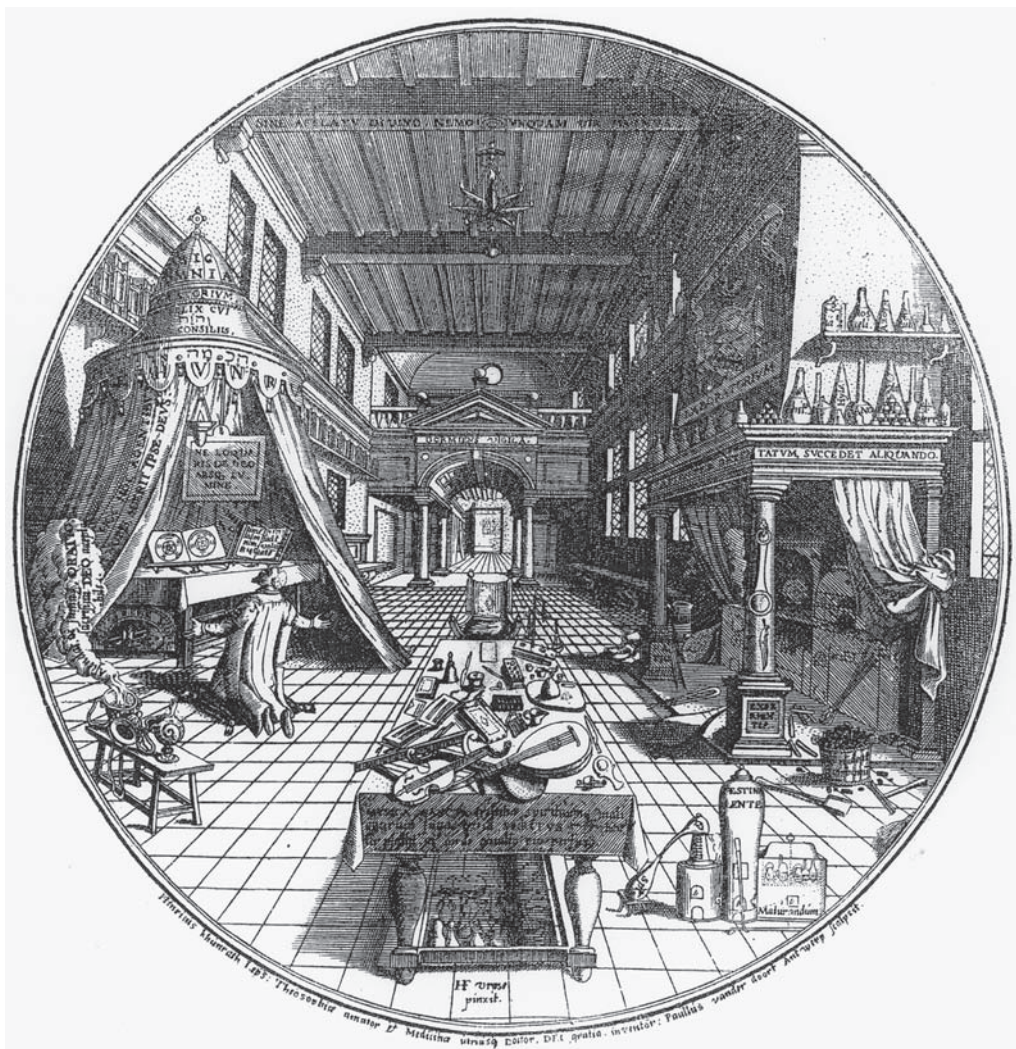
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15. Dissected torso, Robert Fludd, *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum Effigie Triplici* (Frankfurt: J. T. de Bry, 1623), 113. With the permission of the British Library, London.



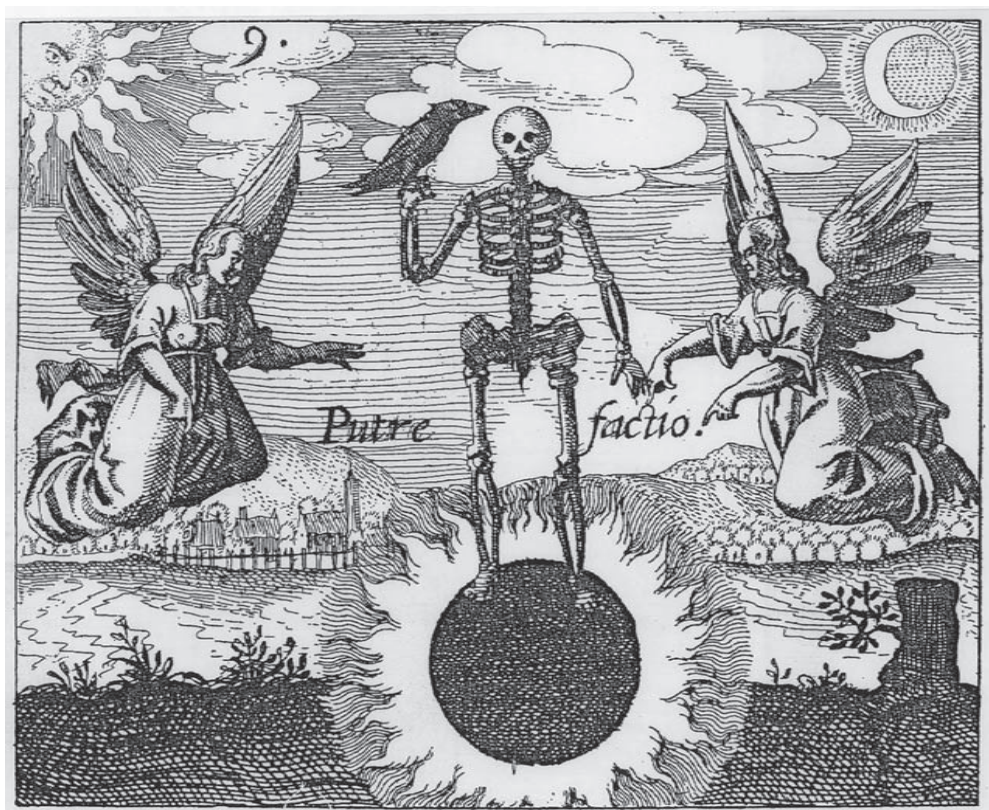
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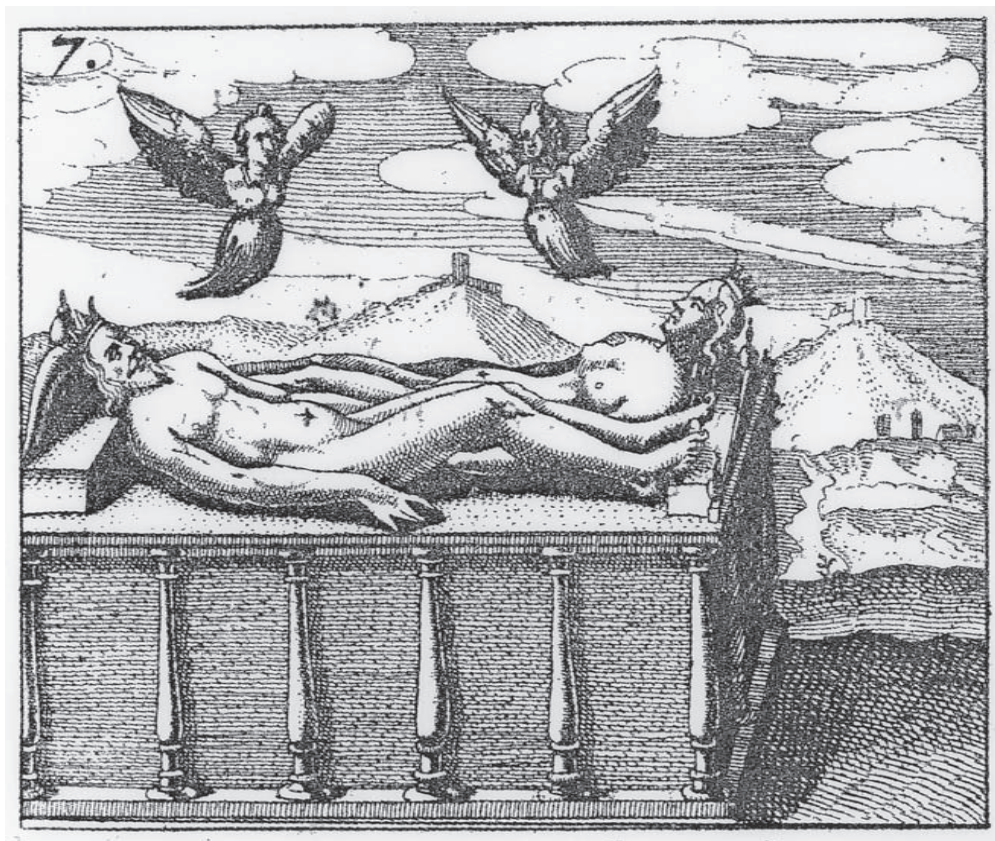
17. Alchemist at prayer, Heinrich Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (Hamburg, 1595; Hanau, 1609). With the permission of the British Library, London.



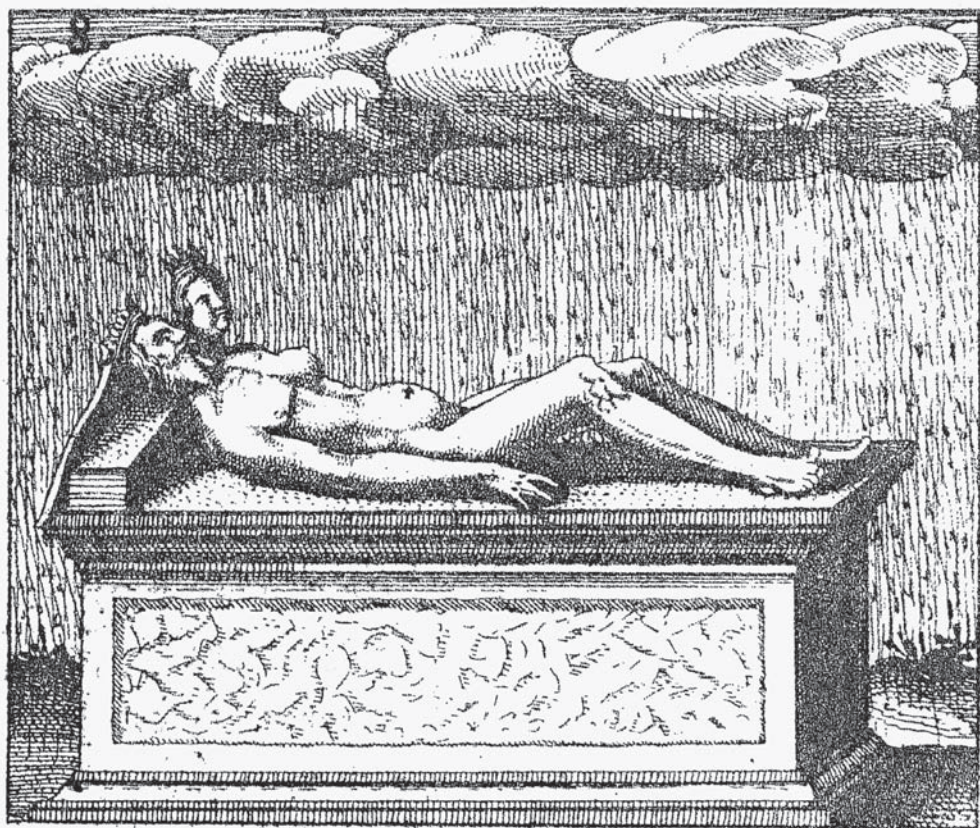
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19. Putrefaction, Johann Daniel Mylius, *Philosophia Reformata* (Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis, 1622), 117. With the permission of the British Library, London.



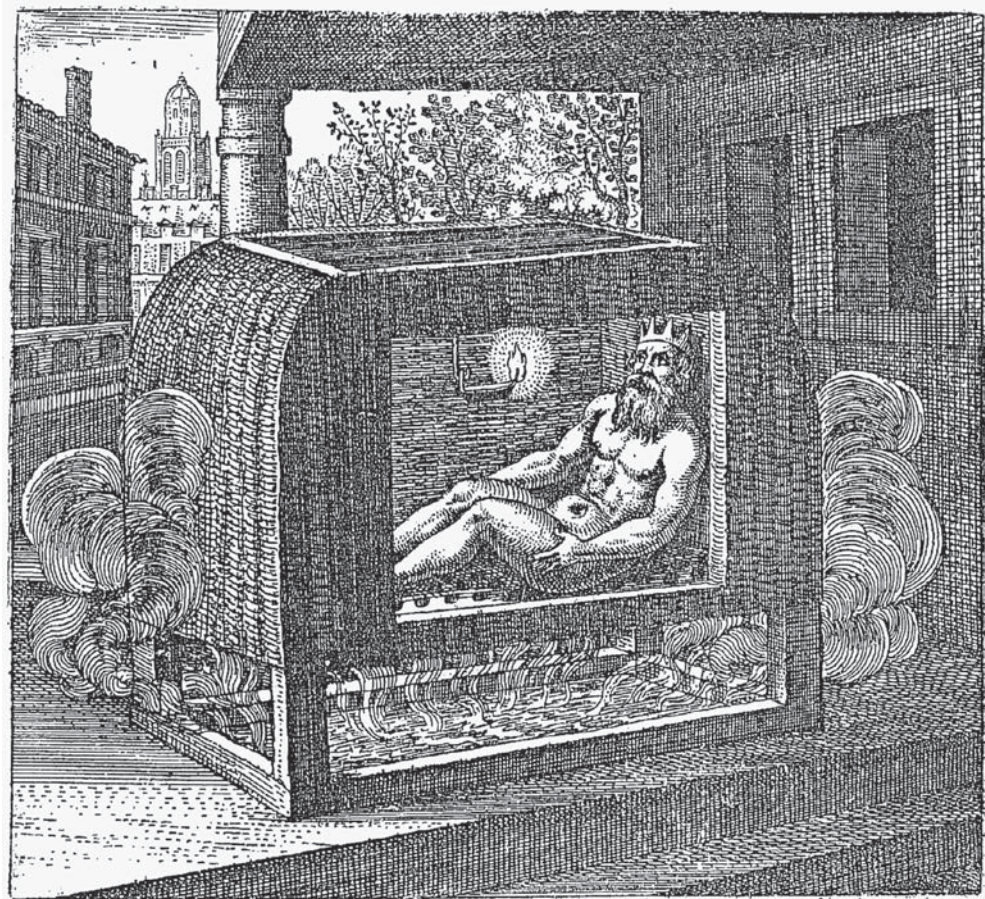
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21. Hermaphrodite lying on a sarcophagus with falling rain ("cibatio") in Johann Daniel Mylius, *Philosophia Reformata* (Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis, 1622), 243. With the permission of the British Library, London.



22. Emblem XXXV, Michael Maier, *Atalanta Fugiens* (Oppenheim: Lucas Jennis, 1617; 1618).
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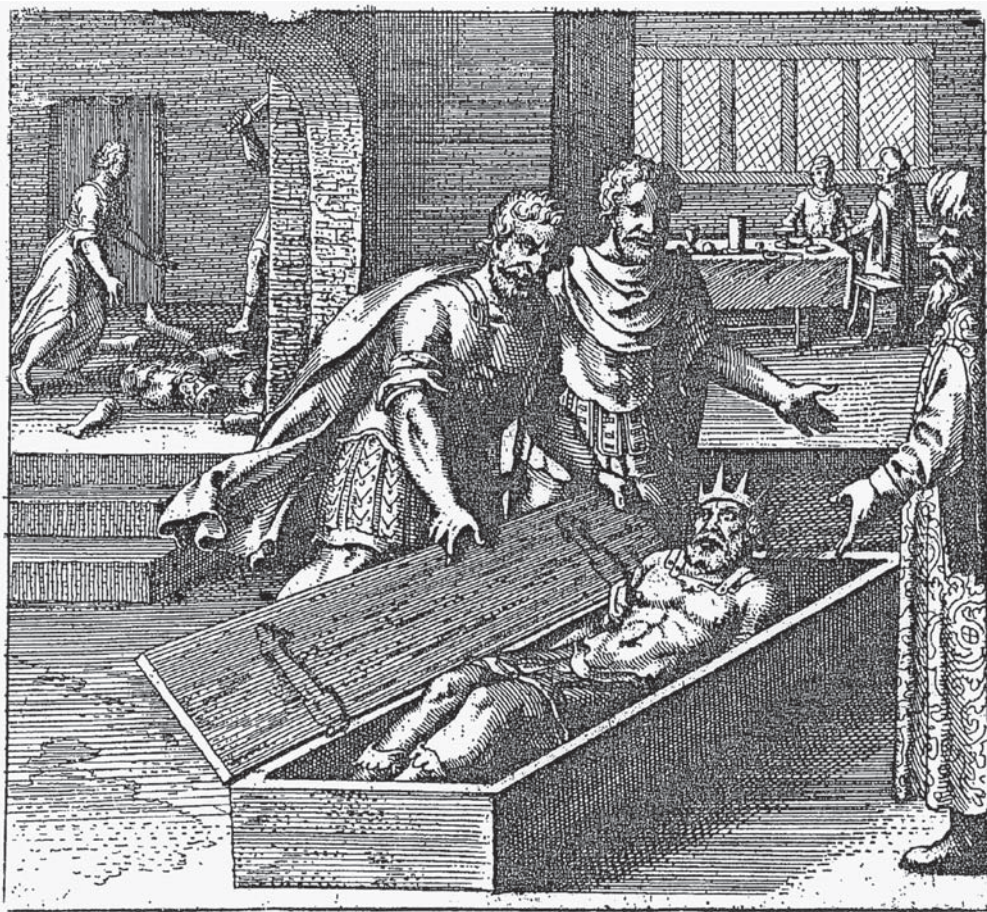
23. Emblem XXVIII, Michael Maier, *Atalanta Fugiens* (Oppenheim: Lucas Jennis, 1617; 1618).
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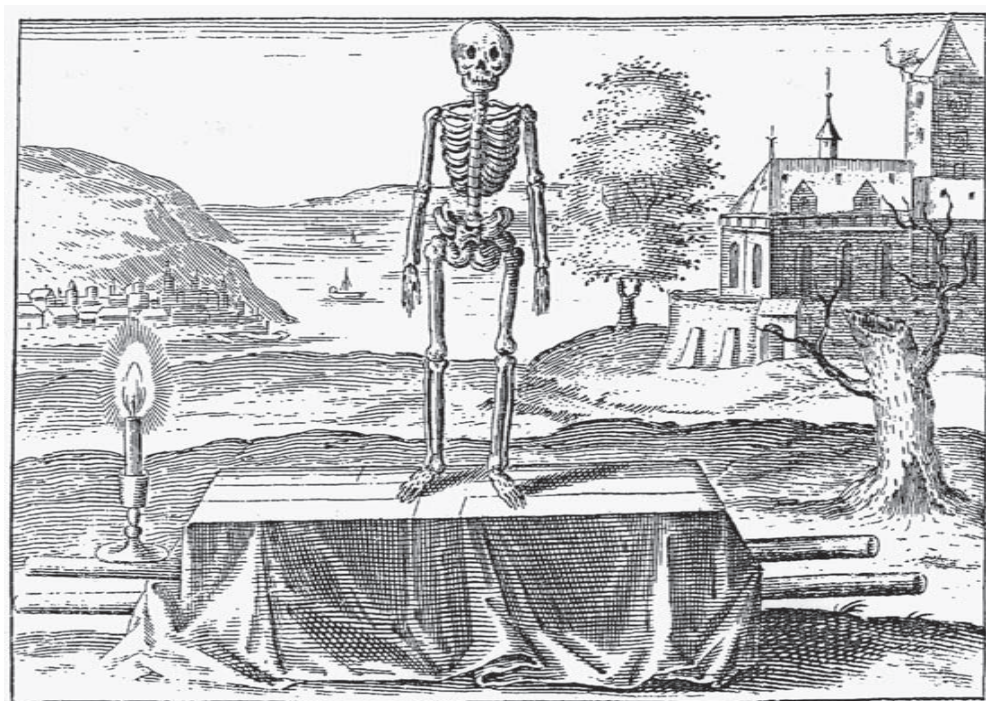
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25. Emblem XXIV, Michael Maier, *Atalanta Fugiens* (Oppenheim: Lucas Jennis, 1617; 1618).
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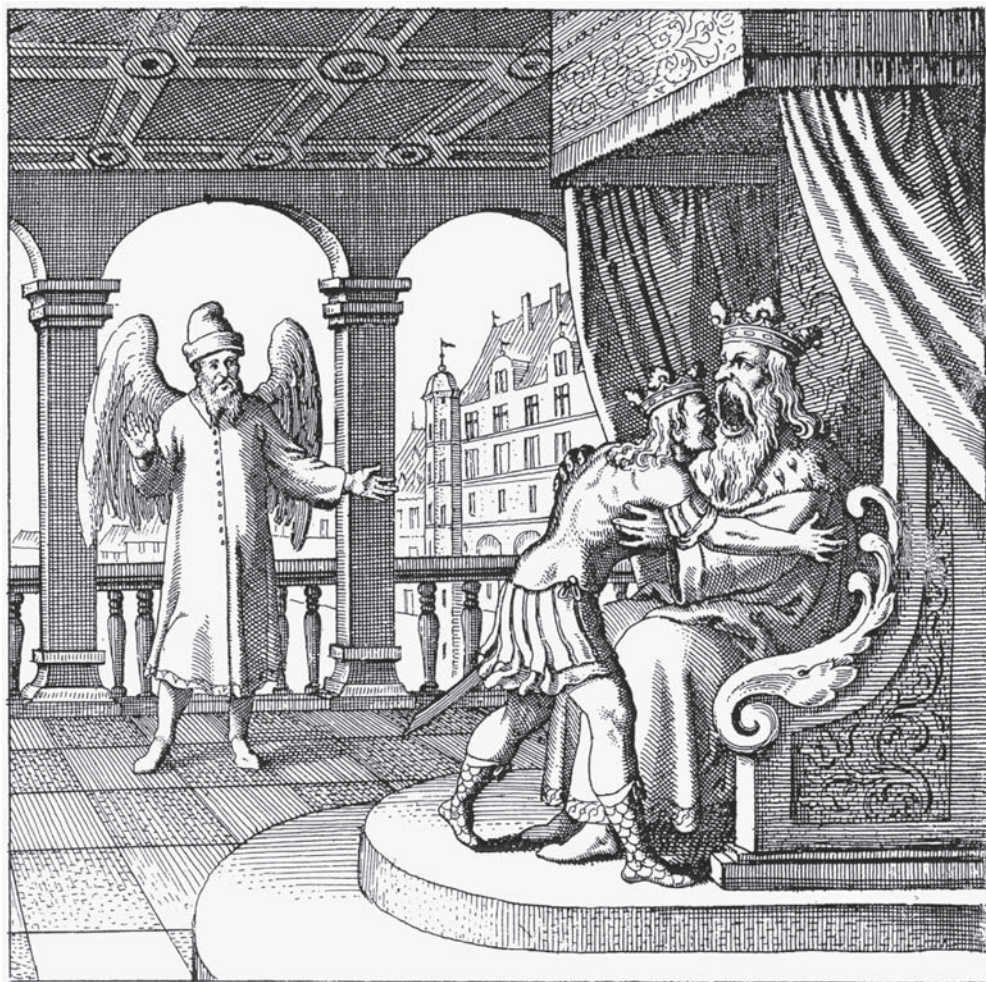
26. Emblem XLIV, Michael Maier, *Atalanta Fugiens* (Oppenheim: Lucas Jennis, 1617; 1618).
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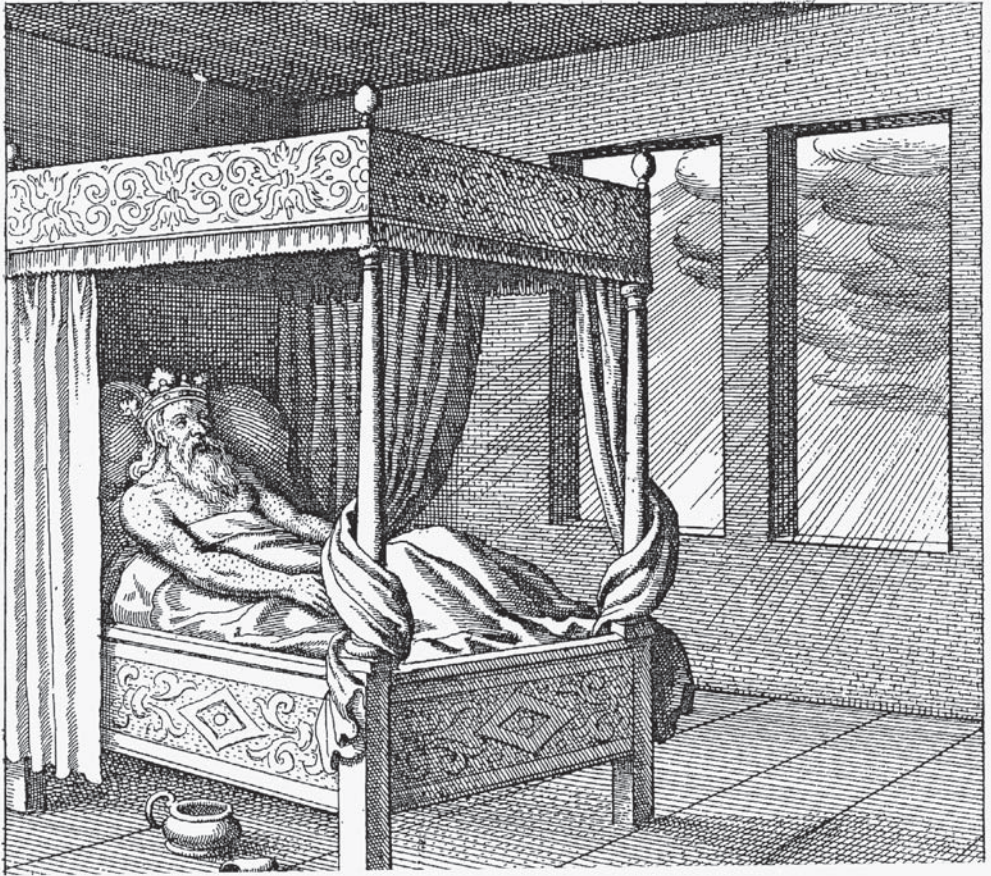
27. Fourth Key of Basil Valentine, “Duedecim claves” [in:] *Musaeum Hermeticum Reformatum* Frankfurt, 1678), 400. With the permission of the British Library, London.



28. Saturn devouring his offspring, in *De Alchimia*, MS Leiden Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Cod. Voss. Chem. f29, folio 73 (16th Century). With the permission of the Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden.



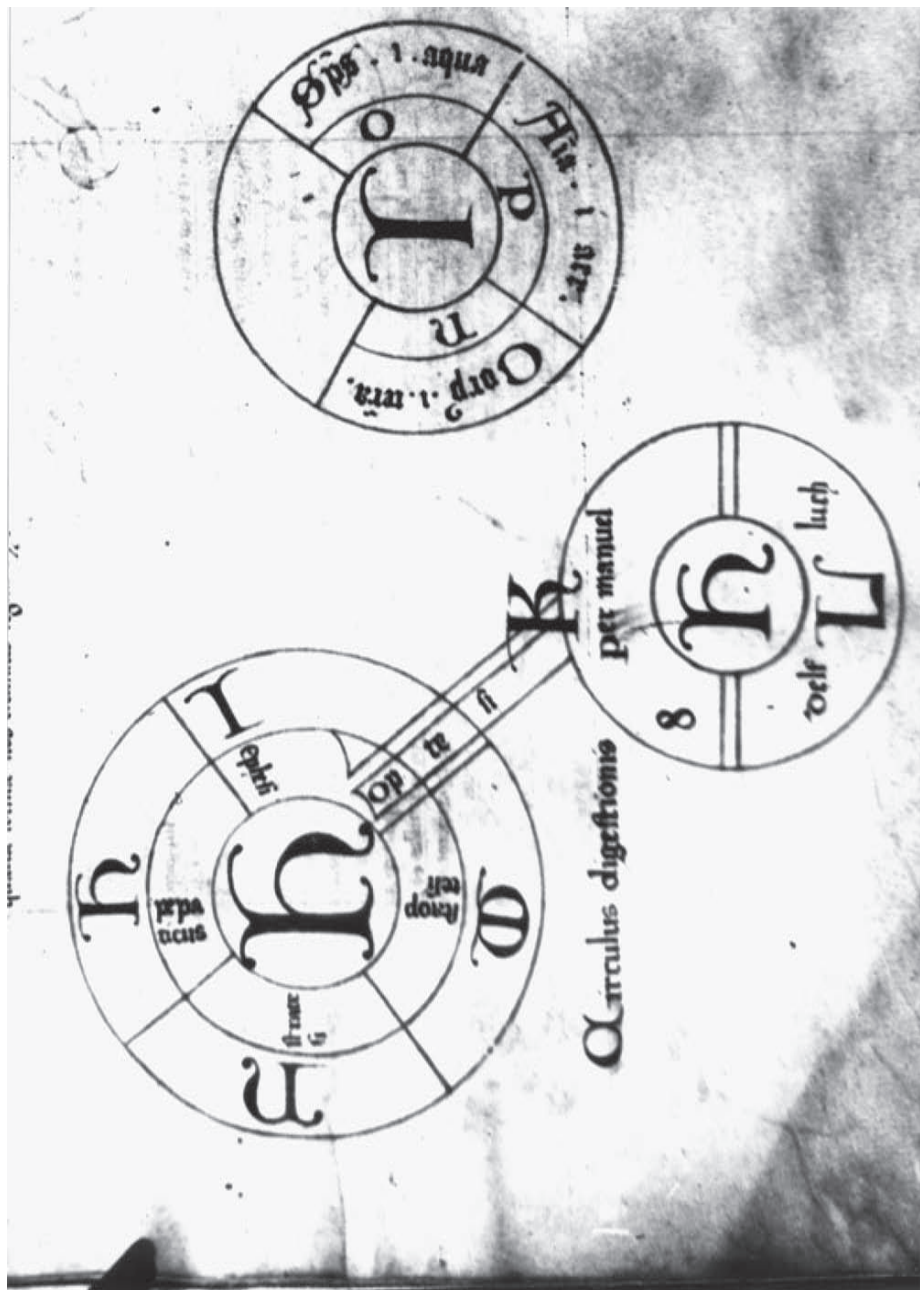
29. The Father devours the Son, "Decimatertia figura," Lambsprinck, *De lapide philosophico...* [in:] *Musaeum Hermeticum Reformatum* Frankfurt, 1678), 367. With the permission of the British Library, London.



30. "Decimaquarta figura," Lambsprinck, *De lapide philosophico...* [in:] *Musaeum Hermeticum Reformatum* Frankfurt, 1678), 369. With the permission of the British Library, London.



31. "Decimaquarta figura," Lambsprinck, *De lapide philosophico...* [in:] *Musaeum Hermeticum Reformatum* Frankfurt, 1678), 371. With the permission of the British Library, London.



32. "Circulus digestionis," Pseudo-Lull, *Opera Chemica*, MS Florence Biblioteca Nazionale-Centrale, II, iii, 27, folio 25r (1472). With the permission of the Biblioteca Nazionale-Centrale, Florence.



33. The sowing of the seed of gold with an angel announcing the Last Judgement, Johann Daniel Mylius, *Philosophia Reformata* (1622), reprint with new illustrations in *Musaeum Hermeticum Reformatum* Frankfurt, 1678), 409. With the permission of the British Library, London.

Nemo mittens manum ad aratrum & aspiciens retro verus est philosophus,
 sed qui arat terram inter nullo lapides postea ipsam irrigat Inveritatis aquis,
 quoniam terra non fructificat absque frequenti irrigatione.

Huius Hermetis

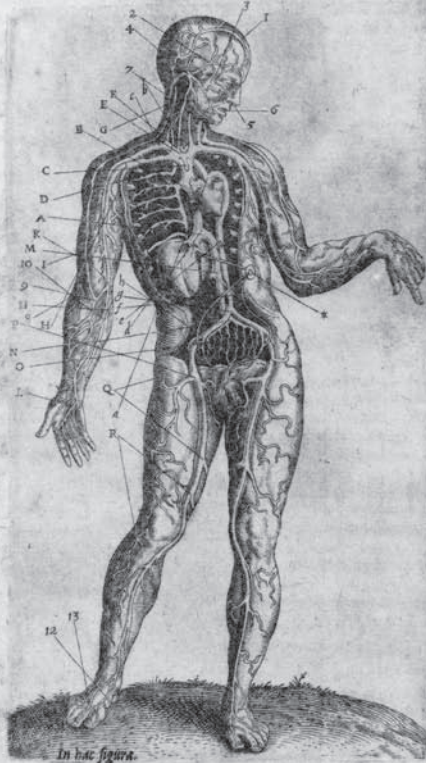


34. Hermes ploughs the seeds of gold into the prime matter, *Alchemical Miscellany*, London British Library Sloane 1316, folio 6r (early 17th century). With the permission of the British Library, London.



35. Alchemical processes of distillation and digestion, Johann Daniel Mylius, *Philosophia Reformata* (Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis, 1622). With the permission of the British Library, London.

TABVLA SEXTA a. EST ARTERIÆ MAGNÆ,
quæ etiam in venæ causâ descriptione delineatur, vti in
corpore reperitur.



In hac figura.

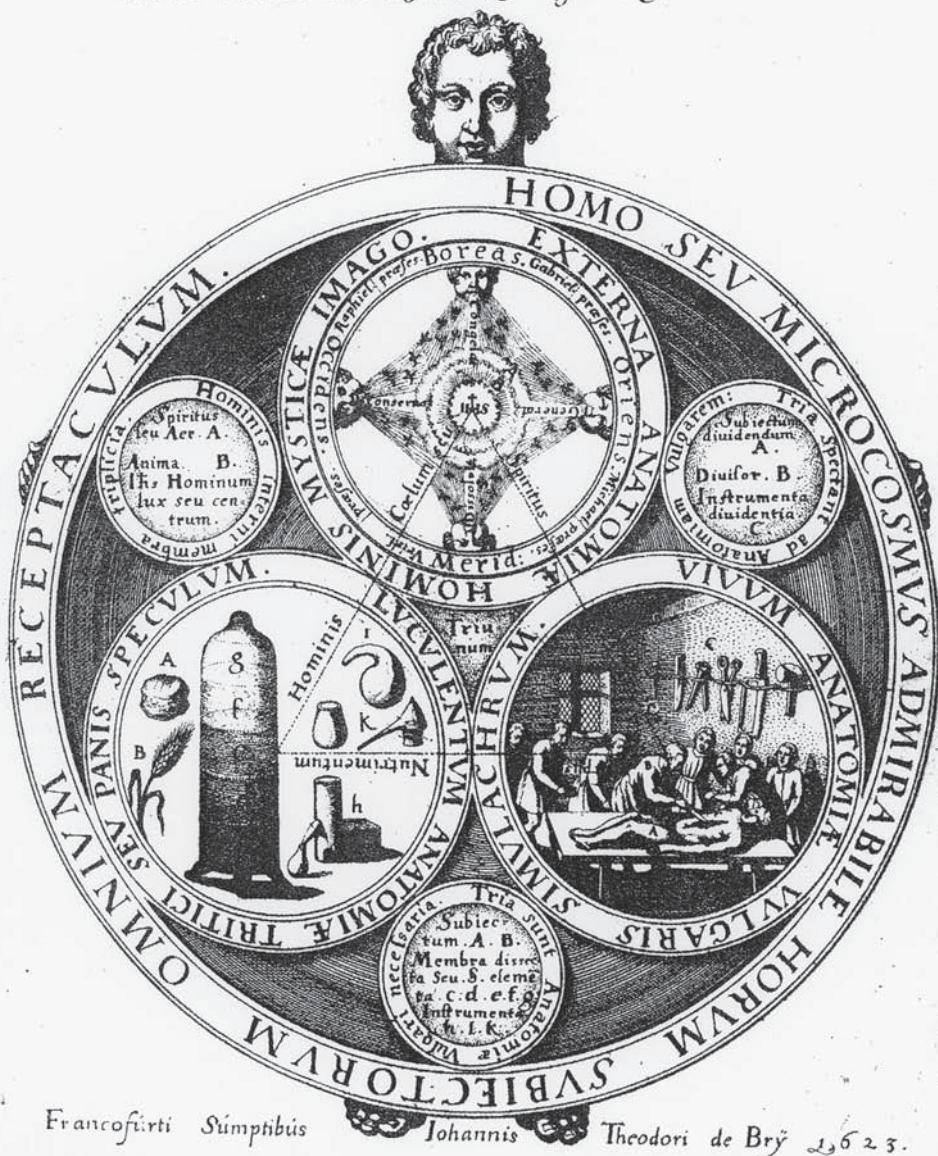
- a. Est initium trunci arteriæ magnæ in sinistro cordis sinu.
- b. Est diuisio illa magna, quæ fit in trunco ascendente.
- c. Est altera dictæ arteriæ diuisio, in ramulos tres.
- d. Est prima diuisio arteriæ magnæ descendens.
- e. Est altera diuisio dicti rami descendens, quæ facta est immediate sub diaphragmate.
- f. Arteris emulgens, quæ respondet venis emulgentibus.
- g. Maxima trunci arterialis descendens diuisio.
- h. Altera adhuc eiusdem diuisio minor, vbi ramus minor retrosum vehitur.

M

TABV-

ANATOMIÆ AMPHITHEA- TRVM EFFIGIE TRIPlici, MORE ET CONDITiONE VARIA, DESIGNATVM

Authore
Roberto Fludd. *alias de Fluctibus, Armigero & in Medicina D. Ox.*



Francfurti Sumpibus

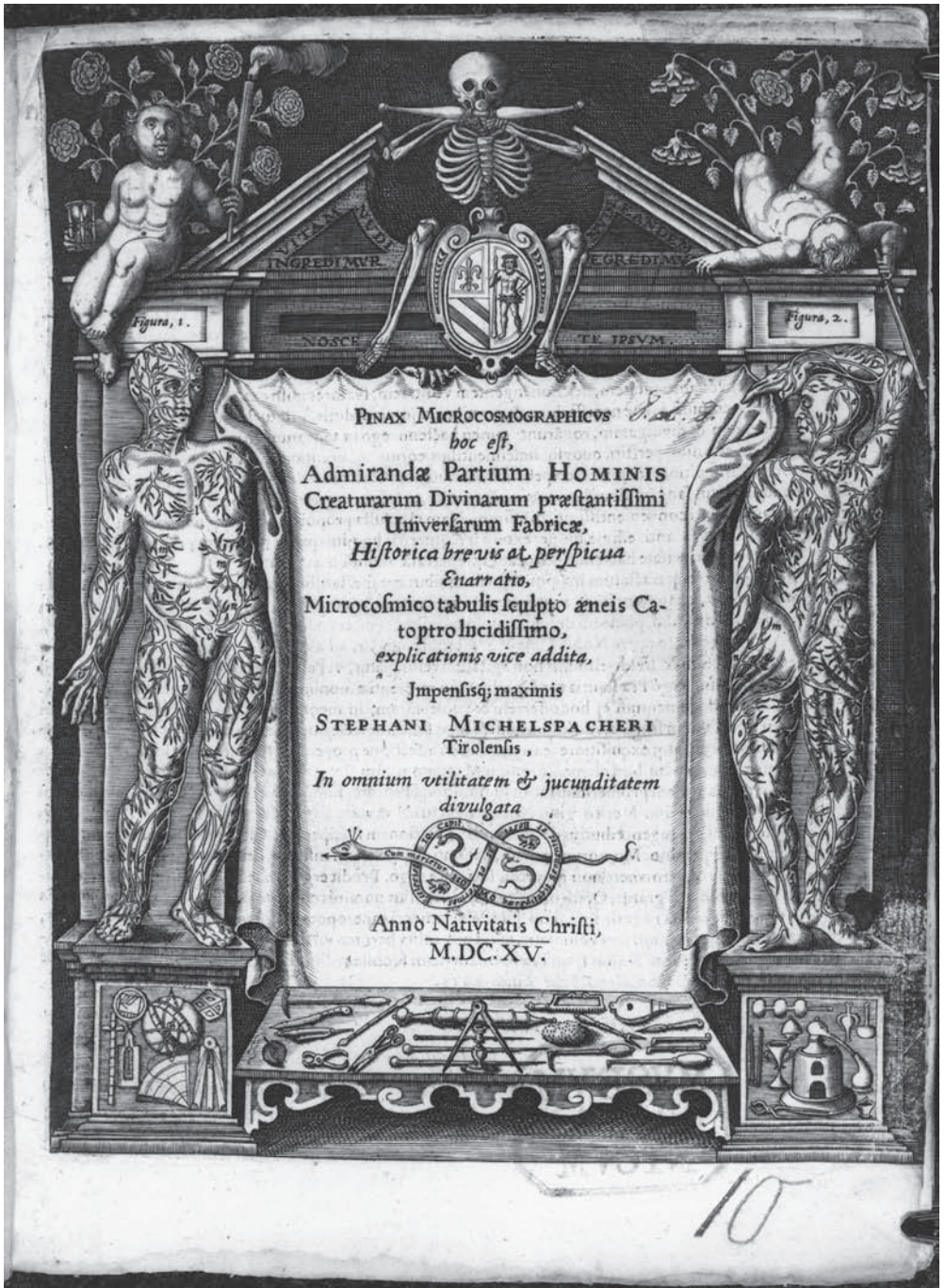
Johannis

Theodori de Bry 1623.

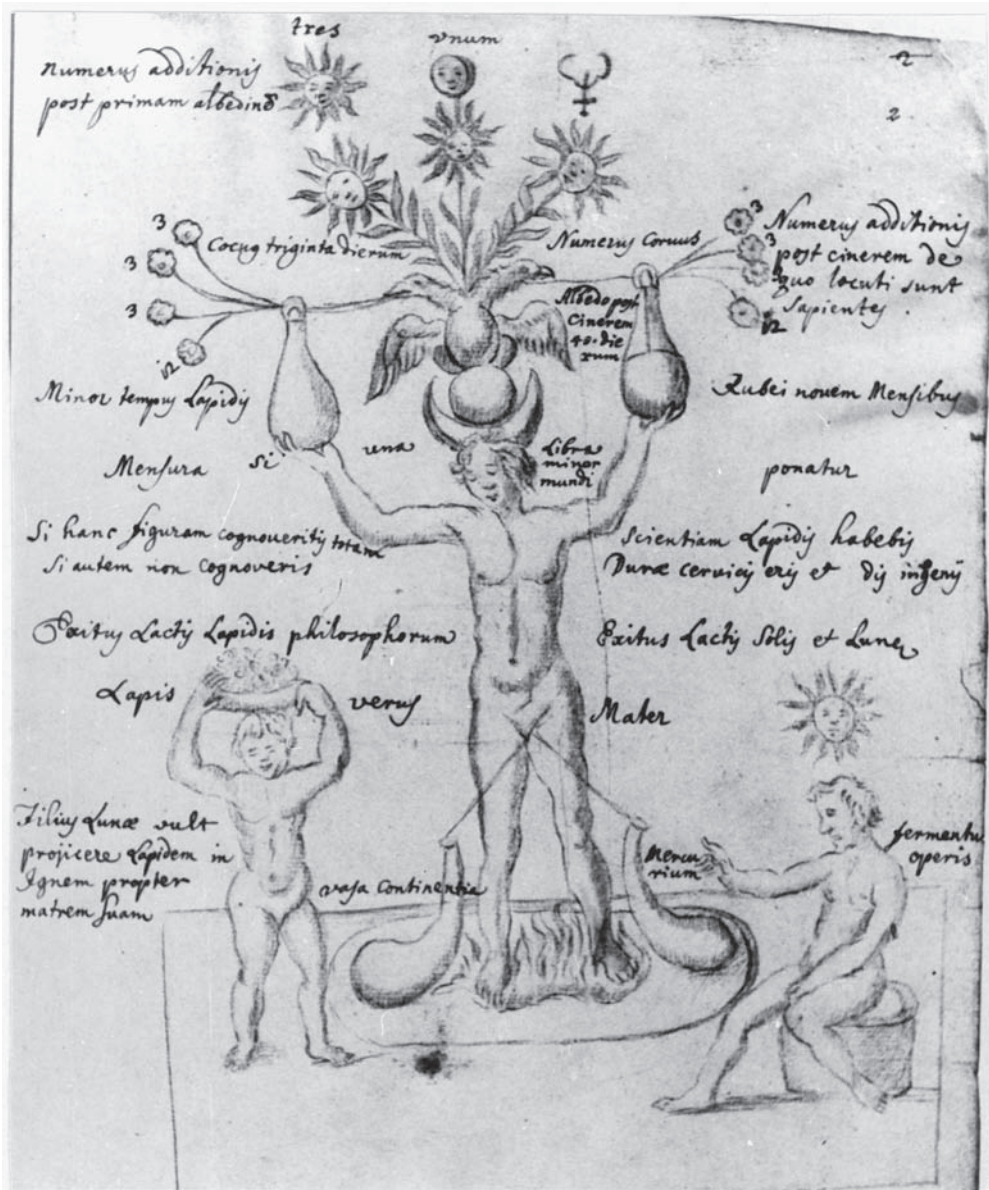
37. Title-page with anatomical dissection, Robert Fludd, *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (Frankfurt: J. T. de Bry, 1623). With the permission of the British Library, London.



38. Detail of title-page, Robert Fludd, *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (Frankfurt: J. T. de Bry, 1623).
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39. Title-page, Stefan Michelspacher's *Pinax Microcosmographicus* (Augsburg: no publisher, 1615). With the permission of the British Library, London.



40. The castration of Mercury, *Alchemical Miscellany*, MS London British Library Sloane 1316, folio 2r (17th century). With the permission of the British Library, London.



41. The king is dismembered, Salomon Trismosin, *Splendor Solis*, MS London British Library Harley 3469, folio 20v (16th Century). With the permission of the British Library, London.

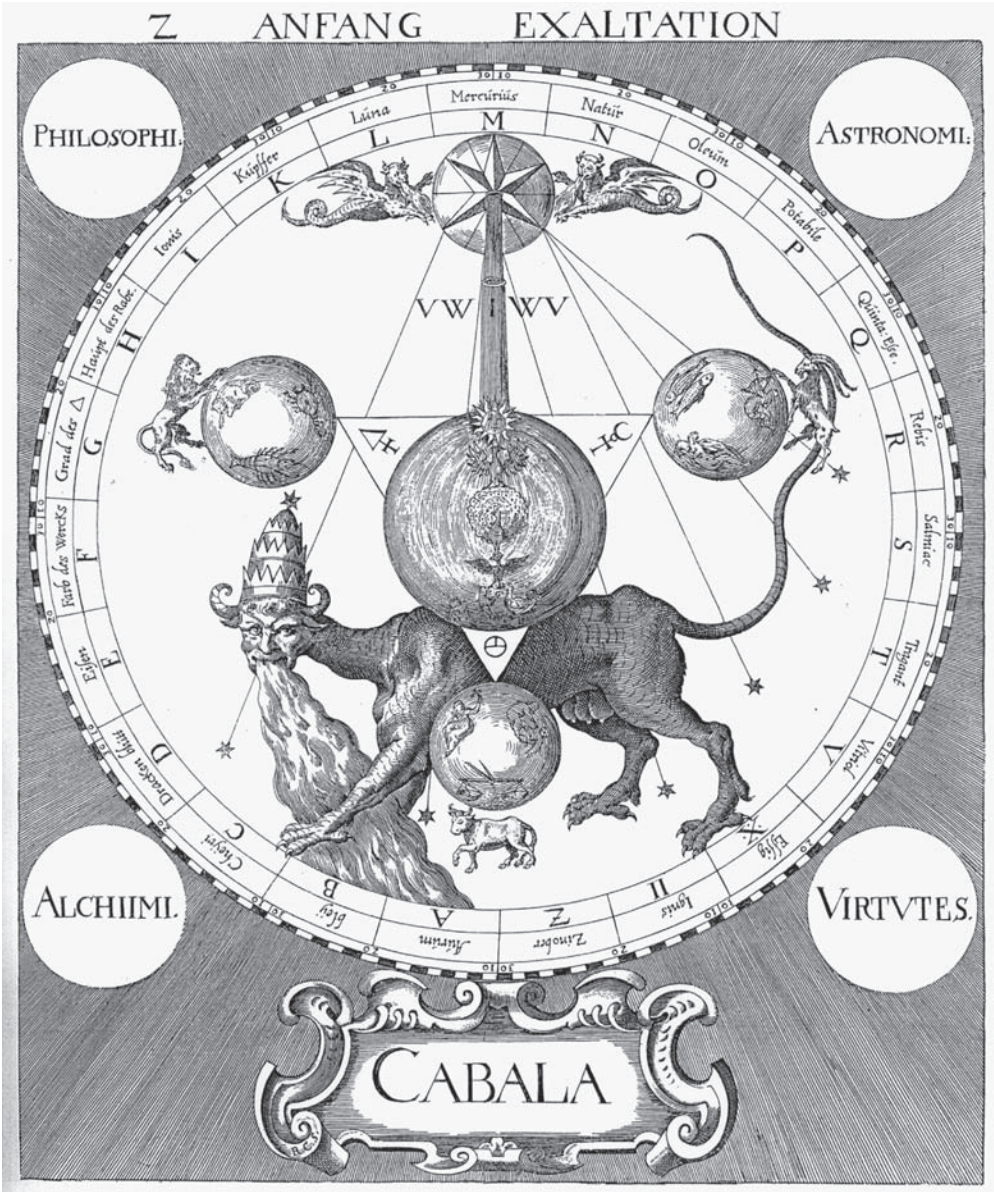


42. The alchemist reconfigures the skeleton in the tomb, Bonus of Ferrara, *Pretiosa Margarita Novella* (Venice: Janus Lacinius, 1546, n. p.). With the permission of the British Library, London.

I . SPIGEL DER KVNST VND NATVR .



43. Allegory of Alchemy, Stefan Michelspacher, *Cabala: Spiegel der Kunst und Natur* (Augsburg: David Francke, 1616), first engraving. With the permission of the British Library, London.



44. Anti-Christ, Stefan Michelspacher, *Cabala: Spiegel der Kunst und Natur* (Augsburg: David Francke, 1616), second engraving. With the permission of the British Library, London.



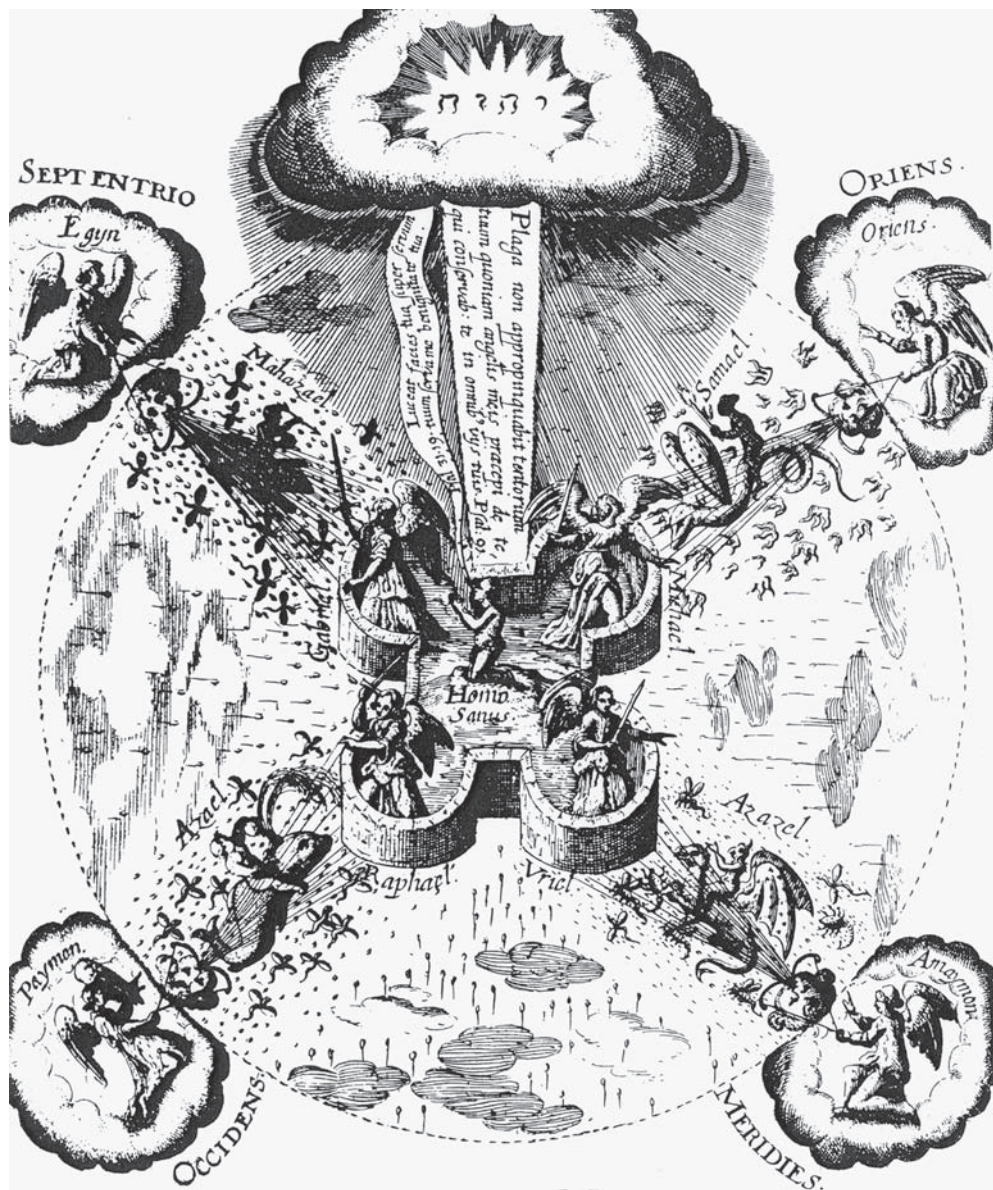
45. The alchemical conjunction, Stefan Michelspacher, *Cabala: Spiegel der Kunst und Natur* (Augsburg: David Francke, 1616), third engraving. With the permission of the British Library, London.



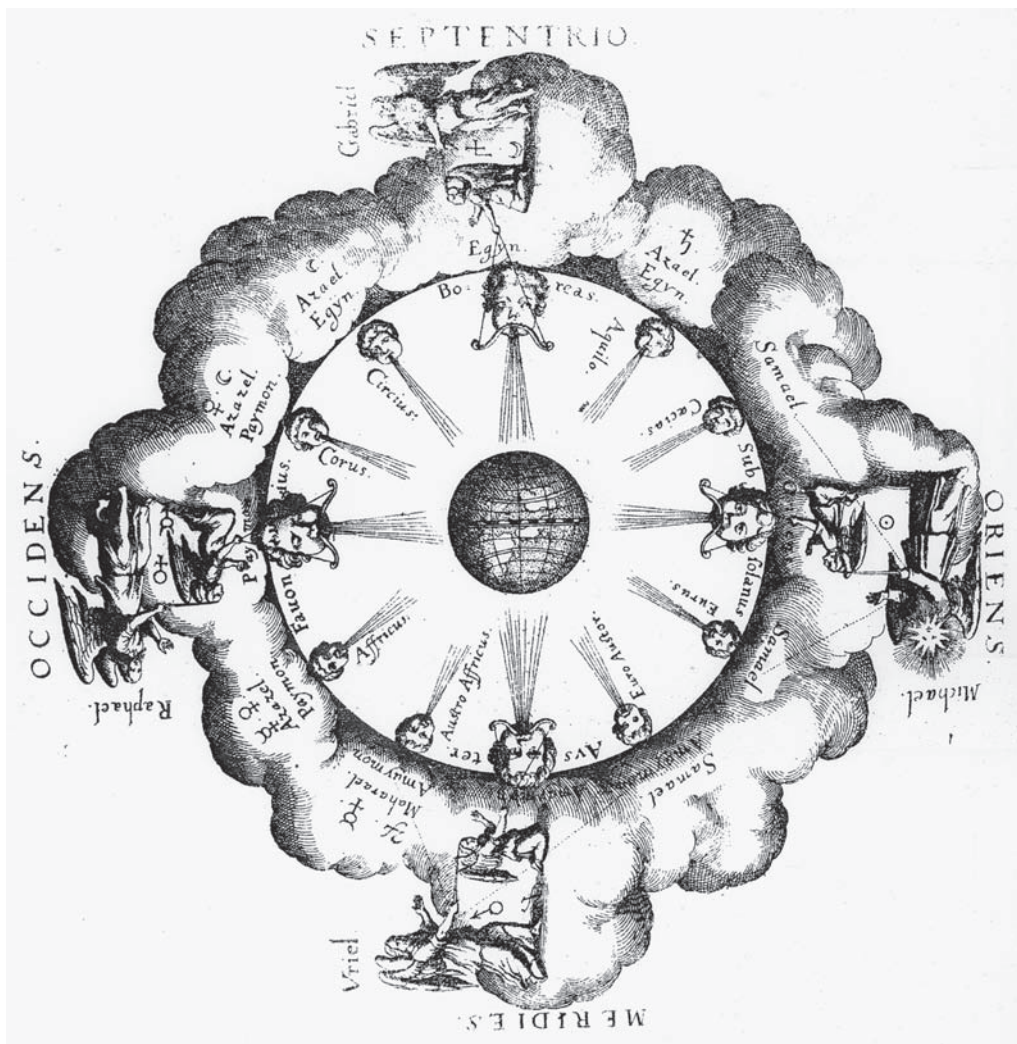
46. Frontispiece, *Musaeum Hermeticum* (Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis, 1625). With the permission of the British Library, London.



47. Title-page, Robert Fludd, *Tractatus Theologo-Philosophicus* (Oppenheim: J. T. de Bry, 1617). With the permission of the British Library, London.



49. The castle of disease and health, Robert Fludd, *Philosophia Sacra* (Frankfurt: J. T. de Bry, 1626), 267. With the permission of the British Library, London.



50. The angels of the four directions and the winds, Robert Fludd, *Medicina Catholica*, 1 (Frankfurt: William Fitzer, 1629), 2. With the permission of the British Library, London.

Die ARTZNEI (Medicina)

Syrach 38: 4.

[So von ארצ ARcZ, ARiDa, AERDé; item vom ארז oder GARTen und Cedrischen ARDS oder HARTS und HERTZ (so bey den alten Zeitlichen HARTZ und bey den Niederländern HART item Hört/ zum Exempel Löwen Hört/ Korn Hört zc. genant) desgleichen von der Härte und Hartzigen Unctuosität des AERTZes, davon auch das Syrische ZÉRÉS und Lateinische CERES, item Cera, ARphaeSAD der ARTZt und der Δ Hårdt zu ZARpaTha. herkommet/ ihren Nahmen dem Buchstaben nach empfangen/ und in dem Philosophischen EY oder EU verborgen.] ¹³

ארז Larix Ferkelbaum/
Terebinth, Cedernholz
unverweslich.

ברכישע "Eggs
ברכישע צורה

ארצ Circulus
ארצ Hereditatis Miseria
ארצ Conflatorium

1. Reg. 17.

Ist eigentlich

Ein von Gott gebenedeyeter in die obere Natur gesproche-
ner / und in die untere gepflanzter / deme auß Gott gebohr-
nen ARTiScen oder ARTSe und Künstler durch künst-
lich/natürlich und übernatürliche Mittel geoffenbahrter / feuri-
ger / Luft- und lebendiger Wasser-DUNST, ATHEM
und

NATansUR

ארצ Natur

Nitrum

SA Lis Nitro

Nitros die Matter. i. o

Spiritus repens item

A-Lumen. Lixivium

52. Word-play, Abraham von Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artz Engel* (1639) (Amsterdam: Boetkuis, 1676), 21. With the permission of the British Library, London.

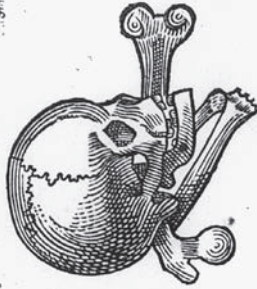
Dannes ist in Ihme das **FEUR** des **Getriches** und der **Reini-**
gung; und das **WASSER** des **Lebens** und des **Trostes**; und der
GEIST der **Gnaden** und des **Lichtes Gottes** / als die **heiligste**
 und **allerheiligste** **MUM IAH**, und **rohs** und **weise** **universal**
TingUR des **LAMMES**, in welchem und auf welchem **alleine**
stehet und **ruhet** das **HEIL** und der **Trost** unsers **Lebens**.
IAH der **Geist Gottes** und **CHRISTI** **ists** / der
 da **lebendig** / **kräftig** und **thätig**; **vermünftig** / **gesund** und **hey-**
lig; und in **Summa** **gewaltig** / **reich** und **selig** **machtet**; das **alte**
Adamische **verderbte** **Fleisch** und **Blut** **aber** **ist** **kein** **nütze**: **Denn**
 es **ist** ein **stürmes** und **verderbtes** **Salz** / die **versuchte** **Her-**
den / und **ist** zu **nichts** **nütze** / als **dass** **man** es **hinäuswerffe** und
 mit **Füssen** **trete**: **intennahl** (solch **Irdisch**) **Fleisch** und **Blut**
 das **Reich Gottes** **nicht** **kan** **erwerben**. **So** **gilt** **auch** in **IESU**
CHRISTO **iweder** die **Jüdisch** oder **Päpstlich** **eigen** **wirken-**
de **Beschneidung** / **noch** die **Griechische** oder **Heidnische** **Epi-**
curische **verstorckte** **Vorhaut** **etwas**: **sondern** **alleine**

Die Neue CREATUR

Aus dem **Neuen Himmel** / und der **Neuen Erden**
 I. C. **darinnen** **Gerechtigkeit** **wohnet**: **welche** **mit** **Zeitlicher**
 und **Erwiger** **Leibes** und der **Seelen** **Gesund-** und **Weisheit** /
 aus dem **Lichte** der **Genaden** und **Natur** **von** **oben** **herab** / und
Amnen **heraus** **begabet** und **erfüllet** in **einem** **gants** **Neuen** **Gei-**
ste **Leibe** und **Leben** / **wircklich** und **wesentlich** **wandelt** und **wohl-**

BALSAM Microscopi.
 Thefaunus VITÆ.
 Osmius Cant. §. 10.
 RUACH Hammaſchiach

ADAM



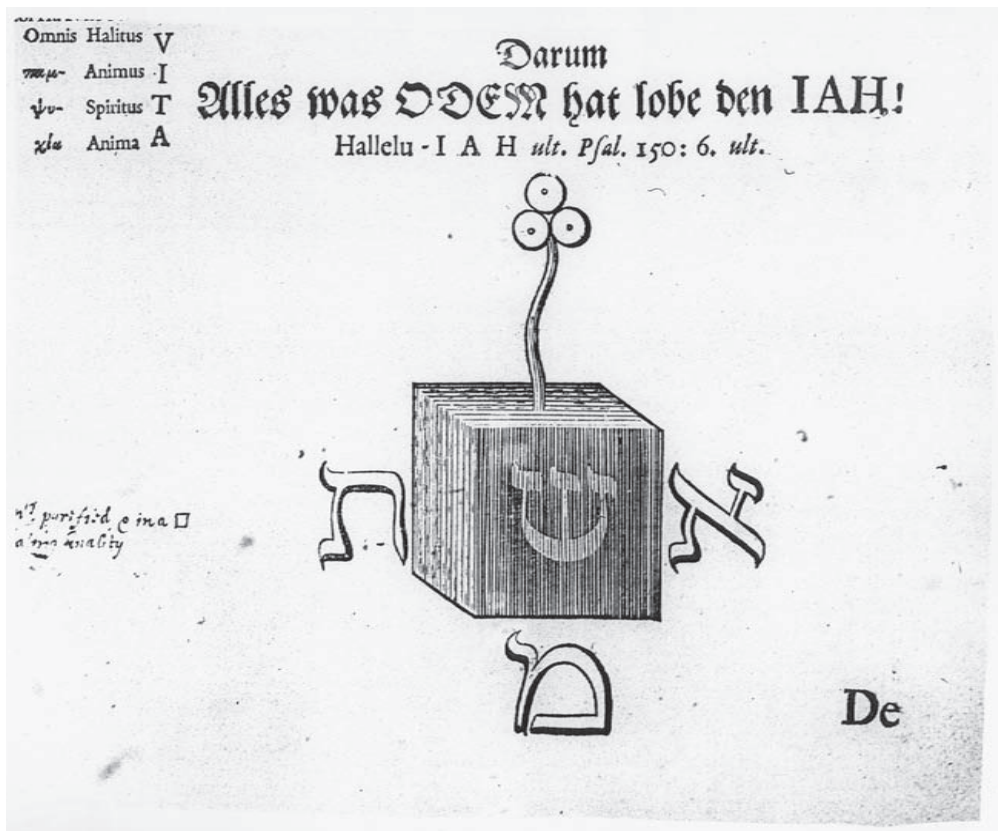
Caput mortuum.
 Sal insipidum.
 Cor tepidum.

Non est currentis, non
 est NOVA VITA
 volentis: Unius est
 DOMINI sed misere-
 rentis Opus.

Vita in Aequilibrio.



Psal. §. 1. 12.
 Rom. 6: 4. 7: 6. 12: 2.



54. Alchemical hieroglyph, Abraham von Franckenberg, *Raphael oder Artz Engel* (1639) (Amsterdam: Boetkuis, 1676), 44. With the permission of the British Library, London.

